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THE
WORKS

OF

JOHN JEWEL, D.D. Bsp.

BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

EDITED, BY

RICHARD, WILLIAM, JELF, D. D.

CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH,
AND PRINCIPAL OF KING'S COLLEGE LONDON;
FORMERLY FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE.

IN, EIGHT VOLUMES.

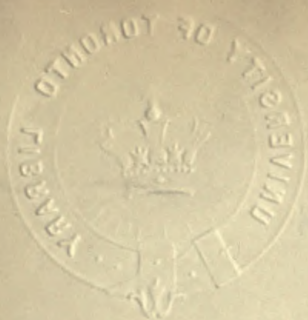
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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

DURING nearly three centuries the works of John Jewel, bishop of Salisbury, have maintained their place in the standard Theological literature of the Reformed Church of England; each succeeding generation¹, echoing the well-known words of Richard Hooker in honour of "the worthiest divine that Christendom had bred for some hundreds of years²." The influence which he exercised over his contemporaries is evidenced at once by the widely spread effects of his celebrated Challenge at Paul's Cross, by the importance attached throughout Europe³ to his Apology for the Church of England and to its Defence, and by the task assigned, apparently to him alone, of revising the XXXIX Articles in 1571. Nor has the popularity of his writings been confined to a few readers in his own generation, or to the solitary student of after-times. His works have been the armoury from which polemical divines have borrowed their

¹ A remarkable list of such testimonials was given in the Quarterly Review, vol. lxi. pp. 476, 477.

² See Hooker, Eccl. Pol. vol. i. p. 314. ed. 1841.

³ To shew the importance attached to the *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* by foreign reformers see the Harmonia Confessionum,

(1581), in which the text of the Apology is adopted as the representative of the English confession. In the Catal. of Confessions, the eighth is designated as "Anglica, Apologiae generali anno 1562, Anglicarum ecclesiarum nomine conscriptae inserta." The estimation in which it was held

keenest weapons against the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome; and much of that wholesome dread of popery, which is so deeply implanted in the English mind, might be traced perhaps to the copy of Bishop Jewel's works which the foresight of archbishop Bancroft⁴ chained side by side with Erasmus' Commentaries, for the instruction of the people, on a reading desk provided for that especial purpose in the side-aisle of many a parish church⁵.

Such, then, being the hereditary reverence in which the Church of England has deservedly held one of her ablest defenders, it is the more surprising that Theological students should so long have contented themselves with an edition of his works which was hastily prepared for a temporary purpose; which professed only to be a reprint of the last edition revised by the author, without so much as an attempt to correct the errors of the press, still less to elucidate or to confirm the authorities cited; and which is to this day remarkable only for the perverse dislocation in the order of the two great controversies in which the Bishop was principally engaged.

at home may be judged of by the following anonymous paper with notes by archbishop Parker, drawn up previously to the Convocation of 1562. "To these Articles (the Thirty-nine) also may be adjoined the Apology [writ by Bishop Jewel] lately set forth, after it hath been once again revised, and so augmented or corrected as occasion serveth. These (viz. the Catechism, Articles, and Apology) to be joined in one book, and by common consent to be authorized as contain-

ing true doctrine, and enjoined to be taught to the youth in the universities and grammar schools throughout the realm, [item," (in archbishop Parker's own hand.) "in cathedral churches and collegiate and in private houses.""] Strype, Ann. I. i. 474.

⁴ See Documentary Annals, vol. ii. p. 160. Bancroft's Letters on Pluralities.

⁵ These chained copies, or well-worn remnants of them, are still preserved in many churches, as at Hodnet, Cirencester, &c.

It must be confessed, indeed, that a revised edition of the whole works of this illustrious prelate was a task of such formidable labour and responsibility, that there is little reason for surprise, if men shrunk from the undertaking, and still less perhaps, if those, who we are told, made the attempt, soon abandoned the hope of its accomplishment⁶. But no similar excuse can be offered for the negligence with which the *Apology of the Church of England* has been in successive editions treated. Of this small work, often as it has been reprinted, there has not been so much as one edition with the references correctly verified, or with the variations pointed out between the original and the English version, or even with a continuous reference to the corresponding part of the *Defence*.

It was in the hope therefore of supplying, in some sort, an acknowledged desideratum in Theology, that, in conformity with a wish of the late professor Burton, expressed some years before, the present Editor undertook his task. He commenced his labours not without a due appreciation of the difficulties before him, and certainly not without a full sense of the inadequacy of his own resources and preparation; but with an earnest desire to devote the leisure which he at that time enjoyed to the service of the Church, at

⁶ It appears by the following extract from Fulman's MS. in C. C. C. library, kindly entrusted by the President to the Editor, that H. Jackson thought of undertaking an edition of Jewel's works. "Amico S. G. P. An vero memor non es, quam sæpe tibi dixerim malle me in seculum quam habeo sub imagine beati Juelli sedere, ejusque divina et eruditissima scripta lectitare,

quam omnes delitias orbis terrarum possidere? Quod autem in primis tuis literis rogabas, ut illam quam suscepi provinciam in D. Juello illustrando, ornarem, faciam quidem certe brevi, si Deus voluerit." Junii 25, 1610. An edition was in contemplation in 1637, but was stopped by order of archbishop Laud. See Rushworth's *Hist. Collect.* vol. ii. 450.

a season of her greatest alarm and distress. The difficulties in the undertaking, which were great in prospect, became still more formidable on a nearer approach; and this, added to the unlooked for opening of a new sphere of practical duties, may account for, if it does not excuse, the delay which has taken place in the appearance of the work.

As the chief strength of the Author lay in his acquaintance with primitive antiquity, the verification of the references, essential as that branch of editorial duty is now universally admitted to be, appeared a matter of primary importance. It was customary with the great writers of that age, when Patristic studies were much more generally diffused than they have been since, to content themselves with quoting only a few well known words of a passage, or with carelessly indicating, rather than accurately defining, the sources of their information⁷; a mode of proceeding, which, while it satisfied their contemporaries, afforded scarcely any clue to later theologians. In Bishop Jewel's case, this source of inaccuracy was much increased by his trusting to his extraordinary memory, or to note-books which contained the accumulation of many years' reading, and which it was his habit repeatedly to transcribe. There is reason for believing that, in such transcriptions, the original quotation was sometimes unconsciously mixed up with his own observations or inferences, and in that shape, without the slightest intention of deceiving, transferred to his printed text⁸.

Instances, again, are not wanting of passages, or readings, which Bishop Jewel took without notice from

⁷ See vol. ii, p. 59.

⁸ According to Garbrand, however, (Introduction to his edition

of the Sermons,) Bishop Jewel took extreme pains to guard against this.

manuscripts accessible to himself, but which are not to be found in the printed editions of the author cited. A remarkable example will be found vol. vi. p. 56; and another has been recorded by James in his "Corruptions of Fathers, &c. p. 78, ed. 1612, as having occurred on an occasion which led to the open discomfiture of the gainsayers⁹. It is manifest that, in the absence of any clue to the existence of such manuscripts, it is easy to fall into the mistake of imputing that as a fault to the author, which is only another proof of his extraordinary reading.

A further cause of perplexity to a modern Editor lay in the great outward and inward changes to which the editions of the Fathers have been subjected since the 16th century. Bishop Jewel, indeed, has incidentally given abundant evidence of critical sagacity, which enabled him to anticipate the decision of more enlightened times respecting the spuriousness of works which still retained authority. The editions which he generally used were those of Erasmus; he was the contemporary of Henry Stephens; and many of the soundest principles of criticism had been laid down and exemplified in the editions which had issued from the presses of Cologne and Basle. Still this was but the dawn of criticism; and it is not surprising, if theologians on either side were sometimes led to regard, as the genuine monuments of one age, authorities, which subsequent research has correctly assigned to another and a later one.

In these and similar matters, connected with the

⁹ The reading of "exercitus" for the received word "exitus," in a quotation from St. Gregory's Epistles, lib. 4. cap. 38, adduced in the course of a sermon preached by the bishop at Abingdon,

was loudly denounced by the papists as dishonest, till a MS. was produced from All Souls' library, which justified his accuracy. This reading is now adopted by the Benedictine editors.

verification of the references, it has been the object of the Editor to present to the reader, in the most succinct and simple form, the result of his examination of each individual testimony. As a general rule, he has used that edition of the author quoted, which is reputed the best; even when, as in the case of the Benedictine monks, the bias of the edition is in favour of Rome. In cases where modern criticism has adopted a reading differing materially from any quotation, recurrence to the earlier editions often vindicates Bishop Jewel's accuracy. The omission of words or phrases is in most instances denoted by the insertion of dotted lines in the text; and when any thing which appeared of importance to the point in controversy has been thus omitted or gratuitously inserted, the fact is stated in the notes.

A List of the Authors and Editions used for the present work, accompanied often by an ascertained or a conjectural notice of the edition employed by the author himself, will be found appended to this preface.

The original plan of printing the reference in the side margin, opposite to the quotation vouched for, has been retained, as conducing to clearness; and wherever it appeared desirable, the marginal reference is followed immediately by a citation [printed in brackets] of the volume and page of the edition (specified in the List of Authors) by which it has been verified; whilst, in cases where this has not been thought necessary or feasible, it is to be understood that, if printed in Roman type, the reference has been found correct. If, on the other hand, the editor has failed in the attempt to verify any reference, (whether from not finding the book, or from some mistake in the reference on the part of the author or of the original printer,) he has been careful to indicate his failure by employing Italics.

This of course applies to the result of the Editor's researches at the time when the particular sheet was of necessity printed off. Subsequent enquiries have in several instances led to greater success, so that the apparent number of unverified passages, in itself by no means considerable, is already much diminished; as the reader may judge, if on noticing such Italics he will turn to the List of Authors, where the Editor's latest verifications have been recorded.

It may perhaps be thought that the accuracy which has been attempted, if not attained in this edition, has been carried to excess; and that a sufficient practical result might have been secured at much less cost of time and trouble, if the principal references had been verified, without giving much attention to passages of minor importance. Such, however, is not the Editor's view of the responsibility involved in undertakings of this nature; for, where there is ease on one side and labour on the other, the labourer himself can hardly be safely left to decide what is important and what is insignificant. No one, again, can foresee upon what trifles the merits of a controversy, or the honesty of a controversial writer, may turn. The value of an edition depends upon its enabling the reader, as far as may be, to judge for himself. It seems desirable, then, that a sense of perpetual responsibility, in small things as well as in great, should be kept alive in those who are responsible for the fidelity of an edition: and the present Editor, feeling how salutary this check has been to himself, would venture to recommend that, in every critical edition of the works of our great Divines, a similar method of printing all unverified references in Italics should be universally expected and adopted.

In a work so extensive as the present, the different

parts being printed at intervals, often in the absence of books which were at other times accessible, it is not to be expected but that typographical errors, as well as oversights with respect to graver matters, such as the meaning and controversial weight of particular citations, should sometimes occur. But, while the editor hopes that due allowance will be made for such blemishes, he is prepared to take the whole responsibility, in this duty of verifying the references, upon himself. The occasional slight assistance, which he has received from friends and from others, served only to facilitate his own personal inspection of each verified passage, and not to supersede its necessity.

Wherever it appeared desirable to elucidate the author's text, to supply omissions, to correct mistakes, to compare one part of his writings with another, to state the received opinion respecting the genuineness of some ancient work, or to print the citation in its original language, notes have been added at the foot of the page. To affect a parade of learning by multiplying illustrations of Bishop Jewel's argument from the writings of other Divines, or even to notice and refute the several groundless cavils of his opponents, would have been foreign to the Editor's duty—still more so the continual obtrusion of his own theological views.

The first six volumes of the present edition are equally divided between the *two great controversies* in their natural order; the first division comprising the Challenge, the short Reply to Cole, and the Replie to Mr. Harding's Answer; the second, the Apology of the Church of England, and the Defence of the Apology. The last two volumes contain the Commentary on the

Thessalonians, the Sermons, the Treatises on the Scriptures and on the Sacraments, the Letters, and other miscellaneous writings. A copious general Index is subjoined, instead of the two inconvenient and imperfect ones, which preceded the "Replie" and the "Defence," in former editions.

It must be borne in mind, that *two controversies*, or rather phases of the same controversy, between Bishop Jewel and Harding, though begun at different periods, were going on simultaneously, and in such a manner as nearly to alternate with each other. The Sermon at Paul's Cross, embodying the Challenge, had been first delivered in 1559; it was answered by Harding in 1563, and defended by Bishop Jewel in 1565. In the interval between the Challenge and the Answer, "The Apologie of the Church of England" appeared (1562); the "Confutation" of which by Harding was published in 1565, four months earlier than the publication of the "Replie." The first edition of the "Defence of the Apologie" came out in 1567, and was followed, in 1568, by Harding's "Detection of sundry fowl Errors, &c.;" which produced Jewel's second and final edition of the Defence, as the close of the controversy, in 1569⁸. This necessarily complicated statement will be elucidated by the following table, in which the works on either side are detailed in chronological order, those appertaining to the Challenge being printed in Italics:

⁸ This is a sufficient answer to a writer under the name of Walsingham, who, amongst other gross and cunning falsehoods, has stated that the Detection was the last that passed between the two disputants.

1. *Challenge-Sermon at Paul's-Cross*,
first delivered Nov. 26, 1559⁹.
———— repeated at Court ¹⁰March 17, 1560. N. S.
———— again at Court ¹¹March 31, 1560.
———— imprinted at London by John Day, May 18, 1560.
2. *Dr. Cole's first letter*. March 18, 1560.
Correspondence between Cole and Jewel, imprinted May 18,
1560.
3. *Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*. 1562. ¹²
First translation (attributed to Abp. Parker). 1562.
4. *Harding's "Answers to M. Juelles Challenge."* 1563.
5. Lady Bacon's Translation of "the Apologie"¹³. 1564. ¹⁴
6. Harding's Confutation of a book entitled "An Apologie of the Church of England." April 1565.

⁹ Strype, Grindal p. 40, compared with Ann. i. i. 300, 301, where Strype says that the Challenge Sermon was first preached before its author became bishop of Salisbury, to which see he was consecrated Jan. 21, 1560 N. S. and did homage March 1.

¹⁰ Strype, Annals i. i. p. 298.

¹¹ Ibid. p. 300.

¹² Some doubts have been entertained respecting the year in which the *Apologia* was published. In the printed copy the date is 1562; but a question may arise whether this is according to the old style or the new. The only ground for supposing that it may have been published in 1562-3 old style, is, that it seems to contain some allusion to the convocation which met in that year, (see vol. iv. p. 71, and viii. 103.) On the other hand, the evidence is strong in favour of the early part of 1562, new style. The extract from Strype, (supra p. vi. note.) the date of which is *before* the convocation of 1562-3, speaks of the Apology as "lately

set forth." There is also in her majesty's State Paper Office a letter dated Jan. 19, 1561-2, from the bishop of Ely to Cecil, testifying his approbation of a little treatise [qu. ? printed ?] which he had perused, entitled, "Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ." But the most decisive is Jewel's letter to Peter Martyr, dated Feb. 15, 1562, which is evidently according to the new style, (in accordance with continental usage at that time,) because in the same letter is an account of the surreptitious marriage of Lady Jane Gray; on which affair a commission of enquiry issued seven days previously to the despatch of the letter, viz. Jan. 31, 1561-2 (State Paper Office): and the letter contains these words: "*nuper edidimus Apologiam.*"

¹³ Reprinted infra vol. viii.

¹⁴ Not 1562, as stated by Wood (*Athenæ* i. 394), who evidently confounded this with the first translation, which Harding calls "your man's translation."

7. *Jewel's Replie to Harding's Answere.* August 1565.
8. *Harding's "Rejoindre to M. Jewel's Replie."* Aug. 31, 1566.
9. *Another Rejoindre to M. Jewel's Replie against the Sacrifice of the Mass.* 1567.
10. *Jewel's Defence of the Apologie.* Oct. 27, 1567.
11. *Harding's "Detection of sundry foul errors uttered by M. Jewel, in his Defence of the Apologie."* 1568.
12. Second and enlarged edition of the "Defence," exposing also "the Detection." Dec. 1569.

It is to the neglect of the foregoing chronological distribution that the confusion is to be ascribed, which has prevailed even amongst well-informed writers respecting the different portions of Jewel's works. It is nothing uncommon¹⁵ to find the controversy on the Challenge confounded with that on the Apology; and this want of discrimination has been greatly encouraged in the editions hitherto most accessible, viz. those of 1609 and 1611, by the singular perversity of bookbinders in placing the Defence of the Apology next after the Reply to Cole and the Sermon at Paul's Cross; an arrangement so general, even in copies still appearing in their original bindings, as almost to lead to the conclusion that the works were printed in that order. It may be here stated, that these two impressions, although so closely resembling each other as to give rise to the suspicion of a re-issue with a new titlepage, appear, on a closer inspection, to have been independent editions; as is indicated by the fact that the headings and contents of the pages, and even the errors

¹⁵ As an instance, see Antony à Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (list of Jewel's works,) where he assigns the Def. of the Apology to 1564, that is, to the year preceding the date of Harding's Confutation. In like manner Jewel is said to

have printed as a separate work, "An Answer to the Detection," Lond. 1564. Lovan. 1568. Wood continues; *Afterwards* followed "A Reply to Mr. Harding's Answer." See also Isaacson's *Life*, p. lx. lxi.

of the press, do not always correspond, and that of the two editions the later is the less correct. It has been already intimated, that the first of these editions was issued by command of archbishop Bancroft¹⁶; and it is not unlikely that, the first impression being found insufficient for the supply of the parishes, the second was added in a form as nearly resembling it as possible. It must be owned, that, considering the haste with which these reprints were prepared at a particular juncture, they represent correctly the text of the last edition revised by the Author, and though of no value as critical editions, were yet sufficient to serve the immediate purpose which the Archbishop had in view—the general instruction of the people.

The arrangement which has been adopted in the present edition will enable the reader to trace the gradual progress of the Apologist of the Church of England in controversial skill. It should not be forgotten, that previously to the Challenge he had never published a single line¹⁷. During ten years from that period he was constantly engaged in controversial labours. Hence the Defence of the Apology, as the latest of his works, is the greatest monument of his power: it evinces a more perfect mastery of his weapons, a more skilful use of his materials old and new, greater precision of

¹⁶ The editor was Fuller. Archbishop Bancroft only followed the example set him by archbishop Parker, who, in a letter to Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, desires him to place copies of the Defence of the Apology in all the churches of his diocese which had them not. Bishop Parkhurst demurred at first, on the ground that it would make Harding's Confu-

tation accessible to the people—but he obeyed. See Strype, part iii. 51.

¹⁷ The tradition, which attributes to Bishop Jewel the principal share in preparing the second book of Homilies, appears to be confirmed by internal evidence; but the earliest date assigned for its publication is 1560.

argument and language, more concentration of thought, an increased consciousness of his own strength and of his opponents' weakness, proportioned to his growing confidence in the justice of his cause upon each repeated revision of the subject. But, although upon these grounds this has ever been esteemed his master-work, still his earlier works are of great value, both in themselves and as an introduction to his final effort. The germ of his greatness is already discernible in his slight controversy with Cole, which circumstances led him to expand into his "Replie to Harding:" and this last, although it might be thought, from the form of its argument, to give a wider opening to cavil¹⁸, would, as an unanswerable exposure of many of the innovations of Rome, have given him a claim to our veneration and gratitude, though the Apology had never been written.

In order to estimate rightly the sensation which the Challenge produced, we must place ourselves in the situation of the Author's contemporaries. Those who had embraced the conclusions of the Reformation, were, as a body, hardly aware of the nature of the premises upon which those conclusions rest. A large portion had abandoned the Romish system from an instinctive horror of its antichristian tendencies, or from sympathy with the constancy of the martyred Reformers. Upon others the light of holy Scripture had wrought the change: seeing the utter incompatibility of much in the Romish doctrine and worship with the letter and spirit of God's written word, they concluded, and rightly concluded, that the scriptural ground was quite sufficient to justify them in refusing to purchase restored communion with Rome at the expence of truth and

¹⁸ See vol. i. p. 289, note ²¹.

conscience. But few, it is probable, were as yet aware of the momentous fact, that the papacy and its distinctive tenets are as wholly inconsistent with "the consent of all the ancient catholic fathers," as with the deductions of Scripture. Cranmer, it is true, and his learned fellow-sufferers, had made ample use as well of the Fathers as of Scripture in defence of the principles of the Reformation; indeed Cranmer himself left on record a challenge which may have suggested to Jewel that method of warfare¹⁹. Still the merits of those earlier controversies were perhaps at that time less generally known than they are to well-informed readers in the present day. The partisan of Rome, in all honest ignorance, believed that the sentence of the Church of all ages was on her side; and the ordinary protestant as ignorantly conceded the point. The one had not as yet discovered a method of dispensing with catholic consent by placing development in its room; the other had not learnt the full value of Christian antiquity as a handmaid of scriptural truth.

Such was the state of things, when a voice was heard in the court, and before the people, proclaiming the hollowness of the foundation upon which the system of Rome was built. In the memorable sermon at Paul's-Cross, no less than twenty-seven articles, more or less interwoven with that system, were denounced as absolutely untenable upon the grounds of Scripture and the ancient faith. The preacher defied his opponents to produce a particle of valid evidence from scripture or from any authority within the first six centuries in support of any one among the propositions which he impugned; and he staked his character upon the truth of the negative which he undertook to make good.

¹⁹ See Dr. Jenkyns' edition of Cramer's works, ii. 376.

It must be confessed, at first sight, that the undertaking did not appear altogether free from hazard²⁰; not only upon the general maxim of controversy, that it is unsafe to defend a negative; but because the literary policy of the church of Rome would resort, without scruple, to any method not likely to be detected, of supplying the evidence required. To more timid writers it might have seemed sufficient to prove, that the general consent of the best ages is inconsistent with Romish error, even if here and there it were possible to discover some of its germs: this being in fact the method pursued by Bishop Jewel himself with respect to some Romish corruptions not included in the twenty-seven. The result, however, shewed his sound judgment, as well as his accuracy. His statement, which was published, perhaps designedly, without a full allegation of proofs²¹, roused at first, it is probable, no other feeling among the papists than that of indignant and contemptuous surprise. Harding's "Answer" was put forth in anticipation of an easy triumph. But when the "Replie" at length appeared, the most cautious saw plainly, that the Challenge was the result of deliberate enquiry, and that the author justly relied upon the nakedness of his adversaries and his own armour of proof. Nor was his mode of procedure, even at the worst, an act of such temerity as it might have

²⁰ That this was the feeling of some of his own friends, is evident from Jewel's words, *infra* vol. i. p. 132: "Therefore some have wished my words had been more warily qualified, and uttered with more circumspection."

²¹ The Editor has thought it right to follow the author's example in this respect, both in the

Sermon at Paul's Cross and in the Latin Apology, in order to place the modern reader in the same point of view as Jewel's contemporaries. Most of the references are subsequently verified; and Lady Bacon's translation of the Apology in vol. viii. will supply the defects of the Latin edition in the fourth.

appeared. For even if he had failed to establish his negative, his discomfiture would have been, in great measure, only personal to himself; "the *general* consent of the early church" would still have been a sufficient answer against Rome: whereas his victory redounded signally to the great advantage and strength of the cause of truth.

As it was by the Challenge and the Replie, together with the hitherto undefended Apology, that the advocates of Rome were principally tempted to encounter their formidable adversary, whilst a remarkable degree of silence after the publication of "the Defence of the Apology" attests their sense of its invulnerability, it may not be out of place to say here a few words respecting Bishop Jewel's opponents. It has, of course, been the Editor's duty to examine their works with attention. They would appear to have acted upon an uniform system of attack. Dividing amongst them the labours of confutation, they assigned the charge of some one or more articles to different hands; but they doubtless contributed jointly to the materials and arguments of each other. That even such a writer as Bishop Jewel never incidentally exposed himself, either by his matter or by his expression, to deserved animadversion; that he was never careless, and never mistaken, and never in the wrong; that, under the provocation of his opponents' unbridled scurrility, he was never tempted to forget his usual moderation, and to indulge in a flippancy of remark foreign to his ordinary style—would be scarcely expected by any one who knows the infirmity of human nature when exposed to the dangerous influences of controversy; it could not be asserted by any one who has officially examined his

writings with strict regard to truth; least of all, perhaps, would such an immunity from error have been claimed by Bishop Jewel himself. Towards the close of his "View of Untruths," prefixed to the edition of 1567, but omitted in later ones, occurs the following creditable avowal: "Howbeit, I do not so warrant every parcel of any my writings, as though there were nothing therein contained, but might safely be justified in all respects, and against all quarrels. Such reverence, by St. Augustine's judgment, we ought to give only to the word of God. No man's learning or memory was ever infinite; but, of all others, I acknowledge mine to be the weakest." And again, after apologizing for and correcting certain oversights²², he thus proceeds: "If any error whatsoever shall escape, as I doubt not but there will be many, I protest before Him that searcheth the hearts, it will be wholly against my will." In the present edition, such involuntary errors are noticed, either in the places where they occur, or in notes to the List of Authors. There are perhaps others, which have escaped the Editor's observation. But while he admits the fallibility of the Author, he cannot regard his opponents with any feeling of respect. They may possibly succeed here and there in fastening some slight imputation upon their enemy; but in by far the greater number of instances their attacks recoil upon themselves. Of the sophistry, the misrepresentations and falsehoods, which appear and re-appear in their several attacks, a sufficient idea may be formed by those who will be at the pains of examining Harding's performance in the following volumes²³. Whilst most

²² Such, for example, as the substitution of "Trinitatis" for "Unitatis" in the quotation from Leo. I. See vol. ii. p. 310. vol. iv. 134, 372, 388.

²³ Harding's style is wearisome and affected, his reasoning often ridiculously illogical, and most of

of those writers have been forgotten in subsequent generations, as they were neglected in their own, Harding alone enjoys an unenviable immortality by having his works incorporated in those which it was his purpose to confute. He is the fit type of the Romanism of his day; and whilst he was honoured by Bishop Jewel's condescending to notice him as, on the whole, the most respectable and considerable writer on that side, the cavils of most of his fellow labourers, even when not borrowed from himself, were virtually answered in his person. It forms no part of the Editor's duty to give currency to false opinions even by exposing them, or notoriety to obscure and forgotten men by setting them up for confutation; still less is it for him to presume to vindicate his Author in detail from undeserved aspersions, or to add strength to arguments which are already incontrovertible. To perform such a task imperfectly would be unjust to the Author, and injurious to the cause of truth: to fulfil it adequately, even if it were in the Editor's power, would swell the present edition to an inconvenient size.

The only exception which demands notice, as taken against the tone and supposed tendency of some passages in Bishop Jewel's works, is not that of the open or secret adherent of the papacy—for to such an one the plain straightforward English strength of the author's polemics must ever be extremely distasteful—but that of some faithful and dutiful disciple of the Church of England, who, without intending to disparage one of her great lights, may be sensible of a difference between the theological school of Jewel, and that of others whose names are identified with

his authorities borrowed at second hand; much of his work, as has been correctly remarked by arch-deacon Churton, in his *Life of Dean Nowell*, being a literal translation of Hosius.

the sober defence of church government, in the succeeding generation. But even admitting such difference to exist, this were but another instance of the Divine protection extended over our Church, that it has pleased God, by raising up at sundry times special instruments for his service, to check at one period the innovations of Rome, at another the no less dangerous and uncatholic novelties of Geneva. And it is our wisdom, surely, no less than our duty, to accept and enjoy the different portions of our rich inheritance of theology. It may be, that Bishop Jewel did not foresee the rise and fatal effects of Puritanism: he was engaged in defending one wing of the army of the faith, and he did not see clearly what was passing on the other; yet none of his acts or of the principles of his warfare were inconsistent with its subsequent defence by such an one as his great successor the author of the "Ecclesiastical Polity." Nor ought it to be forgotten, that if he spoke contemptuously of Rome, it was from a clear appreciation of the primitive model, which she had forgotten or debased, and out of a single-hearted zeal for God's glory, which she had dishonoured and profaned: that while his intimate relations with foreign reformers, who had been his benefactors in exile, inclined him to speak hopefully and respectfully of their churches, as then constituted, he was by no means blind to the superior blessings, in respect of government and apostolic order, as well as of worship, which Divine Providence had vouchsafed to England: that he desired nothing more or less than the general restoration of catholic faith and practice, such as the Reformation in England had been providentially designed to secure: and finally, that, if in some matters, as for instance with respect to the habits, we may concede his argument to have been wrong, his

conduct in his practical and official relations to the Church was dutiful and right²⁴.

But while a laboured defence of Bishop Jewel is thus designedly avoided, it is right to anticipate an objection which is not unlikely to occur even to impartial readers. It may be said, that the rigid investigation pursued in this edition, while it has served to expose the spuriousness of many of the chief writers relied upon on the side of Rome, has also disclosed the fact, that some of Bishop Jewel's authorities will not stand the test of sound criticism. The fact is not only generally admitted, but the special instances where such involuntary mistakes occur are carefully noted in the following pages. Yet an inference deduced from these admissions unfavourable to the soundness of Bishop Jewel's conclusions, still more to his integrity, would be most erroneous. In point of critical acumen, he was certainly in advance of the age in which he lived; but there is nothing surprising or derogatory to his character in the fact that even he was sometimes misinformed in common with his contemporaries. It will be found too, in general, that the points apparently affected by such erroneous quotations are only incidental and collateral to the main question; and that, after making every reasonable deduction from the value of the evidence on account of such passages, a sufficient number of genuine authorities remains to determine the issue in Bishop Jewel's favour. A closer scrutiny, again, will often shew that the mistake is only apparent or nominal, and that the authority is merely shifted from one writer to another of equally good repute in the

²⁴ See in particular his letter to archbishop Parker (infra vol. viii. p. 184.) for an instance of his conscientious discharge of

duty (towards his friend and future biographer Laurence Humphry) "in respect of this vain contention about apparel."

same age. Thus the name of St. Augustine was formerly substituted in certain works for that of Maximus, or Fulgentius—fathers not equal in renown to the illustrious bishop of Hippo, yet living about the same time, and esteemed for their own sakes in the church. Here the testimony is valid, though the name is wrong. But it must be also remembered, that such authorities may be used in the form of an *argumentum ad hominem* by those who deny their genuineness in answer to those who maintain it: and Bishop Jewel often avowedly uses this weapon, and marks it by the use of such phrases as “Mr. Harding’s own Amphilochius,” or, “Your own Abdias.” And it is further to be remarked, that the negative form of Bishop Jewel’s argument, at least in his Reply, as well as the *principle* of his general reasoning against Rome, admits of the use of such spurious passages, as in some instances carrying more weight with them than if they were genuine. The main object of all his writings is to convict Rome, as to some of her essential doctrines, of innovation; and he argues from the silence of writers the non-existence of those doctrines previously to a certain age. Now a spurious writing, whether a direct forgery, or the simple misapplication of some genuine name, is, with rare exceptions, the production of an age considerably later than that to which it purports to belong. But such a writing obviously is only so far valid, as it is taken to represent the state of things when it was really written. If used *positively and affirmatively*, that is, to *prove* a certain doctrine or practice as primitive and catholic, it obviously fails to the extent of the interval between its real and its pretended date. But if employed, as Bishop Jewel commonly employs it, *negatively*, that is, to *disprove* the early existence of a particular doctrine or practice, then the evidence is rather strengthened than weakened by its use. This

may appear paradoxical; but an example sufficiently obvious will illustrate its truth. Many of the Pope's Decretals, which had been admitted without doubt as genuine till within a few years before this controversy, are now known, as Bishop Jewel surmised²⁵, to have been gross forgeries, compiled, if not invented, by Isidorus Mercator or Peccator²⁶. Now when alleged positively by Romish writers in support of the pope's supremacy, they are manifestly worthless, except as shewing that in the ninth century, (the date when the forgery was committed by this worthy instrument of the designs of Rome,) the antichristian claims of the pope had begun to be currently admitted—a fact which no ecclesiastical historian will think it worth while to dispute. On the other hand, the same forged witnesses, when advanced by Bishop Jewel in support of his negative argument.—for instance when he quotes the spurious second epistle of Clement I.²⁷ or that of Fabianus to *disprove* the early existence of private mass,—serve to shew, not only that those ancient bishops of Rome were ignorant of the practice in question, but that the impostor of the ninth century knew of nothing in the services of the church to give controversial importance, as against the church which he served, to the passages which he forged. So far as it goes, it is the testimony of the ninth century, and not of the first, or of the third, against the antiquity of the Roman practice on that subject: and so of the rest.

The *Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* is a work far too well known to require any particular comment. Its

²⁵ *Infra* vol. i. 170, 285.

tom. ii. col. 46.

²⁶ See Oudini *Comment. de*
Scriptoribus ecclesiæ antiquis,

²⁷ *Infr.* vol. i. 336, and 293.

lucid order, its elegant Latinity, its calm defence of the catholic tenets of the Church of England, and its exposure of the system of Rome, have conspired with its semi-official character to ensure it from the first a very wide circulation. The copy which appears in the fourth volume is a reprint of the original edition of 1562, exhibiting it, with respect both to the text and to the notes, in very much the same state in which it fell into Harding's hands. The corrected references may be ascertained either by turning to the corresponding part of the Defence, as indicated in the margin, or to Lady Bacon's translation, printed in volume the eighth. This translation the author virtually made his own; since he read it in manuscript, was a party to its being printed, without the translator's knowledge, by archbishop Parker, and adopted it in the main as the basis of his "Defence."

The edition of the "Defence of the Apology," published in 1570, with which the present has been collated, varies considerably from that of 1567, not only because, in vindicating himself against Harding's "Detection," the Bishop was led to corroborate and illustrate his first statements by additional matter, but because he took occasion here and there to correct some passages which were open to objection.

The two concluding volumes comprise the posthumous works of Bishop Jewel.

The contents of the seventh volume need not detain us long. They consist mostly of popular treatises, commentaries, and discourses on the all-absorbing subjects of that day; remarkable for singleness of purpose,

plain good sense, and pure English; and yet, it is probable, owing much of their celebrity rather to the name and the other gigantic labours of their author, than to any extraordinary excellence of their own.

The "Letter to Scipio," which follows the "Treatise on the Sacraments," in vol. viii, is, in the Editor's opinion, a genuine, though perhaps an unfinished, work of Bishop Jewel's. It is deficient certainly in external evidence, inasmuch as it is found only in the appendix to Brent's translation of Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, without any explanation of the source from which it is taken. The fact also of Jewel's sojourn at Padua has been called in question; and an attempt has been made to shew, from a comparison of dates, that there is no period during his exile which would admit of his visiting Italy at all²⁸. But the notices of his proceedings during those years are too scanty to justify any such conclusion: and it may well be believed that the "good horse" which he gave to Richard Hooker, the staff which had supported him in his wanderings through many parts of Germany, would have carried him across the Alps, particularly when we consider that Padua was the university of his intimate friend and protector Peter Martyr. At all events the internal evidence is decisive, as it is hardly possible to read a page without finding not only a similarity of style, but an identity, in point of thoughts, phrases, and even mistakes, between this Epistle and the Apology.

The remaining letters of Bishop Jewel, with the exception of a few unimportant ones preserved in England, are printed from copies taken for the Editor from the English manuscripts at Zurich and elsewhere,

²⁸ Pulman's MS. in C. C. C. Library.

a catalogue of which was furnished some years ago to the Delegates of the Press by the Rev. Solomon Hess. They have been already published by the Parker Society in their general collection of the "Zurich Letters," with which the Editor has collated the transcripts which he has used.

It may seem matter for surprise, that, notwithstanding a careful search in the various repositories, so few remains of Bishop Jewel have come to light. According to Antony à Wood and others, he left behind him in MS. a Paraphrastical Exposition of the Epistles and Gospels throughout the year; a continuate exposition of the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments; a Commentary upon the Epistle to the Galatians; and a Commentary on the Epistle of St. Peter. But no trace of these works has been discovered. All the Bishop's papers, it appears, were bequeathed to John Garbrand²⁹, to whom we are indebted for the publication of many of the posthumous works. We learn also from Antony à Wood³⁰ that "all such books and papers, that were given to Garbrand by Bishop Jewel, as also all such loose sheets which he the said Garbrand had drawn for common places, gathered out of that Bishop's books, he gave to Robert Chaloner and John Rainold, doctors of divinity." What became of these MSS. subsequently, we are not informed. It seems probable, however, that Garbrand himself, who lived five years after he had published the posthumous works, purposely excluded the treatises in question from the number. Admitting therefore in general, that the dust of such a man is gold, we may perhaps console ourselves under the disappointment of a fruitless search, by the conjecture that the lost works, however useful in their generation, were not

²⁹ See the notice of Garbrand, in Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. i. 556.

³⁰ Ibid. vol. i. p. 557.

considered, by their author's intimate friend and literary devisee, of sufficient importance to warrant their publication.

Before he concludes, the Editor begs leave to tender his best acknowledgments to many kind friends, amongst whom he must specify the Librarian of the Bodleian, the Rev. Dr. Bandinel, for assistance afforded him in the course of his labours.

King's College, London,
October, 1847.

L I S T
OF AUTHORS AND EDITIONS
USED IN VERIFYING THE REFERENCES.

[In case any author's works have not been found, his name, as it stands in alphabetical order, is placed in Italics.]

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- ABBAS, [*Urspergensis*, q. v.]
- ABDIAS. Apostolicæ Histor. Libb. X. per Wolfg. Lazium. Basil. 1552. [Bodl.]
- Abraham, Rabbi Hispanus.*
- ABRAMUS, Bartholomæus, in Concilio Ferrariens ^b.
- Abstract of Chronicles.*
- ADAGIORUM ERASMI, Junii, &c. Epitome. 8vo. 1593. [Bodl.]
- ADO Vienn. Comm. in sex Ætat. mundi, ad calc. Gregor. Turon. Hist. Gall. fol. 1512. [Bodl.]
- ADRIANUS Papa VI. Legatio ad convent. Noremberg. ann. 1522 missa. 4to. Wittemberg. 1538. [Bodl.]
- ÆMILIUS, Paulus, Veronensis. De rebus gestis Francorum. fol. Paris. 1539. [Ch. Ch.]
- ÆNEAS SYLVIUS ^c (Piccolomini) Pius II. Epistolæ. fol. Lugd. 1497. [Brit. Mus.]
- Opera. Basil. 1571. [Bodl.]
- AGRIPPA, Cornelius, (de Nettesheym.) De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum et artium. 8vo. s. l. 1609. [Bodl.]
- contra Lovanienses ^d.
- ALBERTUS Magnus, Bolstadius, episc. Ratisbon. Opera omnia, 21 voll. fol. Lugd. 1651. [Bodl.]
- ALBERTUS *Pighius*, q. v.
- ALCIATUS, Andr. Mediol. J. C. Opera omnia, 4 voll. fol. Basil. 1582. [Bodl.]
- Epistol. præfixa hist. Pauli *Jovii*, q. v. [Bodl.]

^a [The reference in vol. iii. 276 is verified; add, De Elect. et electi potest. Significasti. Tom. i. fol. 108. col. 1.]

^b [Barthol. Abramus, Præsul Ariens. translated the Greek Acts of the Coun-

cil of Ferrara into Latin. See Crabb. Concill. tom. iii. 374.]

^c [For the missing reference, vol. vi. 292, see *Urspergensis*.]

^d [This treatise has not been found.]

- ALEXANDER de Ales [sive Hales], Doctor Irrefragabilis e. Quæstiones in Magist. Sentent. tomm. iv. Papiæ. 1489,
 — Summæ pars 1^a. tom. v. [Balliol Coll.]
- ALEXANDER ab Alexandro. Genialium dierum libb. 6. 2 voll. 8vo. Lugd. Bat. 1673. [Bodl.]
- ALEXANDRINÆ eccl. Epist. Synodalis, ap. Mansi Concill. tom. ii.
- ALLIACO, vide *Alyaco*.
- ALPHONSUS A CASTRO Zamorensis. Contra hæreses libb. 14. ^f inter opera omnia. fol. 1571. [Bodl.]
- ALPHONSUS VIRVESIUS. Philippicæ disput. xx. adv. Luther. dogmata; Antverp. 1542. [Bodl.] Vid. *Virvesius*.
- ALYACO, Pet. de, (aliter Theodoricus de Niem.) Quæst. super 1, 3, 4. Sentent. Paris. imp. J. Petit, s. a. [Bodl.]
- AMBROSIUS Mediolanensis. Opera, per monachos ord. S. Benedicti, 2 voll. fol. Paris. 1686—90.
 — Opera, 4 voll. fol. Basil. 1527. [Bodl.]
- AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS. Res gestæ aliquot Rom. imp. fol. Paris. 1681. [Bodl.]
- AMPHILOCHIUS ^g Episc. Icon. Opp. fol. Paris. 1644. [Bodl.]
- ANACLETUS Papa. Epist. Pseudo-Isidor. ap. Crabb. et ap. Gratiani Decretum; Dist. 21: In novo.
- ANASTASIUS Papa I. Epistol. ad Johann. Episc. Hierosol. ap. Mansi Concill. iii. 494. [Bodl.]
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- ANGELICA Summa. See *Angelus* de Clavasio.
- ANGELOMUS ⁱ, monachus Gallus. In lib. iv. Reg. fol. Colon. [Bodl.]
- ANGELUS de Clavasio. Summa Angelica de casibus conscientiæ. Argentin. 1513. [Bodl.]

^e [The two references, vol. i. p. 195, and that at p. 273, are quite correct; they are from the "Quæstiones in Magist. Sent."]

^f [Most of the quotations have been verified in the Paris edit. in fol. 1571. All the editions, however, subsequent to that of 1539 are mutilated. Jewel's edit. was that of 1534, Jod. Bad. fol. Paris, a copy of which is in All Souls' library. One of 1539, Colon. is in the Brit. Mus. See *infra*, vol. iv. 472,

note 34.]

^g [The Vita Basil. is a manifest forgery; the Vita Vincentii has not been found. All the works extant are of very doubtful character, except the Epistol. Synod. See Cave.]

^h [This treatise has not been found. He wrote 150 works.]

ⁱ [See vol. iii. 357, where Jewel is mistaken in attributing the *ἀντικείμενα* (q. v.) 1530, to Angelomus, the author being Julianus.]

Angelus ^k, Johannes.

Angelus ^k, Parisiensis.

ANGLICARUM Rerum Scriptores post Bedam. fol. Francof. 1601.

[Bodl.]

ANNA COMNENA. *Alexiados* libb. xv. Paris. 1651. [Bodl.]

ANSELMUS Cantuar. Opera studio Joann. Picard. Col. Agrip. 1612.

[Bodl.]

— Offendiculum Sacerdotum: Inquisitio Discipuli, Solutio Magistri; a dialogue in MS. quoted by Bishop Jewel; its existence disputed by Harding—found in C. C. C. C. library. See vol. vi. *infr.* p. 56. note.

ANSELMUS Rid, seu Valerius Anselmus *Ryddus*, q. v.

ANSIGISUS¹, abbas Lobiensis, postea archiep. Senonensis. Caroli Magni et Ludovici capitula, sive leges eccl. et civil. ab Ansigiso et Benedicto Levita collectæ, libb. vii. Paris. 1603. [Bodl. sub tit. *Caroli Magni.*]

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ANTIDIDAGMA, per Canonicos Metropol. Eccl. Colon. Col. 1544.

[Bodl. sub titul. *Colon. Agripp.*]

Ἀντιθέματα, seu contra posita in speciem utriusque Testamenti; auctore Juliano, archiep. Toletano. in Bibl. Patr. Col. Agr. 1622. tom. xv.

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ANTONIUS, M. Constantius: (i. q. Steph. Gardiner.) Confutatio cavillationum Capernaitarum. Paris. 1552. [Bodl.]

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APOSTOLICÆ Constitutiones, sive Traditiones, Pseudo-Clementis.

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APPIANUS. Romanæ Hist. ed. Schweighæuser. 8vo. 1785. [Bodl.]

^k [Compare Def. Apol. vol. v. 199, and vi. 118. From the subject matter it may be inferred, that the same person is meant. See note 24, vol. v. *infr.* p. 199, with a reference to Fabr. Bibl.

med. et infim. Latin. ix. p. 49.]

¹ [The reference in vol. vi. p. 70 has been verified; (as at p. 436 in the same vol.,) for "cap. 19" read "cap. 20."]

^m [Infra, vol. i. 390, note.]

- APULEIUS. Opp. ed. Oudendorp. Lugd. Bat. 1786. [Bodl.]
- AQUILA, Petr. de, (Scotellus.) Quæstiones in iv. Sent. 4to. Venet. 1600. [Bodl.]
- AQUINAS, Thomas. Summa Theologiæ. Duaci, 1614. [Bodl.]
- Catena aurea in iv. Evangel. fol. Paris. 1611. [Bodl.]
- in Epistol. omnes Canonicas Comm. Antwerp. 1591. [Bodl.]
- in Epist. Pauli. Ibid. [Bodl.]
- Opuscula omnia (inter quæ Opuscul. de venerabili sacramento altaris.) fol. Venet. 1587. [Bodl.]
- ARCHIDIACONUS, cited by *Felinus*.
- ARNOBIUS ⁿ, Afer, Rhetor. Disputat. adv. gentes libri 7. Accedit Minucii Fel. Octavius 1612.
- ARNOBIUS, jun. Gallus. In Psalmos. Basil. 1522. [Bodl.]
- ARNOLDUS Carnotensis; Abb. Bonæ vallis (fl. A. D. 1162). Pseudo-Cyprianus, de cardinalibus operibus Christi, tractt. xii. ad calc. oper. S. Cypriani ed. Bened.
- ARNULPHUS, episcop. Aurel. Orat. ^o Synod. in Concil. Rhemensi, inter *Flacii* Illyr. Testes veritatis, ed. 1608. p. 1560. [Bodl.]
- ARRIANUS. Exped. Alexandri: op. J. Gronovii. Lugd. Bat. 1704. [Ch. Ch.]
- ATHANASIUS, S. P Opera omnia studio monach. ord. S. Bened. 2 voll. fol. Paris. 1698.
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- ATHENAGORAS, Philosoph. Athen. Opera, ad calc. S. Justin. Martyr. ed. Bened.
- AUGUSTINUS ^q, S. Opp. studio monach. ord. S. Benedict. 10 voll. Paris. 1679—1700.
- Frob. ed. Erasm. Basil. 1543. [Brit. Museum.]

ⁿ [The passage in vol. iv. 225, is from the work of Minucius Felix, called Octavius, [1612. Bodl.] p. 23. In the ed. pr. of Arnobius, 1542, this was erroneously published as an 8th book of Arnobius.]

^o [See Def. of Apol. vol. vi. p. 167. note 34. Bishop Jewel seems to have been uncertain whether this should be attributed to Arnulphus or to S. Bernard.]

^p [The passage of S. Athanasius intended, infra, vol. v. 426, was probably that in tom. i. p. 168, Bened. edition; but it is plain, that Bishop Jewel mistook the council of Sardica for the council of Nice. See vol. vi. p. 382, note 96.]

^q [For obscure references to St. Augustine's works the Editor recommends the Milleloquium Augustini, auct. Barthol. de Urbino, a copy of which is in the Bodleian. The words quoted from St. Augustine in the margin of vol. ii. p. 329, "manducaverunt, &c." will be found in tom. iii. pt. 2. 498. In vol. ii. 326, the column in St. Augustine's works is erroneously printed 638 instead of 630. It should have been remarked also, that the words "Fidem mitte et tenuisti," are addressed to a Jew: and are therefore not directly applicable. Bishop Jewel himself admits this, infra vol. v. 178.]

AUGUSTINUS ad infantes, preserved by Fulgentius, Bede, and Bertram.
 — de Civit. Dei, ed. Ludovicus Vives. 2 voll. 8vo. 1596.

AUGUSTINUS Steuchus in Libr. Numerorum. Opp. tom. i. Ven. 1592.
 [Bodl.]

— de donatione Constantini. Opp. tom. iii.

— de Primatu.

AURELIUS Victor, ex offic. Plant. 1607.

AUREUM Speculum Papæ: vid. *Speculum*.

AUTHBERTUS, abb. S. Vincentii. In Joann. Apocalyps. libb. x. fol.
 Colon. 1536. [Bodl.]

AUTHENTICA, in Corp. *Jur. Civil.* tom. v. Volumen. [Ch. Ch.]

AVENTINUS. Annal. Boiorum libb. vii. fol. Basil. 1615. [Bodl.]

Baldus Perusinus.

BALSAMON, Theod. Canones SS. Apostol. Concil. &c. Paris. 1620.
 [Ch. Ch.]

Baptista Egnatius^r.

BAPTISTA Mantuanus, Opp. omnia. Antw. 1576.

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BARBATIUS, sive Barbatias, Andr. Siculus, ad Bessarionem: ap. Po-
 lydor. Vergil. de inventoribus rerum lib. 4.

BARTHOLOMÆUS, *Abramus*, q. v.

BARTOLUS, seu Bartholus. In Jus Civile. Basil. 1562. [Bodl.]

BASILIUS, S. Mag. Opp. studio monach. ord. S. Benedict. voll. iii.
 fol. Paris. 1721—1730.

— Idem Latine, per Wolfgang. Musculum, voll. iii. fol. Basil. 1565.

— Liturgia, in *Liturgg.* vett. de Sainctes, q. v. [Bodl.]

BEATUS Rhenanus, vid. *Rhenanus*.

BECKET, Thom. à. Epistoll. et vita ejus, studio Christiani Lupi. 4to.
 Bruxell. 1682. [Bodl.]

BEDA, Opp. Basil. 1563. [Bodl.]

— Historiæ Angliæ (ed. Whelock), Cantab. 1643. [Bodl.]

Bembus. Epistol. ad Carol. V.

BENNO, card. De vita Hildebrandi. (inter Apologias pro D. N. Hen-
 rico IV. Augusto, per Goldastum.) Hanoviæ, 1611. [Bodl.]

BENVENUTUS Imolensis. Augustale, (with Cornelius Nepos.) [Brit.
 Mus.]

BERGOMENSIS, Jacob. Phil. Forestus. Supplementum Chronicorum.
 Paris. 1535. [Bodl.]

BERNARDINUS de Busto, Mariale. fol. Argentor. 1502. [Bodl.]

^r [There is only one reference to this author, v. 413, and in a matter of no importance.]

^s [The reference, *infr.* vol. iv. 551, should be to Fast. lib. i. de Sancto Hilario.]

- BERNARDUS sive Arnulphus. [See infra vi. 167, note 34.]
- BERNARDUS S. Abb. Clarevall. Opera, studio Monach. ord. S. Bened.
 — Meditationes, al. liber de anima; in one volume with St. Augustine's Meditationes. Col. Agripp. 1637. [Bodl.]
- de vita solitaria, ad fratres de monte Dei, Bernardo falso ascriptum; est opus Guill. Abb. S. Theodorici prope Remos. Inter opp. Bernardi, ed. Bened. tom. v. 200.
- t In conversionem Pauli, ed. Bened. 1690. tom. iii. 955.
- in concil. Remensi^u.
- BERNARDUS, Morlanensis, Cluniacensis ad Petr. Cluniacensem Abb. qui claruit A. D. 1140, de Contemptu Mundi, libb. iii. (written in rhyming dactylic hexameters); if, as it is said, first printed in 1597, it must have been seen by Jewel in MS.; reprinted 1626: Rintelii ad Visurgiam, 12mo. [Bodl.]
- BERTRAMUS, sive Ratramus, de Corpore et Sanguine Domini: (Latin and French.) 1672. [Bodl.]
- BERTRANDUS, P. citatur in *Extrav. Comm.* de Major. et obed. Unam Sanctam in Gloss.
- BESSARION; de Sacr. Eucharistiæ, (ad calcem Claud. de Sainctes *Liturgg.* 1560.) [Bodl.]
- BIBLIA Sacra Vulgata.
 — Latina, opera Pagnini. Basil. 1564. (Often used by bishop Jewel.) [Ch. Ch.]
- BIEL, Gabr. Canon. Miss. Expos. Basil. 1510. [penes Edit.]
- BILET, Johannes, (Belethus, vel Biletus.) Rationale div. officiorum. (ad calc. Durandi Rational. 1592.) [Ch. Ch.]
- BITONTINUS, Cornel. episc. Oratio in Concil. Trid. habita, ap. Crabb. Concill. tom. iii. 982. Also, inter *Conciones* in Concil. Trident. Lovan. 1567, p. 15. [Bodl.]
- BONAVENTURA. Opp. tomm. v. in 4 Sentent. Romæ Vatican. 1596. [Bodl.]
- BONIFACIUS I. Decreta.
 — II. ad Eulalium Epist. (Spur. Isidor.) ap. Mansi Concil. viii. 732. x [Bodl.]
- BONNER, sive Bonerus, Edm. Londin. Præfat. ad Gardiner de vera obedientia. (In English ap. Memorials of Bradford by Stevens.) [Bodl.]
- BONONIA, i. e. Colloquium cum Bononia Rectore Lovan. de libris sacris convertendis, auctore *Furio*, q. v.

t [The reference in vol. iii. p. 69, is a mistake; it should be [iii. 962.]]

u [The acts of this council are declared by Mansi to be genuine. The references in vol. i. 189, iii. 219, iv. 343, and 369 [Mansi vol. xxi. 471, 472,] are correct.]

x [See infra vol. ii. 273, where Jewel detects its spuriousness.]

- BRENTIUS, Johannes, in Præf. in Jac. Apdr. contra Hosium [vol. v. 531.] not yet found.
- BUDÆUS, Gul. Parisiensis. De asse. fol. Lutet. 1548. [Bodl.]
 — Annott. in Pandectas. 8vo. Lugd. 1551. [Bodl.]
- BURGENSIS, Paulus de S. Maria. Additio ad *Lyrani* Comment. in Biblia. [Bodl.]
- BURGO, J. de; univ. Cantab. Cancell. *Pupilla oculi*, q. v. [Bodl.]
- CABASILAS, Nicol. Liturg. Expositio ad calcem *Liturgg.* Vett. de Sainctes. 1560. [Ch. Ch. and Bodl.]
- CAJETANUS, cardinalis, (Thom. a Vio) Quæstiones et quodlibeta. Lugd. 1552. [Bodl.]
- CALIXTUS Papa. Epistolæ. Crabb. Concill. tom. i.
- CALVINUS, J. Opera. Amstelod. 1667. [Bodl.]
- CAMOTENSIS, vide *Sarisburiensis*. See infra, vol. ii. 217, note.
 — Polycraticus, sive de nugis curialium. [Bodl. Douce, s. l. et a.]
- CAMPRIUS, Thom., Bononiensis. De cœlibatu sacerdotum non abrogando. 8vo. Venet. 1554. [Bodl.]
- CANONES Apostolorum, ap. Crabb. Concill. tom. i. et ap. Mansi i. 39.
- CANUTI Leges, apud David Wilkins Leges Anglo-Saxonicas. Lond. 1721. [Bodl.]
- CARDILLUS, Gaspar, Hispanus. Disputationes adv. Protestantes pro sacra œcumen. Synodo Trident. Ven. 1564. [Bodl.]
- CARION, J. Chronicorum libellus. Paris. 1543. [Brit. Mus.]
- CAROLI Magni Opus contra synodum quæ in Græcia pro adorandis imaginibus stolide gesta est. 12mo. 1549. (with Barlow's MS. Notes.) [Bodl.]
 — *Magni symbolum.*
- CASSANDER, Belga Theol. Imp. Ferdinand. I. et Maximilian. II. a consiliis. Opp. Paris. 1616. [Ch. Ch.]
 — De Liturg. inter Opera.
- CASSIANUS, J. Opera. fol. Atrebat. 1628. [Bodl.]
- CASSIODORUS, Magnus Aurelius. Historia Tripartita, vide *Tripartita*.
 — Psalterii Davidici expositio. Paris. 1519. [Bodl.]
- CASTRO Alphonsus a, vide *Alphonsus*.
- CATALOGUS Sanctorum (v. *Natalibus*), ed. Petrus de Natalibus Venetus. fol. Lugd. 1542. [Bodl.]
- CATENA Aurea, Thom. *Aquinat.* y q. v.
- CATHARINUS Senensis. *Libell. de imaginibus.*

- CATHARINUS Senensis. Adv. Apologiam Fratris Dominici a Soto.^z
Lugd. 1551. [Bodl.]
— adv. dogmata nova Cardinalis Caietani. 8vo. Paris. 1535. [Brit.
Mus.]
— *de incruento sacrificio novi et aeterni Fœderis.*
— *de consecratione.*
- CENTURIATORES Magdeburg. (sc. Flacius Illyricus, etc.) fol. Basil.
1560—74.
- CEREMONIARUM sacrarum libb. iii. Colon. Agripp. 1572.^a [Bodl.]
— sive Rituum Eccl. libb. iii. Colon. Agripp. 1557. [Brit.
Mus.]
- CHALCOCONDYLAS Atheniensis. Historiarum libb. x. fol. Paris. 1650.
[Bodl.]
- CHEMNITIUS sive Kemnitiuſ, Mart., Examen Concil. Trident. Francof.
1596. [Bodl.]
- CHIMÆRA. Vide *Orichovius.*
- CHROMATIUS et Heliodorus. Epistola Suppositit. ad S. Hieronym.
inter opera S. Hieron.
- CHRONICON, vide *Eusebius*, Basil. 1536. [Brit. Mus.]
- CHRYSOSTOMUS S. Joannes^b, Opp. omnia, studio monach. ord. Bened.
13 voll. fol. Paris. 1718—38.
— ed. Latin. tomm. v. Paris. 1588. [Bodl.]
— Homiliæ ad Pop. Antioch. in ed. Lat. 1588.
— in Marc. (only in Latin). Ed. Lat. 1588.
— ex variis in Matt. locis ed. Latin. 1588.
— Opus imperf. in Matt. in ed. Bened. vol. vi.
— de Spiritu Sancto.
— Liturgia; inter *Liturgg.* de Sainctes, 1560.
— ad Cæsarium Monachum, see the note 44. vol. iii. p. 54. infra.
- CICERO.^c
- CIVIL LAW. Vid. *Jus Civile*, et *Novellæ Græce* ed. Haloander, 1553.
[Bodl.]
- CLAVENGIUS sive Clemangis, Nic. de. De corrupto ecclesiæ statu:
in Gratii *Fasciculo* rerum expetend. Edv. Brown, Lond. 1690, ap-

^z [The passage in vol. vi. 172 has not been found in this work.]

^a [The passage, vol. iv. 429, is correct: see vol. vi. 89. The references in vol. v. p. 419, &c., which have pages assigned to them, were verified in the ed. of 1572; the rest in the Rit. Eccl. 1527.]

^b [The passage in Italics, ii. 332, is in tom. ii. 992, ed. Lat. 1588. The Ca-

tena referred to, vol. iii. 340, is the Aurea Catena of Aquinas, and reads exactly as Jewel does.]

^c [The passage intended by Bp. Jewel infra vol. iii. 254, is probably in Epist. ad Divers. vii. 12. But he has evidently mistaken Cicero's meaning, who is merely using an *argumentum ad hominem* in bantering his friend Trebatius, who had just turned Epicurean.]

pend. Also in Paraleip. *Urspergens*. A. D. 1417. [Bodl.] [Jewel's ed. Argentor. 1537. Brit. Mus.]

Ejusdem Disputatio super mater. Concil. Gener. in Gratii *Fascic. rer. expetend. etc.* (fol. excviii. 6.) Colon. 1535.

CLEMENS Romanus, Epistola ad Corinth. 2da. (Spur.) ap. Crabb. Concill. tom. i. 27.

— et ap. Mansi Concill.

CLEMENS Alexandrinus, Opp. ed. Potter tomm. ii. Oxoniæ.

Ejusdem Opp. Gentiano Herveto interpr. Basil. 1556. (probably Jewel's ed.) [Bodl.]

CLEMENS VI. Bulla de angelis, vid. Hoornbeck *examen* Bullæ. Avénione, 1653.^d [Bodl.]

CLEMENTINES, see *Juris Canonici Corpus*.

CLICHTOVEUS, Jodocus, (Neoportuensis). Anti-Lutherus, 3 libb. Paris. 1524. [Bodl.]

COCHLÆUS, Johannes, contra Musculum de Missa (Vertheidigung unsers Priesterthumbs und Opfers . . . wider zwee Predig Wolfgang Meuslins, 1544.) [Bodl.]

Ejusdem Hist. Hussitarum. fol. Mogunt. 1549. [Ch. Ch.]

CODEX^e (tom. iv. Corp. *Juris Civil.* q. v.)

— Theodosianus, cum commentariis Jacobi Gothofredi. voll. vi. Lugd. 1665. [Bodl.]

CODRUS Urceus. Vide *Urceus*.

COELIUS Rhodiginus. Vide *Rhodiginus*.

COLONIENSIIUM Antididagma. Vide *Antididagma*.

COLUMELLA, de re rustica, libb. xii. Lugd. 1541. [Bodl.]

COMNENA, *Anna*, q. v.

COMPENDIUM Theologicæ Veritatis, per Albert. Magnum. Quentel. 1506. [Bodl.]

CON. De Con. or de Consec. vid. *Juris Canonici corpus*. tom. i. Decretum.

CONCILIA omnia, evulgavit Mansi; Florent. 1759—98. tomm. xxxi. This is the collection generally used in this ed. [Bodl.]

— collect. Petro Crabbe, tomm. iii. Col. Agripp. 1551. (Jewel's edit.) [Bodl.]

— ed. Surius, tomm. iv. Col. Agripp. 1567. [Bodl.]

— à Labbe, Paris. 1621.

— cura Harduin. tomm. xi. fol. Par. 1715.

— Magnæ Britannæ et Hiberniæ, a Dav. Wilkins collect. Londin. 1737. [Bodl.]

^d [Bulla anni Jubilæi ad calc. *examini* Bullæ Papalis. Agrippa de Van. Scient. vi. 120, speaks of this as preserved at Vienna.]

^e [In the reference, vol. ii. infra p. 41, the reading should be, Generaliter [sanctimus] lib. i. tom. iv. fol. xx. col. 3.]

- CONCILIUM Rhemense (A. D. 991.) vid. Flac. Illyr. Testes Veritatis (Ch. Ch. ed. p. 572). [This council is declared to be genuine by Mansi. vol. xxi.]
- Delectorum Cardinalium, sub Paul. III. 1538. ^f ap. Crabb. tom. iii.
- CONCILII Trident. Orationes; [a collection of these in the Bodl. Th. 4^o. A. 28. 1562.]
- CONCILIORUM Analysis, auct. Richard. tomm. v. August. Vindel. 1778.
- Canones, ed. Bruns. voll. ii. Berolini, 1839.
- CONCIONES in Concil. Trident.; sub titulo Concil. Tridentinum, hoc est Canones, etc., sanctorum patrum et doctissimorum virorum conciones, fol. Lovan. ap. Petr. Zangium, 1567. [Bodl.]
- CONSTANTINOPOLITANÆ Eccl. ad Eccl. Pragensem Epistol. ap. Le Moyne Varia Sacra. tom. i. 294. Lugd. Bat. 1685. [Bodl.]
- CONSTANTIUS, Marcus Antonius, (i. e. Stephen Gardiner) Confutatio cavillationum quibus sacrosanctum Eucharistiæ sacramentum ab impiis Capernaitis impeti solet. Paris. 1552. [Bodl.]
- CONSTITUTIONES LEGATINÆ, fol. Paris. 1504. [Brit. Mus.]
- Provincial. in concil. Oxon. celebratæ, per Stephan. Cantuar. an. 1222 editæ. ad calc. Lyndewode. Oxoniæ 1679. [Bodl.]
- COPUS, Alanus, (i. e. Nicolas Harpsfeld) ^g Diall. 6. contra summi Pontif. &c. oppugnatores. Antwerp. 1566. [Ch. Ch.]
- CORNELIUS AGRIPPA, vide *Agrippa*.
- CORNELIUS Bitontinus, vide *Conciones Tridentinæ*.
- CORNELII Papæ Decretal. (Isidor.) ap. Mansi Concill. tom. i.
- CRABBE, Petr., vid. *Concilia*.
- CRINITUS, Petrus, de honesta Disciplina Libb. xxv. inter opera, Basil. 1532. [Ch. Ch.]
- CURTIUS, Quintus.
- CUSANUS, Nicolaus, Opp. Basil. 1565. (Jewel's ed.) [Bodl.] Harding, Detect. 410, denies that he wrote a book, "De auctoritate eccl. et concill. supra et contra Scripturas."
- CYNUS Pistoriensis, in Cod. et aliquot titulos primi Pandect. tomi Francof. a. M. 1578. [Bodl.]
- CYPRIANUS, S. Cæcilius, ep. Carthag. Opp. ed. Baluzius et mon. ord. S. Bened. Paris. 1726.
- CYPRIANUS, Pseudo; (leg. Arnoldus Carnotensis, ^h fl. A. D. 1162.)

^f [It is remarkable that the acts of this Synod were placed amongst the prohibited books by Paul IV., though he had himself been one of the cardinals who furnished the report to his prede-

cessor.]

^g [A particular account of this work will be found in Pitts. pp. 772. 780.]

^h [See vol. iii. p. 90.]

- de cardinalibus operibus Christi, ad calc. ed. Bened. Cypriani Opp.
- CYRILLUS, Alexandr. Opp. ⁱ ed. Aubert. tomm. vi. in vii. Lutet. 1638. [Ch. Ch.]
- Latinè, ^k tomm. iv. Basil. 1546. [Bodl.]
- in Leviticum, (est Origenis.) Vid. *Origen*.
- CYRILLUS Hierosolymitanus. Opp. cura mon. ord. S. Ben. Paris. 1720.
- DAMASCENUS, Johann., Opp. voll. 2. ed. Lequien. Paris. 1712. [Ch. Ch.]
- de Liturgia, ap. *Liturg. Vett. de Sainctes*. Paris. 1560.
- DAMASUS, Opp. 8vo. 1672. [Ch. Ch.]
- Epist. ad Hieron. ap. Crabb. Concil. tom. i.
- DANTE. See Flacii Illyr. Testes Veritatis, ed. 1608. p. 1763. [Bodl.]
- DECRETALES ^l epistol. Pseudo-Isidorianæ ap. Crabb. Concill.
- DECRETUM Gratiani. Corp. *Juris Canonici*, tom. i.
- DE SAINCTES *Liturgiæ* Vett. q. v.
- DIGESTUM Vetus. ff. (Corp. *Juris* Civil. tom. i. q. v.)
- NOVUM, ff. (Corp. *Juris* Civil. tom. iii. q. v.)
- DIO Cassius. Romanorum Histt. Libri xxv. ex Gul. Xylandri interpret. ed. H. Stephanus. Paris. fol. 1592. [Brit. Mus.]

ⁱ [Of the twelve books in S. Johann. fragments only of the 7th and 8th are extant; the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th, being missing, were forged in Latin by Clichtovæus; the originals of the 5th and 6th were subsequently discovered, and were published by Aubert in 1638. See Oudinus, tom. i. 1025. The reference in vol. ii. p. 308, is not to St. Cyril's works, but to Surius' edit. of the Councils, where the words will be found, tom. iv. p. 689. See vol. iv. p. 342.]

^k [This was the edition used by bishop Jewel. (See Def. Ap. vol. v. p. 278.) In one case, (vol. v. p. 217) the editor has used the Paris ed. of 1573, (Bodl.); the leaf being torn out in that of 1546.]

^l [As the principal strength of the church of Rome rests upon the forged Decretals, the work of Isidorus Mercator, or Peccator, in the 9th century, which was first published by Merlinus Concil. Coll. tom. i., the following list of them (taken from Oudinus, ii. 48) is subjoined for the convenience of the reader. The figures denote the number of Decretals forged.

Clemens Rom. 5	Sylvester 1
Anacletus 3	Ægypt. Episc. 1
Euaristus 2	Marcus 1
Alexander 3	Julius 2
Sixtus 2	Athanasius 2
Telesphorus. 1	Liberius 2
Hyginus 2	Felix II. 2
Pius 4	Damasus 8
Anicetus 1	S. Hieron. 1
Soter 2	Concil. African. 1
Eleutherius 1	Aurelius 1
Victor 2	Siricius 1
Zephyrinus 2	Anastasius 2
Callistus 2	Sixtus III. 1
Urbanus 1	Leo 1
Pontianus 2	Johanf. I. 2
Anterus 1	Felix IV. 2
Fabianus 3	Bonifacius II. 1
Cornelius 2	Johann. II. 1
Lucius 1	Agapetus 1
Stephanus 2	Silverius 2
Dionysius 2	Amator 1
Felix 3	Pelagius I. 1
Eutychianus 2	Johann. III. 1
Caius 1	Benedict. I. 1
Marcellinus 2	Pelagius II. 4
Marcellus 2	Gregorius I. 2
Eusebius 3	Felix ep. Sicil. 1
Melchiades 2	Deus-dedit 1
Concil. Nicen. 1	

- DIONYSIUS, Pseudo-Areopagita. ^m Opera, 3 voll. 8vo. ed. Morel. Paris. 1562. (Probably Jewel's edit.) [Ch. Ch.]
- DIONYSIUS Carthusianus, in 4 Evangell. Paris. 1542. [Bodl.]
- DISCIPULUS; i. e. Johann. Herold (ordin. Prædic.) Sermones de tempore, &c. 4to. Moguntiaë 1612. [Bodl.]
- DIST. i. e. Distinctio, vid. *Juris canonici corpus*.
- DÖRING, (or Thoryngus) Matthias, author of the Replicæ in Bibl. Lyran. Lugd. 1589. [Bodl.]
- DORMAN, THOS., A Proufe of certeyne Articles in Religion denied by M. Juell, &c. Antw. 1564. [Ch. Ch.]
- DRUTHMAR ⁿ, Christianus, Grammaticus, Expositio in S. Matth. in magna Bibliothec. Vett. Patr. tom. ix. Col. Agripp. 1618. [Bodl.]
- DUNS; vide *Johann. Scotus*.
- DURANDUS, sive Durantus, Rationale Divinorum Officiorum, Rom. 1519. [Bodl.]
- DURANDUS ^o, sive Durantus. (Guil. Speculator Episc. Mimatensis; son or grandson of the above,) De modo generalis Concil. celebrandi: Tractatus in generali Viennæ Concilio, Clem. V. Pont. Max. jussu editus. Lugd. 1531. [Bodl.]
- ECCLESIASTICÆ Historiæ Scriptores, ed. Gul. Reading post Henric. Valesium, tomm. iii. Cantab. 1720.
- Versio Lat. Musculi. Basil. 1549. (Perhaps the edition generally used by Bishop Jewel.) [Bodl.]
- ECKII Loci Communes, 12mo. Paris, 1549. [C. C. C. Oxon. Library.]
- EDWARDI I. (Confessoris) Leges inter Wilkins Leges Anglo-Saxonicas, fol. Lond. 1721. [Bodl.]
- EGESIPPUS, ap. Abdiam.
Egnatius, Baptista.
- ELEUTHERII Epistola ^p ad Lucium (spurious), Crabb. Concill. tom. i. et inter Leges Edwardi I. (Confessoris): Wilkins Leges Anglo-Saxonicae, p. 201. fol. Lond. 1721. [Bodl.]
- EMISSENUM Euseb. ^q

^m ["Worthy of much credit for his antiquity," Jewel, Replie, vol. ii. 437; the work, however, is not earlier than the 4th century, the date assigned by Pearson Vind.; or, as Oudin and others think, as late as the 6th.]

ⁿ [Druthmar; at Lambeth there is a copy (extremely rare) of an edition of A. D. 1514; to which belongs a curious literary history. See Mr. Maitland's catalogue of early printed books in

Lambeth Palace Library, p. 368.]

^o [The reference in Italics, vol. iv. 617, has been since verified.]

^p [This is a gross forgery; see Ussher and Stillfleet Origg. (ed. Panting), and Spelman's introduction to his History of the Councils.]

^q ["Justly suspected," Jewel, Replie, vol. iii. 100. Confessedly spurious.]

- ENCHIRIDION S. S., sive Manuale Biblicum. Francof. 1610. [Bodl. sub tit. *Biblia*.]
- ENNODIUS. Opp. cum notis Sirmondi, fol. Paris. 1611. [Bodl.]
- EPIPHANIUS, Episc. Constantiæ in Cypro. Opp. omnia, tomm. ii. ed. Petavius. Paris. 1622. [Bodl.]
Ejusdem opp. omnia ediderunt Petavius, Valesius. Coloniae, 1682. [Ch. Ch.]
Ejusdem Panarion (contra 80 Hæreses) Latine, J. Cornaro interprete, fol. Basil. 1560. [Bodl.]
Epistol. ad Johann. Hierosolym., inter opp. Hieronymi, tom. iv. 828.
- EPIPHANIUS Scholasticus, vide Cassiodori Hist. *Tripartita*, (which he translated.) [Bodl.]
- ERASMUS, Des., Rotterodamus, Opp. voll. ix. fol. Basil. 1540. [Bodl.]
— in Novum Testamentum annotationes, fol. Basil. 1555. [Bodl.]
- EUSEBIUS, Papa Romanus, (Epist. Pseudo-Decretal. Isidor.) ap. Crabb. Concill. tom. i. 215.
- EUSEBIUS *Emissenus*, q. v.
- EUSEBIUS Pamphilus Cæsariensis Episc. Historia *ecclesiastica*, (q. v.) ed. Reading, Valesius, tom. i. [Ch. Ch.]
Demonstratio Evangelica. Paris. 1628. ed. Morell. [Bodl.]
Præparatio Evangelica.
Ejusdem Chronicon, ed. Basil. 1536. [Brit. Mus.]
- EUTHYMIUS Zigabenus. Comm. in Quatuor Evangelia, voll. iv. 8vo. Lipsæ. 1792. [Bodl.]
- EUTROPIUS.
Appendix, (vide *Paul. Diaconus*.) [Bodl.]
- EUTYCHIANUS, Papa. Epist. (Pseudo-Decretal. Isidor.) ap. Crabb. Concill. tom. i. p. 175.
- EVAGRIUS Scholasticus. *Eccl. Hist.* ed. Reading—Valesius, vol. iii.
Ejusdem Versio Lat. per Musculum, Frob. Basil. 1549. [Bodl.]
- EXAMEN Bullæ papalis Innoc. X.: accedunt Scholia ad Bullas Urbani VIII., &c. auctore Johan. Hoornbeeck, 4to. Ultraj. 1653. [Bodl.]
- EXTRA, i. qu. Decretal. vid. *Juris Canonici Corpus*, tom. ii.
- EXTRAVAGANTES communes, vide *Juris Canonici Corp.* tom. iii.
— Johannis XXII., *ibid.*
- FABIANUS, Papa. Decret. (Pseudo-Isidoriana.)
- FABRI Guid. Oratio in Concil. Trident., vid. *Orationes Tridentinæ*.

- FABRICIUS, Jo. Montanus. Oratio contra Concil. Trident. 4to. Basil. 1562. [Bodl.]
- FAGIUS, sive Phagius, Paulus, Targum Onkelos. Argentor. 1546. [Bodl.]
- FASCICULUS temporum, (vid. *Werner.*) Paris. 1523. [Bodl.]
- rerum expendarum ac fugiendarum, ed. per Orth. Gratium, Col. 1535.
Tomus secundus, sive Append. ed. Edv. Brown. fol. Lond. 1690. [Bodl.]
- FELINUS Sandeus Ferrariensis, supra Decretal. Comm. voll. ii. Lugd. 1587. [Bodl.]
- FELIX, Papa IV., Decretal. Pseudo-Isidor. ap. Crabb. Concill. ff. r i. e. Digest. sive Pandectæ, vide *Juris Civilis Corp.* tom. i. ii. iii.
- FISHER Roffensis. Opera, Wirceburg. 1597. [Bodl.]
- FLACIUS, Illyricus, (Matthias Francowitz), Catalogus Testium veritatis contra Papam, 2 voll. 4to. Lugd. 1597. [Bodl.]
Nova editio, cura Sim. Goulartii. Genevæ, 1608. [Bodl.]
Nova editio. Francof. 1672. [Ch. Ch.]
- Protestatio concionatorum aliquot Augustan. adv. conventum Tridentinum, 4to. 1563. [Bodl.]
- Norma Concilii, ad calcem Protestationis s.
- De Sectis, 1565. (Jewel's edit.) [Bodl.]
- FLAVIANUS ad Leonem, inter Cotelerii Eccl. Græc. monumenta, tom. iii. [Bodl.]
- FLORENTINUS, Archidiaconus, cited by Felinus
- FLORETUS †, cum commentario Gersoni, 1499. [Brit. Mus.]
- FORTALITIUM fidei^u. Ludg. 1525. [Bodl.]
- FRANCISCUS, Assiss. Epist. ad sacerdotes ordinis sui: Opuscul. in tom. i. Bibl. eccl. de la Bigne, p. 976. [Bodl.]
- Franciscus de Maron.*
- FRANCISCUS Petrarcha; vid. *Petrarch.*
- FRANCISCUS Zephyrus, in Apologet. Tertulliani, [vol. vi. 166. the work has been found, but not the passage.]
- FRISINGENSIS Otho, (vid. *Otho.*)

† [This symbol ff is a corruption of the Greek letter π, used by old law writers as the abbreviation of πινδύκται.]

^s [Vol. v. p. 531, the reference now verified; as also the two in p. 532.]

† [See infra, vol ii. p. 386. The references in Italics in vol. i. pp. 288 and 413, and in vol. ii. 83. are quite correct. There are two copies of Flore-

tus in Douce's library at the Bodl. under the name of St. Bernard.]

^u [It seems uncertain, whether this was written by Totanus, or by B. de Spina; probably by the latter, and commented upon by the former; written after 1459: its first ed. was printed 1494 Norimberg.]

- FULGENTIUS. Opp. Paris. 1623. [Ch. Ch.]
- FULGOSUS. De dictis et factis memorabilibus, 12mo. Basil. 1541. [Brit. Mus.]
- FURIUS FR. Cœriolanus. Bononia, i. e. Colloquia cum Bononia Rectore Lovan. ; de libris sacris in vernaculam linguam convertendis, libb. ii. (ed. princ. Basil. 1556.) Lugd. Bat. 1819. [Bodl.]
- GAGUINUS, Rob., Rerum Gallicarum Annales, Franc. a. M. 1577. [Bodl.]
- GALENUS, Adagia, in Epitom. Adagiorum Erasmi et aliorum : 8vo 1593. [Bodl.]
- GALFRIDUS Monumetensis.
- GALLUS, Nicolaus ; vid. *Nicolaus*^x.
— Robertus.
- GARDINER, Steph., " De vera obedientia," translated, and Bonner's Preface ; appended by W. Stevens to his life of G. Bradford. [Bodl.]
- GELASIUS Papa. Opp. in Bibl. Patr. Colon. 1618. et ap. Mansi Concill. tom. viii.
— contra Eutych. in Routhii Opuscul. ii. 139. et in Bibl. Patr. tom. v. part. 3, p. 671. [Bodl.]
- GEMBLACENSIS, Sigebertus.
- GENNADIUS ^y, epistola ad omnes Metropolitanos et ad Papam Romanum, inter Monum. S. Patrum Orthodoxographa ed. Grynæo, p. 46. fol. Basil. 1569. [Bodl.]
- GENTIANUS Hervetus in *Germani Theoria*, qu. v.
- GEORGIUS Patriarch. in vita Johan. Chrysostomi, inter Opp. Chrysost. ed. Savill. tom. viii. p. 161.
- GERALDUS (l. Gyraldus) Lilius Ferrar. Historia Poetarum. 8vo. Ferrariæ, 1541. [Bodl.]
- GERARDUS Lorichius. Vide *Lorichius*.
- Gerbellius Nic. Pfortshemius*, sive *Phorcensis*.
- GERMANUS Constantin. Patriarch. ^z Rer. eccl. Theoria : ap. *Liturg. Vett. Cl. de Sainctes*, qu. v. p. 97.
- GERSON, J. ^a Cancell. univ. Paris. Opp. tomm. iv. Paris. 1606. [Bodl.]
Ejusd. Comm. in *Floretum*, qu. v.
- GHSNERUS, in Epitome. ^b

^x [The reference in Italics in vol. v. 530, has been since verified in the Protestatio contr. conv. Trident.]

^y [Gennadius was the real author of the work " De Eccl. Dogmat." attributed to St. Augustine.]

^z [There were two Patriarchs of Constantinople bearing this name ; the one

died 740, the other 1254. The Theoria (much interpolated) is probably by the latter. Cave.]

^a [Vol. ii. 243. The passage quoted is in Fest. Pasch. serm. i. tom. iv. p. 491 d.]

^b [The editor has not discovered any work under this title.]

Gigas Hermannus.

GILDAS.

GRAY Thomas, *Scala Cronica*. [See the catalogue of C. C. C. C. and the anagram there described of this name. The editor has seen the MS. and thinks it probable that this is the work quoted by Jewel, *Def. Apol.* vol. vi. p. 6; but the handwriting is so difficult to read, that he is unable to speak with certainty.]

GREGORIUS I. Magnus c. *Opera*, per monach. ord. S. Bened. 4 voll. fol. Paris. 1705.

GREGORIUS Haimburgensis. *Appellatio*^d pro parte Sigismundi ducis Austriæ, (in which is inserted) *Confutatio primatus Papæ*, ante annos 120 script. nunc primum edit. in *Antilogia Papæ*. Basil. (8vo.) 1555. [Bodl. Brit. Mus.]

GREGORIUS Nazianzenus. *Opp.* tom. i. per monach. ord. S. Bened. e Paris. 1778. tom. ii. ed. Caillau. Paris. 1840.

GREGORIUS Neocæsariensis sive *Thaumaturgus*: in *Concill. Labbe.* tom. i. [i. 230.]

GREGORIUS Nysenus. *Opera* per monach. ord. S. Bened. tomm. iii. 1638.

----- Paris. sumptibus Morell. tomm. iii. 1638.

GREGORIUS Presbyter. *Vita Nazienzeni*; *Opp. Nazianzeni* Bened. ed. præfixa.

GROPPER of Cologne, de *Eucharistia*, Colon. 1560. [Bodl.]

GULIELMUS, Abb. *De vita solitaria*: inter *Bernardi Opera* ed. Bened.

GULIELMUS Neubrigiensis, *De rebus Anglicis* libb. v. 8vo. Paris. 1610. [Bodl.]

GULIELMUS Haffliginensis (sive *Affliginensis*), auth. of *Regula S. Bened.* still in MS. vid. *Fabricii inf. et med. Lat.*

HAFFLIGINENSIS, (vide *Gulielmus*.)

HAIMO sive Haymo in *Epist. S. Pauli*. 1534. [Bodl.]

HAIMBURGENSIS. Vide *Gregorius Haimburg*.

HALES, Alexander. Vide *Alexander de Ales*.

HALOANDER, Greg. *Novellas Constitt.* Græce edidit. Paris. 1553. [Bodl.]

HELMOLDUS. *Chronica Slavorum*, 4to. Francof. 1556. [Bodl.]

Henricus Hertfordiensis.

c [Vol. ii. 131. The quotation from St. Gregory is in the *Catena aurea*.]

d [For this work he was excommunicated by Pius II.]

e [This volume is the last of the old series of Benedictine editions, which was interrupted by the French revolution.]

HERMANNUS Contractus. De sex mundi ætatibus, vol. xi. p. 273.
Magn. Bibl. vet. Patrum.

Hermannus Gigas.

HERVÆUS Natalis ^f, ord. frat. Prædic. et in Theol. Profess. quondam etiam ejusdem ordinis Generalis et magister, natione Brito de infer. Britannia. De potestate papali et regia; (bound up in one vol. with Johann. Paris. on the same subject, 1506.) [Lambeth Library.]

HESYCHIUS, sive Isychius, Presbyt. Hierosolym. In Leviticum libb. vii. Basil. 1527. [Bodl.]

HIERONYMUS, S. Stridonensis ^g. Opera, per monach. ord. S. Bened. voll. v. fol. Paris. 1693—1706.

— per Erasmus. voll. ix. fol. Basil. 1526. [Bodl.]

HIGDENUS, Ranulphus, vid. *Ranulfus.*

HILARII Legenda, in *Legenda aurea* Hist. 16. (qu. v.)

HILARIUS Pictav. Opera, cura monach. ord. S. Bened. fol. Par. 1693.

— ed. Froben. Erasm. Basil. 1550^h. (Jewel's edition.) [Ch. Ch.]

HINCMARUS Remensis. Opera. voll. ii. fol. Lut. Paris. 1645. [Bodl.]

HIPPOLYTUS. De Antichristo, Opera. Hamburg. 1716. [Brit. Mus.]

— De consumm. mundi. Paris. 1557. [Bodl.]

HOLCOT, sive Holcottus, Robertus ⁱ, ordin. Prædic. Theol. Professor in Academia Oxoniensi, 1349. In libr. Sapientiam Prælectiones ccxiii. 1586. [Ch. Ch. Hyp.]

HONORII rescriptum ad Bonifacium: ap. Mansi Concill. tom. iv.

HORMISDAS Papa. Ad episcop. Hisp. Epist. ap. Crabb. Concill. tom. I. [Bodl.]

HOSIUS, Stanisl. Cardinal., Opera, 2 voll. fol. Colon. 1584. [Bodl.]

also ed. 1562. Paris. (for the later references.) [Ch. Ch. Hyp.]

— Confessio Cathol. Fidei in synod. provinciali Petrikoviæ (A. D. 1551.) Posnaniæ 1557. [Bodl.]

HOSTIENSIS (Henric. de Segusio, Cardinalis), Summa Aurea, Lugd. 1588. [Bodl.]

Ejusdem super Decretal. comment. tomm. ii. Venet. 1581. [Bodl.]

HOVEDEN, Rogerus de. Annales, inter Rer. Anglic. Scriptores post Bedam præcipuos. fol. Franc. 1601. [Bodl.]

Hugo de Potest. Eccl.

^f [See Mr. Maitland's catalogue. The references in Italics, infra vol. iv. pp. 282, 372, have now been verified in the Lambeth copy.]

^g [Vol. iii. 361 and 372: the reference should be to Ps. xcvi. tom. ii. 377.]

^h [The ed. used in vol. v. p. 71 of the present ed. was Froben. Basil. 1535. Bodl.]

ⁱ [The reference in vol. ii. 243 should be to Lectio 190, p. 624.]

- HUGO^k de Sancto Charo; Ord. Præd. Cardinal. (fl. 1245^l.) Postilla super 4. Evangel. in Operum tomm. v. vi. editit Coburger. Basil. 1503. (Amersbach et Froben.) [Merton Coll. library,] in which copy vol. vi. is missing. The references to the epistles have been verified in the ed. of 1533, vol. vi. [Bodl.]
- Speculum ecclesiæ^m, Lovan. J. de Westfalia s. a. (bound in one vol. with Butrio, Speculum de Confessione.) [Bodl. Auctarium.]
- HUGO de Sto Victore; Canon. regular. Lateran. Opera. tomm. iii. Venet. 1588. [Bodl.]
- HULDERICUS Ep. Augustan. (fl. 860). Ad Nicolam Papam de Continentia epistola. ap. Joann. Wolf. Lect. Memor. tomm. ii. fol. Francof. 1671. (tom. i. p. 241.) [Cler. Lending Library, London.]
- HUMBERTUS. Contra libell. Nicetæ Monach. ap. *Cassandrum* de Liturg. p. 69. qu. v.
- IGNATIUS S. Epistolæ: inter *Patr. Apostol.* ed. Russell.
- ILLYRICUS. Vide *Flacius*.
- INFORTIATUM ff: *Juris Civilis Corporis*, tom. ii. q. v.
- INNOCENTIUS Papa I.ⁿ Epistolæ, Mansi tom. iii.
- INNOCENTIUS III. Opp. Colon. 1575. [Bodl.]
- et in Mansi Concill. tom. xxii.
- IRENÆUS, S. Lugdun. episc.^o Opera, studio D. Massuet. ord. S. Bened. fol. Paris. 1710.
- fol. Basil. 1560. [Bodl.]
- ISIDORUS. In Concilia præfatio; ap. Crabb. tom. i. p. 2. [Bodl.]
- ISIDORUS, Episc. Hispal. De eccl. offic. libb. ii. ap. Ferrarium de Cath. eccl. divin. off. fol. Rom. 1591. [Bodl.]
- Ivo, De divinis officiis: ap. *Cassandrum*, q. v.
- JACOBUS S. Liturgia: inter *Liturgg.* Vett. de Saintes, qu. v. *Jacobus Andrea*.
- JACOBUS de Valentia. Vide *Valentia*.
- JACOBUS *Nanclantus*, sive *Naclantus*, qu. v.
- JACOBUS Payva. Vide *Payva*.
- Joachimus Abbas*.
- JODOCUS Clichtoveus; vide *Clichtoveus*.
- JOHAN. Angelus. Vide *Angelus*.

^k [This Hugo is remarkable for having been the first to sanction the festival of Corpus Christi day, on account of the dream of Juliana. Cave.]

^l [The reference in vol. i. 212 has since been verified; in Postilla tom. vi.]

^m [The reference in vol. i. 216 has

been verified.]

ⁿ [Most of the earlier epistles attributed to Innocent I. are considered spurious. Cave.]

^o [Vol. ii. 84, the passage referred to is the same as that alleged in vol. iii. 385; where, however, see the note.]

JOHAN. Brentius. Vide *Brentius*.

JOHAN. de Parisiis; vide *Parisiis*.

JOHANN. Sarisburiensis, (vid. *Camotensis*) Polycraticus, sive de nugis curialium. [Bodl. Douce. s. l. et a.]

JOHAN. Scotus, vide *Scotus*.

JOHAN. Stella Venetus; vide *Stella*.

JOHAN. Vitalis; vide *Vitalis*.

JOSEPHUS. Antiquit.

JOVIUS, Paulus, Nov. Episc. Historiæ sui temporis. Lutetia, 1553. [Bodl.]

JOVERIUS, An Abridgment of Councils. Paris. 1555. [Ch. Ch. Hyper.]

JULIANUS Antonius °: in Postilla majori.

JULIUS Papa I. Epist. inter Opp. S. Athanasii, et ap. Crabb. Concill.

JULIUS Capitolinus. Romanorum aliquot Imperat. Vitæ inter Scriptt. Hist. Roman.

JURIS Civilis Corpus. Lugd. 1531. in voll. v. [Ch. Ch.]

ff. i. e. Digest. sive Pandect.	{	Vetus, Lib. i.—xxiii. tom. i.
		Infortiatum, lib. xxiv.—xxxviii. tom. ii.
		Novum, Lib. xxxix.—l. tom. iii.

Codex, lib. i.—ix. tom. iv.

Volumen. Codex, lib. x.—xii. (authent. sive Novellæ,) tom. v.

JURIS Canonici Corpus, tomm. iii. Lugd 1572.

—— Paris. 1561.

—— Paris. 1612P.

—— Ed. Richter, 2 voll. 4to. Lips. 1839.

As bishop Jewel makes great use of the canon law, it may be acceptable to the general reader to know something of its contents.

Vol. i. Decretum; Decretum Gratiani, in three parts, (originally appeared, according to Richard, *Analys. Concill.*, A. D. 1151; according to others about 1189.)

Vol. ii. Extra, or Decretales; Five books of Decretals of Gregory IX., under the five following heads:—Judex, Judicium, Clerus, Connubia, Crimen; hence it is sometimes called Pentateuchus.

Vol. iii. a. Sextus: so called, because added to the five books of Extra: supplies additional decrees of Gregory IX., and other popes down to Boniface VIII.

° [Infra, vol. i. 390, note.]

P [This ed. (which the editor has used in voll. v. and vi, where the page is given

to the reference) is of no use, when notes in the margin are referred to.]

- b. Clementinæ : Decrees of Clement V. &c. (promulgated by John XXII.)
- c. Extravagantes Joannis XXII : his letters.
- d. Extravagantes communes : other popes' letters.

To these were added, *Septimus Decretalium*, 1491, by Petrus Matthæus.

Those edd. are most valuable, which contain the Glosses and the margins complete. Richter's ed., though in other respects valuable, is deficient in this.

The mode of quoting from the canon law is as follows :—

- i. Gratiani Decretum :—1st. part thus ; Dist. 32. Presbyter ; i. e. the canon which begins with the word *Presbyter*, and which is found under the 32. *Distinction*.
2nd part thus ; XII. Quæst. 1. Quoniam ; that is, the canon which begins with the word *Quoniam Causa XII. quæst. 1.*
3rd part thus ; Dist. de Con. or De consec. Nemo ; that is, the canon beginning with *Nemo*, in the 3rd Part, which treats of Consecration.
- ii. Extra.—thus ; 2. extra, or (more commonly omitting the number,) Extra De restitutione spoliatorum : Sollicite : i. e. the chapter *sollicite*, the 2nd *Extra*, i. e. Gregory IX. decretals, lib. 2. under the title, “ De restitutione spoliatorum.”
- iii. a. Sextus.—thus ; in 6to : De Decimis Discretioni : i. e. the chapter beginning “ discretioni ;” title, *de decimis*, in the 6th book of Decretals.
b. In Clem. cap. unico de Homicidio.
c. Extrav. Joan. XXII. De præbendis et dignitatibus, cap. Execrabilis.
d. Extrav. commun. De sepulchris : Super Cathedram.

JUSTINIANUS Imper. Vide Corpus *Juris Civilis*, et *Haloandri Novellas*.

JUSTINUS, S. Martyr. Opera, studio Monach. Ord. S. Ben. Par. 1742.

KEMNITIUS, Martinus ; vide *Chemnitius*.

LABEO : in *Juris Civilis* tom. iii.

LACTANTIUS⁹. Bibl. Patr. de la Bigne, tom. ix. Paris. 1689. [Bodl.] *Lambertus Schaffnaburgensis*.

LAMPRIIDIUS, Ælius. Inter Augustæ Historiæ Scriptores vi. Paris. 1603. [Bodl.]

LANFRANCUS, Cantuar. Opera. Paris. 1648.

⁹ [Vol. iii. 254, insert in the margin, “ Lactantius de origine erroris cap. 2.”]

- LANFRANCUS. Dialogus in MS. C. C. C. C. vid. *Offendiculum sacerdotum*.
- LATERANENSE Concil. Crabb. Concill. Tom. ii.
- LATOMUS, Bartholomæus. Refutatio calumniosarum insectationum Bucerii. 1546. [Bodl.]
Ejusdem Respons. ad Epist. Bucerii, in script. adversar. B. Latomi et M. Bucerii: Argentor. 1544. [Bodl.]
- LAURENTIUS Valla, vide *Valla*.
- LAVATERUS, Ludovicus, Tigurinus: in libr. Proverb. comm. Tiguri 1562. [Bodl.]
- LEGATIO Adriani Papæ, vide *Adrian. VI.*
- LEGATINÆ, vid. *Constitutiones*.
- LEGENDA aurea, vid. *Longobardica Historia*.
— Hilarii; vide *Hilarius*.
- LEO I. Opp. ^r Le Quien, tomm. ii. Paris. 1678.
- LEO X. Bulla, in Concil. Lateran.
- LEONICUS sive Leonicensus, Nicolaus. De varia Historia, 4to. Basil. 1531. [Bodl.]
- LIBERATUS, Archidiaconus eccl. Carthag. Breviarium. Paris. 1675. [Ch. Ch.]
- LIBERIUS Pap. Epist. ad Athanasium (Pseudo-Isidor.) inter Athan. Opera, (ed. Ben.) ii. 668.
- LILIUS *Geraldus*, q. v.
- LINWOOD, vide *Lyndewode*.
- LIPOMANUS, Aloys. Veronensis. Historiæ de Vitis Sanctorum, 1565. [Ch. Ch.]
- LITURGIE Veteres, S. Jacobi, S. Basil., S. Chrysostomi, Græce et Latine ed. Cl. de Sainctes^s. Paris. 1560. [Ch. Ch.]
— vide *Cassander*.
- LITURGIARUM Orientalium Collectio, opera Eusebii Renaudot, 2 voll. 4to. Paris. 1716. [Bodl.]
- LOMBARDUS, P. Magister Sententiarum,
- LONGOBARDICA Historia, alio nomine Legenda Aurea sive Speculum Sanctum, auctore Jac. de Voragine, [fl. A.D. 1290.]
Daventræ An. 1479. per Richard Poffrard. Colon. civem. [Bodl.]
- LORICHIUS, Gerardus Hadamarius ^t. De missa publica proroganda

^r [Vol. i, p. 146, insert between the brackets tom. i. 637.]

^s [The Lat. version was by Leo Tuscus.]

^t [After a fruitless search in public libraries and in those of colleges, this extremely rare volume has, with Mr.

Maitland's kind assistance, been discovered in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth. The following passages have been verified: vol. i. 216. [Lorich. lib. ii. c. 3, p. 214: Dictum est missam esse communionem, quæ &c.]: vol. i. 353. [Lorich. lib. ii. p. 177, except a few

- racemationum libri tres : cum diversarum hæreseων erroribus, et superstitionum omnigenum abusionibus tollendis, &c.. In fine, "Excusum impensis auctoris mense Septembri 1536." Oct. [Lambeth.]
- LUDOVICUS : in Norma Concil. ^u vid. *Flacius*.
- LUDOVICUS Patritius Romanus. Navigationes Æthiop., &c. in novo Orbe *Grynæi*, q. v. [Bodl.]
- LUDOVICUS Vives ; vid. *Vives*.
- LUDULPHUS. Vita Christi, fol. Argentor. 1483. [Ch. Ch.]
- LUITPRANDUS Ticinensis. Rerum gestarum per Europam libri sex. 1514. [Bodl.]
- LUPOLDUS de Babenberg. De jure regni et imperii Romani. Argentor. 1603. [Bodl.]
- LUTHER. Opera omnia, Germanice, ed. Walch.
- LYNDEWODE, Gul. Constitutiones Angliæ, cum annot. Joh. de Athona, fol. Oxon. 1679. [Bodl.]
- LYRA, Nicolaus. Biblia Sacra, cum Glossa ordinaria, &c. tomm. vi. fol. Lugd. 1589. [Bodl.]
- MACHIAVEL, in Historia.
- MACROBIUS, Aurel. Opera.
- MAGISTRIS, Johannes de, corrected by Harding to Martinus, infr. vol. v. 318.
- MAJOR, Joannes, in 4tum Sententiarum Quæstiones: ap. Joann. Duns Scotum, fol. Paris. 1516. et Paris. 1519. [Bodl.]
- MALMESBURIENSIS, Willielmus, De gestis regum Anglorum, ap. Rerum Anglican. Scriptores post Bedam, ed. H. Saville. Franc. 1601.
- MAMMOTRECTUM, sive Mammotrepton, a work by *Marchesinus* (q. v.) designed to teach ignorant monks how to read and pronounce, and understand the Latin of their Bibles. Zedl. Universal-Lexicon.
- MANARDINUS, Marsilius. De transl. imp. : ap. Monarch. Rom. imp. tom. iii. Francof. 1621. [Bodl.]
- MANIPULUS Curatorum, auctore Guidone de Monte Rocherii. Lovan. 1552, [Bodl. sub tit. Monte Rocher.]
- MANSI, Concill. voll. xxxi. Florent. 1759-98. [Bodl.]
- MANTUANUS, vid. *Baptista*.
- words omitted, correct] : vol. i. 384. [Lorich. lib. ii. c. 3. p. 214.] : vol. ii. 435. [Lorich. p. 278] : ii. 436, [Lorich. p. 279.] : ii. 443. [Lorich. pp. 279, 280.] : iii. 119. [Lorich. p. 283.] : iii. 126. [Lorich. p. 283.] : iii. 205. [Lorich. p. 280.] : iii. 326. [Lorich. p. 120] : iv. 193. [Lorich. lib. ii. p. 177.] : v. 62. [Lorich. lib. ii. c. 3. p. 214.]
- ^u [The references in vol. v. 532, 557. are correct.]

- MANUALE, ad usum Ebor. W. de Worde, 1509. [Bodl.]
- MARCELINUS, Ammianus, vid. *Ammianus*.
- MARCELLUS, epist. Pseudo-Isidor. ap. Crabb.
- MARCHESINUS, Joann. ord. Minor. Rhegii natus, fl. a. d. 1300, aut secund. alios 1450. Author of Mammotrepton.
- MARCUS Ephesius; in Liturg. comment. ap. *Litt. Vett. De Sainctes*: Paris. 1560.
- MARCUS Antonius Constantius: vide *Constantius*.
- Margarita*.
- MARIALE, vid. *Bernardin. de Busto*.
- MARIANUS Scotus monach. Fuld. Chronica; cum epist. dedic. ad Reg. Elizabeth. Basil. 1559. [Bodl.]
- MARINARIUS Antonius. Oratio habita in concil. Trident. 1546. Inter *Conciones* Trident. Lov. 1567. [Bodl.]
- MARIUS Victorinus; vid. *Victorinus*.
- Maron, Franciscus de*.
- MARSILIUS Manardinus Patavinus; vid. *Manardinus*.
- MARTIALIS, ad Burdegalenses Epist. (spuria) ap. Crabb.
- MARTINUS Polonus, Supputationes Pontiff. et Imp. Roman.: ad calcem *Mariani* Scoti, q. v. [Bodl.]
- Ejusdem Chronici Continuatio: in Corp. Hist. med. ævi a Georgio Eccardo. Lips. 1723. [Bodl.]
- MASSÆUS. Chronica. fol. Antv. 1540. [Bodl.]
- MATTHÆUS Hieromonachus. Comm. atque versio Græca ad Donationem Constantini. 4to. typ. Gotthardi Voegelini, s. a. [Bodl.]
- MATTHÆUS a Michoria ap. *Novum Orbem* Grynæi. 1737. [Bodl.]
- MATTHÆUS Paris. Historia Major: fol. Lond. 1640. [Bodl.]
- MATTHÆUS Palmer; vid. *Palmerius*.
- MATTHÆUS Westmonasteriensis. Flores historiarum. Lond. 1570. [Bodl.]
- MAXENTIUS. Ad Epistol. Hormisdæ Responsio: Bibl. Mag. Patr. tom. vi. pt. i. 376.
- MAXIMUS. Scholia in Dionys. eccl. Hierarch. ad calc. Dionys. Areop. vol. iii. Morell. Paris. 1562. [Ch. Ch.]
- MELTIADES Papa. Epist. ad Episc. Hisp. (Pseudo-Isidor.)
- MEMORIALE Historiarum. MS. in Jewel's possession.
- MERCURIUS Trismegistus. Asclepius, a Lucio Apuleio Medaurensi in Latin. conversus. Lond. 1611. [Bodl.]
- METHONENSIS, Nic. In Liturg. Comment. ap. *Liturg. Vett. de Sainctes*. Paris. 1560. [Ch. Ch.]
- Michael Væhe*.
- MICROLOGUS, ap. *Cassandrum*. Col. 1559. [Bodl.]

- MIRANDOLA, Picus. Vid. *Picus*.
- MORE, sir Thos. Works. Lond. 1557. [Bodl.]
- MUSCULUS, Wolfgang. In Joann. Evangel. Comment. fol. Basil. 1580. [Bodl.]
- NANCLANTUS, sive Naclantus, Jacobus^u. Episc. Clugiensis. 2 voll. fol. Ven. 1567. [Sion Coll. and Bodl.]
- NATALIBUS, Petrus de. Catalogus Sanctorum. fol. Lugd. 1542. [Bodl.]
- NAUCLERUS, (Præp. Tubing.) Chronica usque ad ann. 1500. Colon. 1579. [Bodl.]
- NAZIANZENUS. See *Gregorius Naz.*
- NEUBRIGIENSIS, Gul. De rebus Anglicis libb. 5. 8vo. Paris. 1610. [Bodl.]
- Νεαρῶν Ἰουστινιανοῦ, κ. τ. λ. Τοῦ Γρηγορίου Ἀλοάνδρου ἐξηγητοῦ. 8vo. Paris. 1553. [Bodl.]
- NICEPHORUS Callistus, tomm. ii. Paris. 1630. [Ch. Ch.]
- et Antv. 1560^x. [Bodl.]
- NICEPHORUS Gregorius. Byzant. Hist. Basil. 1562. [Brit. Mus.]
- NICETAS Choniates. Historia. fol. Basil. 1557. [Bodl.]
- NICOLAUS Papa I. Epist. ap. Crabb. Concill. tom. ii. et ap. Mansi, tom. xv.
- NICOLAUS de Clavengiis, vid. *Clemangis*.
- NICOLAUS Gallus^y, (superintendens Ratispon.) Associated with Fl. Illyricus in several works.
- Nicolaus Gerbellius*.
- NICOLAUS Leonicensus, vid. *Leonicus*.
- NICOLAUS Lyra, vid. *Lyra*.
- NIEM, Theodoricus, vid. *Theodoricus*.
- NILUS Thessalon. De Primatu Papæ libb. duo ex Bibl. Vatican. Bonaventura Vulcanio Interpret. Lugd. Bat. 1595. [Bodl.]
- NORMA Concilii, vid. *Flacius*.
- NOVATIANUS de Trinitate, ad calc. Opp. Tertullian.
- NOVELLÆ Constitutiones Græce, ed. Haloander. [Bodl.]

^u [This is the same as the bishop named, infra vol. vi. 305, as Nachiantes bishop of Chioea (Chozza.) The Editor had failed to discover this author under the name of Nanclantus, as Jewel spells it; but by the kindness of the Rev. J. E. Tyler he was referred to a copy in Sion college; since which he has found the same edition in the Bodleian. The passages, vol. iii. 258. vol.

iv. 136. and vi. 296, are quoted quite correctly.]

^x [This edition was used infra, vol. vi. p. 100.]

^y [The passage quoted by bp. Jewel, infra vol. v. p. 530, will be found in Flacii Protestatio concionatorum adv. Convent. Trident. prefixed to his Norma Concilii, and also in the title page of the Norma.]

NOVUS Orbis, per Grynæum. Basil. 1537. [Bodl.]

NYSSENUS, vid. *Gregorius Nyss.*

OCCAM, Gul. de. Super 4 libros Sententiarum.

ECUMENIUS. In Nov. Test. fol. Paris. 1631. [Bodl.]

OFFICINA, sive Theatrum poeticum 1600. Vid. *Ravisius Textor.*
[Bodl. Douce.]

OFFENDICULUM Sacerdotum. Dialog. MS. *Anselmi Cantuar.* q. v.
[inter MSS. C. C. C. C.]

OLYMPIODORUS. In Ecclesiasten, Zenobio Acciaiuolo Florent. inter-
pret. fol. Basil. 1536. [Bodl.]

ONUPHRIUS Panvinus, Epitome Pontiff. Roman. ap. Platinam, fol.
Ven. 1557. [Bodl.]

OPTATUS, contra Donatistas, ed. Dupin. [Bodl.]

ORATIONES Tridentinæ. 1562. [Bodl. Th. 4to. A 28.]

— et, per Dudithium. Offenbach, 1610. [Bodl.]

ORATIO Guid. Fabri, Carol. Reg. Gall. oratoris, ad Patres Tri-
dentinos. Brixia, 1562. In *Orationibus Tridentinis* in Bodl.
No. 31.

ORICHOVIUS Stanislaus. Chimæra. Colon. 1563. [Bodl.]

ORIENTALIUM Epist. ad Julium, inter S. Athan. Opera, ed. Bened.
tom. ii.

ORIGENES. Opp. omnia. tomm. IV. ed. Bened. fol. 1733. [Bodl.]

— et, ed. Frob. Erasm. Basil. 1557. (Jewel's ed.) [Ch. Ch.]

— et, ed. Erasm. Basil. 1545, tomm. iv. (used infra, vol. v.
298.) [Brit. Mus.]

OSTIENSIS, v. *Hostiensis.*

OTHO Imperator, ad Joann. xiii. z ap. *Annal. eccl. Sigis. Callas.* fol.
1756. [Brit. Mus.]

OTHO et Othobonus Cardinales. *Constitutiones Legatinæ*; ap. Con-
stitt. provinc. Gul. *Lyndewode*, q. v. [Bodl.]

OTHO Frisingensis. *Chronicon.* Basil. 1569. [Bodl.]

PACHYMERES, inter Opera Dionys. Pseudo-Areopagita. vol. ii. ed.
Svo. Morell. Paris. 1561. (Jewel's edit.) [Ch. Ch.]

PAGNINI Versio Lat. S. *Bibl.* q. v.

PALMERIUS, Matthæus, Florentinus. *Eusebii Chronic. Continuator,*
in eodem vol. 1538. [Brit. Mus.]

— et, Basil. 1542. [Bodl.]

PANDECTÆ, i. qu. Digest. generally cited as ff, which is a corruption
of π', i. e. *πανδέκται.* See *Juris Civilis Corpus*, voll. i. ii. iii.

z [The reference, infra vol. v. 355, has been verified, *Annal. Eccl.* tom. ii. 419.]

- PANORMITANUS, Tudesca, abbas ^a. Lugd. 1586. [Bodl.]
Pantaleo.
- PARALEIPOMENA *Urspergensis*, q. v. Basil. 1569. [Bodl.]
 — et, Argentor. (Jewel's edit.) 1537. [Brit. Mus.]
- PARIS. Universit. Appellatio, vid. *Appellatio*.
- PARISIENSIS, Angelus, vid. *Angelus*.
- PARISIIS, Joannes de ^b. De Potestate Regia et Papali, ap. Goldasti
 Monarch. tom. ii. 108. Francof. 1614: et in ed. 1621. tom. iii.
 [Bodl.]
- PASCHASIUS Radbertus. De Corpore et Sanguine Domini. 8vo. Co-
 lon. 1550. [Bodl.]
- PATRES Apostolici, cura Ric. Russel. voll. ii. 8vo. Lond. 1746.
- PATRIARCH., Georgius, vid. *Georgius*.
- PATRICIUS Romanus *Ludovicus*, q. v.
- PAULINUS, S. Pontius Meropius, episc. Nolanus. Opera ^c. vol. ii.
 4to. Paris. 1685. [Ch. Ch.]
 — Vita Ambrosii, inter opp. Ambros.
- PAULUS Æmilius. Vid. *Æmilius*.
- PAULUS Jovius, vid. *Jovius*.
- PAULUS III. Papa, ad Carolum V. Epistola *ἐπιτιμητική*. Inter Dudithei
Orationes in Concil. Trident. habitas, &c. Offenbach, 1610. [Bodl.]
- PAULUS Diaconus, Aquileg. Winfrid. Historiæ Miscellæ, libb. xxiv.
 (An edition and continuation of Eutropius.) Basil. 1569. [Bodl.]
- PAYVA, Jacobus ^d. Colon. 1564. (Jewel's edit.) [Bodl.]
- PECKHAM, Constitutiones: in *Lyndewode* Provinciali, q. v.
- PELAGIUS II. Epist. Crabb. tom. ii.
- PERESIUS, Martinus. De Divin. Apostol. et Eccl. tradd. libb. x.
 Paris. 1562. [Bodl.]
- PETRARCH, Fr. Opera, Ferrar. 1545. [Bodl.]
 — Epist. 20. (leg. 18.) in libro Epistol. sine titulo, opp. Basil.
 1554, p. 807. ^e [Bodl.]
- PETRUS de Aliaco, vid. *Alyaco*.
- PETRUS Crinitus. De honesta disciplina, vid. *Crinitus*.
- PETRUS Martyr, Mediolanensis. De insulis nuper inventis: in Grynæi
Novo Orbe, q. v.
Petrus Urbevetanus.

^a [Often cited in Extra under the term *Abbas* or *Abb*.]

^b [A copy of this work, edit. 1506, is in the Lambeth library, bound up with a copy of Hervæus. Some such juxtaposition must have led to Jewel's occasionally confounding these two writers. See vol. iy. infr. p. 119. In this

Lambeth copy the passage in vol. vi. 240 has been verified.]

^c [His epistles are also in St. Augustine's works.]

^d [The reference infr. vol. iii. 258 has been verified.]

^e [The reference in Italics, vol. v. 317, and p. 508, is here verified.]

Petrus Ravennas.

PETRUS de Palude (ordin. Prædic.) Tractatus de causa immediata ecclesiasticæ potestatis. Paris. 1506. [Bodl.] ^f

PHAGIUS, Paulus, vid. *Fagius*.

PHILIP Melancthon.

PHOTIUS. Nomocanon, in Justelli Bibl. Jur. Canon. Veteris. Paris. 1661. [Bodl.]

— ad Michael. Bulgar. Princ. in eadem Bibl.

PICUS Mirandola, ad Leonem x, et Concil. Later. de reformandis moribus. Opp. tom. ii. p. 885. Basil. 1601. [Bodl.]

PIGHIIUS, Albertus. Hierarch. eccl. Assertio. fol. Col. 1538. [Brit. Mus.]

— et Ccl. Agr. 1572. [Bodl.]

— Controv. præcipuarum in comitiis Ratispon. tractatarum explicatio g. Col. 1545. [Bodl.]

— de privata Missa, inter Controv. Ratisp.

PIUS II. (Æneas Sylvius). Dialogus in Laurentium Vallam de falsa Donatione Constantini ^h. See ÆNEAS SYLVIUS.

PIUS IV. Oratio in Consistorio, ap. Goldasti Politica Imperialia. Francof. 1614. [Bodl.]

PLATINA, de Vitis Pontificum Romanorum.

PLINIUS.

PLUTARCHUS ⁱ. Opp. omnia. fol. Francof. 1599. [Bodl.]

POLUS, Reginaldus. Pro eccl. Unitatis defensione, libb. iv. 1555. [Ch. Ch.]

— de Baptismo Constantini. 1562. [Bodl.]

POLYCHRONICON, vid. *Ranulphus Higden*.

POLYCRATICUS, sive de nugis curialium, vid. *Joannes Sarisbur.*

POLYDORUS Virgilius, sive Vergilius, vid. *Vergilius*.

POMPONIUS Lætus. Opera. 4to. Argentor. 1515. [Bodl.]

PONTIFICALE.

PONTIUS in passione Cypriani. Inter Opera Cypriani.

POSSIDIUS, sive Possidonius. Vita S. Augustini: pass. in edd.

POSTILLÆ Majores, ex Nic. Lyr. aliisque doctoribus. Venet. 1588.

PRIERIAS, vid. *Sylvester*.

PRIMASIUS, Uticensis episc. In Thessal. Comm. Basil. 1544. [Bodl.]

— in omnes Divi Pauli Epistt. Comm. 8vo. Paris. 1543. [Bodl.]

^f [Also a copy with Johan. Paris. and Hervæus in Lambeth library, in which the reference (infr. v. 478.) to the De Potestate Curatorum, (art. 6. of the above treatise,) has been verified.]

^g [The references in the following places have been verified; vol. i. 164:

iii. 220, and 286.]

^h [See vol. vi. p. 109. Note 86.]

ⁱ [Vol. ii. p. 53, note: the saying of Cato, quoted as from Plutarch, will be found in Cicero de Nat. Deorum, lib. 1. 26, and de Divin. lib. ii. c. 24.]

- PRIMASIUS in Apocalyps. 8vo. Basil. 1544. [Bodl.]
- PROSPER Aquitanus. Opera. Lugd. 1539. [Bodl.]
- PROTESTATIO Concionatorum aliquot Augustanæ confessionis adv. conventum Trident. 1563. [Bodl. 4^o. H. 5. Theol. Seld.]
- PROVERBS, English, Ray's Collection. Cambr. 1678. [Bodl.]
- PRUDENTIUS, Amœnus. Diptychon: in Manuali Bibl., seu Enchiridio S. S. a Catholicis veteris Eccl. Patribus compendiato. Francof. 1610. [Bodl.]
- PRYGXSAM, or Przi Bram, the author of a work de Professione Fid. Cath. scr. anno 1430, quoted by bishop White in his Diacosio-Martyrion, fol. 72. col. 2. from whence Harding (infr. i. 364) probably borrowed the passage.
- PSALTERIUM B. Mariae.
- PUPILLA Oculi, omnibus presbyteris, præcipue Anglicanis, summe necessaria, &c. per Johann. de Burgo, Univ. Cantab. olim Cancellarium, conflata an. 1385. Lond. 1510. [Bodl.]
- RABANI, seu Hrabani, Mauri, abbatis Fuldensis, arch. Mogunt. De institutione Clericorum. Opera, tomm. vi. Colon. Agripp. 1626. [Ch. Ch.]
- Rabbi Abraham Hispanus.*
- RADBERTUS, vide *Paschasius.*
- RANULPHUS Higdenus. Polychronicon, (continued from 1357 to 1460, by W. Caxton.) fol. Caxton, 1482. See *Trevisa.* [Bodl.]
- RAVISIUS, vid. *Officina*, et *Textor.* Theatrum poeticum, sive Officina 1600. [Bodl. Douce.]
- REGINO, sive Rhegino, abbas Pruniensis. Libri ii. de eccl. disciplina et religione Christiana. 8vo. Paris. 1671. [Ch. Ch.]
- Annales. fol. Francof. 1566. [Brit. Mus.]
- RESCRIPTUM Honorii ad Bonifacium, ap. Mansi Concill. tom. iv.
- RHEGINO, vid. *Regino.*
- RHEMENSE Concil. See an account of a MS. describing the Acts, in Flacii Test. Veritatis, p. 572, ed. Francof. 1672. Mansi, vol. xxi. decides the Acts to be genuine.
- RHENANUS, Beatus. Comment. in Tertullianum; Tertulliani Opp. 1597. [Bodl.]
- ed. princeps. 1520. Basil. ^k [Bodl.]
- Prefatio in Liturg. in Missa Latina antiqua, Argentor. 1557. [Bodl.]
- RHODIGINUS, L. Cælius. Lectiones antiquæ, libb. xxx. Froben. 1566. [Bodl.]

^k [Consulted for vol. vi. p. 254, where see the note.]

- RICHARD. de Sto Victore, vid. *S. Victore*.
- RID sive Riddus, Anselm. et Herman, vid. *Ryddus*.
Robertus Gallus.
- ROFFENSIS, vide *Fisher*.
Roger Bacon.
Rogerus Cestrensis.
- ROGER Hoveden, vid. *Hoveden*.
- ROMANUS Patritius, *Ludovicus*, q. v. in *Historia de Novo Orbe*.
- ROSELLA seu Rosellis, Ant. de, J. C. Aretinus, et Consil. Cæsar. ac Pontif., Monarchia, sive tractatus de potest. imperat. et papæ, ap. Goldasti Monarch. tom. i. p. 253.
- RUFINUS, sive Ruffinus, presbyt. Aquil. Translator of nine books of Eusebius, to which he added of his own a Supplement in two books, called sometimes the tenth and eleventh books of Eusebius, and sometimes the first and second of Ruffinus. (So Jewel quotes him, probably from the edit. entitled *Ruffini Hist. Eccl. libb. ii. 1549.*) [Bodl.]
- Opera. Veronæ, 1745. [Ch. Ch.]
- RUPERTUS de Missa. [Bodl.]
- RYDDUS, Valerius Anselmus, see *Anselmus Rid*¹. *Catalogus annorum, &c. fol. Bernæ, 1550.* [Bodl.]
- RYDDUS, Hermannus. *De vita et honestate clericorum: in tom. ii. Fasciculi rerum expetendarum, q. v.* [Bodl.]
- SABELLICUS, M. A. C., *Rhapsodiæ Historiarum Ennead. Venet. 1504.* [Ch. Ch.]
- *Rerum Venetarum Decades*^m tres. Basil. 1556. [Bodl.]
- SAINCTES, de, vide *Liturgiæ Vett.*
- SALVIANUS, Massil. *De vero judicio et providentia. fol. Paris. 1530.* [Brit. Mus.]
- SAMONA. In *Liturg. Comment. in Liturg. Vett. de Sainctes. Paris. 1560.*
- SARISBURIENSIS, Johan. Episcop. Carnotensis, (erroneously called Camotensis by Jewel, after Cornelius Agrippa,) fl. A. D. 1140. *Polycraticus, sive de nugis curialium, libb. viii. Lugd. Batt. 1595.* [Bodl.]
- Saxon Chronicle*.
- SCALA Cronica, probably the work of Thomas Gray, (qu. v.) quoted by bishop Jewel. [MS. in C. C. C. C.]

¹ [The references in Italics, iv. 470 and 477, have been found correct.] the edition of 1567, had erroneously asserted that Sabellicus wrote no book under the title of "Decades."]

^m [See vol. v. 423, note. Jewel, in

- SCOTUS, J. Duns. Opera. Venet. 1597. [Ch. Ch.]
 — *quodlibeta*.
- SEDULIUS, Scotus. Collectanea in omnes D. Pauli epistolas, fol. Basil. 1528. [Brit. Mus.]
- SEGUSIO, Henricus de, card. Hostiensis, vide *Hostiensis*.
- SEXTUS (Decretal.) vide *Juris Canonici Corpus*.
- SIGEBERTUS Gemblacensis. Chronicon.
- SIMEON Metaphrastes, ap. Surium de probatis Sanctorum historiis. Colon. Agripp. 1572. [Bodl.]
- SIRICIUS papa, Decretales ap. Crabb.
- SIXTUS, Papa II. Epist. ap. Crabb. tom. i.
- SLEIDANUS, Joann. De statu religionis Car. V. Imp.
- SMYTH, Ricardus, De missæ sacrificio, 8vo. Lovan. 1562. [Bodl.]
- SOCRATES. Hist. *eccl.* ed. Reading-Valesius tom. ii.
- SOTO, Dominicus, Segobiensis. "De natura et gratia," et "Apologia contra Catharinum," fol. Antw. 1550. [Bodl.]
- SOZOMENUS. Hist. *eccl.* ed. Reading-Valesius tom. ii.
- SPARTIANUS Ælius.
- SPECULUM Aureum Papæ, sive Dialogus Petri et Pauli; scr. A.D. 1404; first published by Wolfgang Wissenberg, in his *Antilogia* Papæ, q. v. (Walch also printed it in his *Monumenta med. ævi* Gotting. 1757. He attributes it rightly to Albertus Englested, or Engleschal.) [Bodl.]
- SPINA, Barth. de, probably the author of the *Fortalitium Fidei*, 1459. qu. v.
- STANISLAUS, Orichovius, vid. *Orichovius*, Chimæra. Col. 1563. [Bodl.]
- STELLA, Clericorum, Quentel. s. l. et a. [Bodl. Douce.]
- STELLA Johan. Venetus: ap. *Fascicul. Rer. expet.* tom. ii. fol. Lond. 1690. [Bodl.]
- STEUCHUS, Augustinus, vid. *Augustinus*.
- STRABO, Opera. Amstel. 1707. 2 voll. fol. [Ch. Ch.]
- SUETONIUS Tranquillus, de vita XII. Cæsarum.
- SULPICIUS Severus. Opp. 8vo. Antv. ap. Plantin. 1574. [Brit. Mus.]
 — Vita Martini, ed. Clichtoveus, Paris. 1511. [Ch. Ch.]
- SUMMA Angelica, de casibus conscientiæ, auctore Angelo de Clavasio. Argentinæ, 1513. [Bodl.]
- SUPPLEMENTUM Chronicorum, a Philippo Bergomate. Paris. 1535. [Bodl.]
- SURIUS, Laurentius, Carth. Præfatio in Naclerum.
- SYLVESTER Prierias (Mazolinus). Dialogus ad Mart. Luther; una cum Lutheri Responsione. Wittemberg. 1518. [Bodl.]
- SYLVIUS, vide *Æneas* et *Pius II.*

- SYNESIUS, Episcop. Cyrensis. Calvitii encomium: inter Opp. Paris. 1631. [Bodl.]
- SYNTAGMA tractatum de imperiali jurisdictione, &c. per Schard. Argentor. 1609. [Bodl.]
- TERTULLIANUS, Qu. Septim. Opera, ed. post. Rigaltium Priorius, fol. Lut. Paris. 1675.
- TEUTONICUS Johan. Scholia in Gratianum, in Glossa Decreti.
- TEXTOR, vide *Ravisius*; et *Officina*.
- THEODORETUS Episc. Cyrensis, Opera, tomm. iv. Paris. 1642. [Bodl.]
- Opera Latine, 1608.
- Dialogi, inter Routhii Opuscula.
- Hist. eccles. ed. Reading—Valesius, tom. iii.
- de curandis Græcorum affectibus, ed. Gaisford. Oxon. 1839.
- THEODORICUS a Niem, episc. Verdensis. (fl. A. D. 1410.) de Schismate inter Urbanum VI. et Clementem Antipapam, libb. iv. Basil. 1566. [Bodl.]
- THEODORICUS Rex ad Boethium, ap. Aurelii Cassiodori Variarum lib. xi. 4to. Paris. 1583. [Brit. Mus.]
- THEODORUS Anagnostes: inter Hist. Eccles. Scriptores ed. Reading—Valesius, tom. iii.
- THEODOSII Codex, tomm. vi. Lugd. 1665. [Bodl.]
- THEOPHILUS Antioch. Ad Autolyicum, libb. 3. ed. Fell. Oxon. 1684. [Bodl.]
- THEOPHRASTUS ap. *Panormitanum*, qu. v.
- THEOPHYLACTUS Constantin., Enarrationes in 4 Evangel. Romæ 1542. [Bodl.]
- THEOPHYLACTUS Simocatta. Histor. Mauric. Imp. libb. 8. 4to. Ingolst. 1604. [Bodl.]
- THOMAS Aquinas. Vide *Aquinas* ^m.
- THOMAS Gray. Vide *Gray*.
- Thomas Sarisburiensis* ⁿ.
- THOMAS (Netter) Valdensis: Doctrinale antiqq. fidei ap. *Cassandrum*, qu. v.
- Titilmannus de officio Missæ*.
- TONSTALL, Cuthb. Dunelm. De veritate Corporis et Sanguinis Domini in Eucharistia, Paris. 1554. (Jewel's ed.) [Ch. Ch.]
- TOTANUS, revised the *Fortalitium Fidei*.

^m [The reference to the Quodlibeta of

been verified.]

Thomas Aquinas infra iv. 184, has not

ⁿ [See the note infra vol. iii. 63.]

- TREVISA, J., vicar of Barkley, and therefore called Sir John, translator of *Ranulphi Polychronicon*, qu. v.
- TRIDENTINÆ Orationes. Vide *Orationes*.
- TRIDENTINUM conventum, Protestatio adversus. Vide *Protestatio*.
- TRIPARTITA Historia Cassiodori : inter auctores Hist. eccl. per Beatum Rhenanum, Basil. 1528. [Bodl. sub tit. *Cassiodorus*.]
- TRIPARTITUM Opusculum, ad calc. Concil. Lateran. iii. ap. Crabb. Concill. ii. [Bodl.]
- TRITHEMIUS, Abb. Spanhem. De Scriptoribus eccl. Col. 1546. [Bodl.]
- UDALRICUS, S. Augustanus episc.: in Georg. Calixti de conjug. sacerdot. Tract. Helmst. 1631. [Bodl.]
- ULPIANUS in *Jur. Civil. corp.* tom. iii.
- URBANUS Regius. Opera Latin. Nuremberg. 1562. [Bodl.]
- Urbevetanus, Petrus*, in *Vita Deusdedit*.
- URCEUS, Codrus. Sermones, fol. Bonon. 1502. [Bodl.]
- URSPERGENSIS Abbas (Conrad-Liechtenaw). Chronicon 1540, et Paraleipomena, fol. Argentor. 1537. (Jewel's edition.) [Brit. Mus.]
- Paraleipomena, Basil. 1569. [Bodl.]^o
- VALDENSIS, Thomas. Vide *Thomas*.
- VALENTIA, Jac. de (Parez) Episc. Christopol. In Psalm. et Cantica Comm. fol. Paris. 1518. [Bodl. sub tit. Parez.]
- *Sermones*.
- VALLA, Laurentius, Patrit. Roman. De falso credita et ementita Constantini Donatione declamatio. Lugd. Bat. 1620. [Bodl.]
- De voluptate. Basil. 1519. [Bodl.]
- VARRO, M. T. Opp. Lugd. Bat. 1601.
- Vergerius, Petr. Paul.*, de Concilio Tridentino p.
- VERGILIUS Polydorus. De rerum inventoribus. Argentor. 1606. ("Hæc ed. est incastrata." Crynes.) [Bodl.]
- in Dominicam precem Commentariolum, ad calc. lib. de inventoribus rerum. Basil. 1545. [Bodl.]
- VERNERIUS: in *Fasciculo* temporum, qu. v.
- VERRACTUS sive Verratus, Johann. Maria. Disputt. adv. Lutheran. 8vo. Ven. 1544. [Bodl.] In Flacii Norma Concil. is a notice of his work (dedicated to the pope), Ferrara, 1561, with extracts, amongst which appears the passage quoted by Jewel vi. 148.

^o [There is a missing reference to vol. vi. 168.]

^p [There is a notice of this book in *Æneas Sylv. speech ad capit. Mogunt.* vol. vi. 292. The reference in Italics Sleidan's History, book 23, A. D. 1551.]

vol. iv. 369, will be found verified in

Veselus vel Basilius (Lux mundi) "de subditis et superioribus," (a work published separately in German, says Flacius Test. Verit. lib. 19.)—not yet found.

VESPUTIUS: in *Novo orbe* Grynæi, q. v.

VICTOR, Aurelius. Vide *Aurelius*.

VICTOR, Uticensis. De persecut. Vandal. [Bodl.]

VICTORE, S. Rich. de. fol. Venet. 1592. [Brit. Mus.]

VICTORINUS, Marius, contra Arianos.

VIGILIUS Afer, sive Thapsensis: Bibl. Patr. maxima, tom. viii. [Bodl.]

VINCENTIUS (de Valentia) Hispan. ord. Prædic. Sermones Hyemales Antw. 1572. [Bodl.]

— item Sermones Æstivales, ib.

— Speculum, tomm. iv. Venet. 1591. [Bodl.]

VINTON. contra Cantuar. Stephen Gardiner against Archbishop Cranmer.

VIRVESIUS Alphonsus P. Philippicæ disputationes xx. contra Lutheri dogmata. Antw. 1542. [Bodl.]

Visellus.

VITALIS, Joan. Card. Speculum Morale totius Sacræ Scripturæ. 4to. Venet. 1600. [Bodl.]

VIVES, Ludovicus. Opera, voll. ii. fol. Basil. 1555. [Bodl.]

— in Augustin. de Civ. Dei, 1596. [Bodl.]

— De causis corrupt. art. 1612. [Bodl.]

Vahe, Michael, contra Lutherum.

VOLATERRANUS, Raph. Anthropologia, opp. Lugd. 1599. [Bodl.]

VOLUMEN, tom. v. *Juris Civil. Corpor. qu. v.*

VORAGINE, Jacobus de. *Historia Longobardica* (qu. v.) alio nomine *Legenda aurea*.

Waldensis contra Wiclefum.

WERNER, Rolewinck de Laer. Fasciculus temporum. Paris. 1523. [Bodl.]

WESTMONASTERIENSIS, Matth. Flores Historiarum. Lond. 1570. [Bodl.]

WHITE, J. (warden and afterwards bishop of Winchester), Diacosio-martyrion; de veritate corporis et sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia etc. adv. Petr. Martyr. etc. 1553. [Ch. Ch.]

Wilhelmus Hafliginensis.

WILHELM Wideford, or Woodford, in Fasciculo rerum expetend. et fugiendarum ab Orth. Gratio, ed. Brown, Lond. 1690. [Bodl.]

p [The reference in vol. iv. 568 has been verified.]

WILLIAM of Newbury. Vide *Neubrigiensis*.

WISSEMBERG, Wolfgang, Auctor *Antilogia* Papæ.
Wormatiense Colloquium.

ZABARELLA q, Franciscus de, Cardinalis (fl. 1400); de Schismate
Pontificio in Syntagm. Tractt. de imperiali potestate, per Schard.
Argentor. 1609. [Bodl.]

ZASIVS Udalricus. Opera, Franc. ad M. 1590. [Bodl.]

ZEPHYRINUS, Papa, epist. Pseudo-Isidor. ap. Crabb.

ZEPHYRUS, *Franciscus*, q. v.

q [The passage intended in vol. vii. p. 243, is the same as that quoted vol. ii.
p. 257, where see the note.]

THE COPY OF
A S E R M O N

PRONOUNCED BY

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY,

AT PAUL'S CROSS,

THE SECOND SUNDAY BEFORE EASTER, IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1560;

Whereupon Dr. Cole first sought occasion to encounter :

Shortly set forth, as near as the author could call it to remembrance, without any
alteration or addition.

TERTULLIANUS.

Præjudicatum est adversus omnes hæreses id esse verum quodcunque primum :
id esse adulterum, quodcunque posterius :

This is a prejudice against all heresies : that that thing is true, whatsoever was first,
that is corrupt, whatsoever came after.

Concilium Nicenum.

Ἔθη ἀρχαῖα κρατεῖτω.

Mores antiqui obtineant.

[The sermon at Paul's Cross, and the letters between Jewel and Cole, which follow it, are printed after the original editions "imprinted at London by John Daye," 1560, (in one vol. duodecimo, Bodleian). In the present edition, as in the first, it has been thought unnecessary to print the references in the margin; the same passages in general being quoted in the more important controversies with Harding.]

THE COPY OF
A SERMON

PRONOUNCED BY
THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY,
AT PAUL'S CROSS,

THE SECOND SUNDAY BEFORE EASTER, IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD GOD 1560;

Whereupon Dr. Cole first sought occasion to encounter^a.

1 COR. xi. 23.

*Ego accepi a Domino, quod et tradidi vobis: quoniam Dominus
Jesus in qua nocte tradebatur, accepit panem, &c.*

I have received of the Lord, that thing which I also have delivered unto you: that is, that the Lord Jesus in the night that he was betrayed, took bread, &c.

ST. PAUL, after he was once appointed out by God to be his chosen vessel, to carry his name among all people, having occasion to make his abode for a long time in the city of Corinth, began there to instruct the people, to draw them from the follies and errors that they and their fathers had long lived in aforetime, and to lead them to the gospel of Christ, which then

[^a The sermon (at least the first draught of it, containing a challenge on the first fifteen Articles) appears to have been originally preached at Paul's Cross, on November 26, 1559 (Strype, Grindal, p. 40). The same sermon (probably expanded to its present shape) was preached at court March 17, 1560, in the afternoon (Strype, Annals, I. i. p. 298); a fact which accounts for Cole's expression in his first letter, dated March 18, "in your sermon yesterday at the

court." It was upon *that* delivery of the sermon therefore that "Dr. Cole first took occasion to encounter," and not, as is asserted in the titlepage, upon the *third* delivery of the same sermon, which took place after this correspondence with Cole had begun, on "the second Sunday before Easter," (Strype, *ib.* p. 300), that is, according to Nicolas, on March 31. Mr. Le Bas, in his Life of Bp. Jewel, has confounded the second and the third occasions together.]

God of his mercy had newly shewed unto the world. And therewithal he delivered unto them the sacrament, or holy mystery of Christ's last supper, to be practised and continued amongst them as a most certain pledge and testimony of the same.

But after that through the wickedness of the Jews he was driven to depart thence, and to sail into Syria, the false prophets, men full of pride and vainglory, taking occasion at his absence, sought means to discredit whatsoever he had taught or done: and caused the people not only to dislike the gospel of Christ, that they had received at St. Paul's hand, but also to missense the sacraments. For as touching the gospel, they were fallen from it into sundry great and horrible heresies concerning the resurrection, and other special points of Christ's religion. And as touching the sacraments, whereas St. Paul had appointed them the holy mysteries of the breaking of Christ's body, and shedding of his blood, that they should all eat and drink together with fear and reverence in remembrance of his death and passion, and so cleave together in brotherly charity, as being all the members of one body, they forgetting the very use and institution thereof, made small account of Christ's death, took each man to himself severally his own supper, despised their poor brethren, rent and divided the church of God, and so made the holy sacrament of love and charity to serve them as an instrument of discord and dissension.

Therefore saith St. Paul unto them, "Shall I praise you for thus doing? in this thing surely I may not praise you; for I see your congregations and common meetings are not to the better, but to the worse."

For a redress hereof he calleth them back to the first original, and to the institution of Christ, from whence they were fallen. "For I," saith he, "being amongst you, delivered you none other thing than that I had received of the Lord. That thing he thought meetest for you; and therefore with the same ought you also to be contented."

Thus, whensoever any order given by God is broken or abused, the best redress thereof is, to restore it again into the state that it first was in at the beginning.

Thus, when the temple of God at Jerusalem was so shamefully disordered by the priests and Levites, that it was become a cave of thieves, Christ, for reformation thereof, called them back

again to the first erection of the temple. *Scriptum est: Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur*: "It is written," saith Christ, "in the scriptures: My house shall be called the house of prayer." Thus was the temple of God used at the beginning, and thus ought it to be used now.

Thus when Christ was apposed by the Scribes and Pharisees in the case of divorce, whether he thought it lawful for a man to put his wife from him for every light cause, and to marry another; he made them answer by the first institution and ordinance of marriage: *A principio non fuit ita. Scriptum est: Erunt duo in carne una*: "It was not so," saith Christ, "at the beginning. It is written, They shall be two in one flesh; now therefore they are not two, but one flesh." As if he should have said; "This is the ordinance of God my Father, this may not be broken for your pleasure's sake, but must remain in strength and last for ever."

Thus St. Paul, that the Corinthians might the better understand that they had unreverently missensed the Lord's supper, and be the more willing to redress the same, laid Christ's first institution before their eyes as a true pattern, whereby the sooner they might redress it. "Look," saith he "what thing I received of the Lord, the same thing I delivered over faithfully unto you. I gave you not any fancy or device of mine own, but that thing only that Christ had before delivered me. This rule is infallible. Hereby your doings may best be tried." This I judge to be the very true meaning of these words of St. Paul. Now, forasmuch as in this last age of the world the same holy sacrament, or mystery of Christ's last supper, hath been likewise stained with divers foul abuses; and specially for that, notwithstanding it hath pleased Almighty God of his great mercy in these our days to remove away all such deformities, and to restore again the same holy mysteries to the first original, yet there be divers that wilfully remain in ignorance, and not only be unthankful unto Almighty God for his great benefits, but also take pleasure in the errors wherein they have of long time been trained; and that not only the poor and ignorant, but also the rich, and such as should be learned and know God: I have thought it good therefore at this time to stand the longer upon the same words of St. Paul, that we may the more clearly see the first institution of the holy sacrament, and how far in these latter days we

have strayed from it. It was to be hoped, forasmuch as the glorious light of the gospel of Christ is now so mightily and so far spread abroad, that no man would lightly miss his way (as afore in the time of darkness) and perish wilfully.

But we may remember when the Jews were delivered out of Egypt, and had been wonderfully conducted through the Red sea, and set at liberty, and were passing quietly into the land of promise, a land flowing with milk and honey; yet were there divers weary of their being there, and fain would return again into Egypt to be in bondage, in thralldom, and in misery, as they had been before. We may remember, when the Jews were delivered from idolatry, wherein they and their fathers had long continued, and were brought to the true knowledge and worship of the everliving God of Israel, notwithstanding they were indeed the people of God; yet were there many amongst them that misliked the time, and as it is reported by the prophet Jeremiah, cried out against him :

Sermonem, quem locutus es nobis in nomine Domini, non audiemus ex te: sed facientes faciemus omne verbum quod egredietur ex ore nostro, ut sacrificemus reginæ cæli, et libemus ei libamina: sicut fecimus nos et patres nostri, reges nostri, et principes nostri in urbibus Judæ, et in plateis Jerusalem: et saturati sumus panibus, et bene nobis erat, et malum non vidimus. That is, "We will not hear the word that thou speakest unto us in the name of the Lord, but we will do every thing that shall proceed out from our own mouth; as to burn incense to the queen of heaven, and to offer up drink offerings unto her, as both we have done, and our fathers, and our kings, and our princes in the city of Juda, and in the streets of Jerusalem. For then had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and felt no evil."

We remember when the gospel of Christ was preached by St. Paul at Ephesus, and the devil's mouth was thereby stopped, and all his force and power taken from him; yet there was a great number that rose up against Paul, and violently withstood his doctrine, and cried out with main voice against him, *Magna est Diana Ephesiorum*: "Great is Diana the goddess of the Ephesians."

Even so in these days, notwithstanding the comparison may haply seem somewhat odious, whereas the holy communion is restored to the use and form of the primitive church, to the

same order that was delivered and appointed by Christ, and after practised by the apostles, and continued by the holy doctors and fathers for the space of five or six hundred years, throughout all the whole catholic church of Christ without exception, or any one sufficient example to be shewed to the contrary; yet are there some this day that refuse it and shun it, and unadvisedly and wilfully run headlong to the mass, of a good zeal (I hope) but not according unto knowledge. For alas, they understand not what they do; they know not neither the communion neither the mass, neither will they hearken or inquire to come to knowledge. And so in the midst of the light they remain still in darkness.

Wherefore as I said afore, I have thought it needful to entreat somewhat hereof at this time, and have good hope through God's grace so to lay forth the whole matter, not with eloquence of words, but with simplicity of the truth, that it may be plain both unto them that have forsaken the mass, for what cause and how justly they have forsaken it; and also unto them that as yet delight in it, what manner of thing it is that they delight in.

I know some man will say, Forasmuch as the sacrament is an holy thing, the ordinance of Christ, the high mystery of his death and of our salvation, to remain in the church for ever; therefore it cannot possibly be abused; and all that we speak this day in this behalf, we speak of malice, and not of truth.

True it is, the sacrament is an holy thing, the ordinance of Christ, the mystery of our salvation: yet is there nothing so good, no ordinance so holy, no mystery so heavenly, but through the folly and frowardness of man it may be abused.

The serpent that was set up by Moses in the wilderness was an holy thing, for it was a sacrament, and a figure of Christ hanging on the cross: yet was it abused. The gospel of Christ is an holy thing; yet St. Paul saith to the Philippians, There were some then that preached it for malice and contention, doing thereby service not unto Jesus Christ, whom they professed in their mouth, but unto their own belly. And thus being holy in itself, yet was it shamefully abused.

And what thing is there so holy as the name of God? and yet what thing is there so often taken in vain, or so much abused?

But to come near to our purpose: the sacrament of baptism is

an holy thing, yet hath it been abused, and that in the church of God; yea, even at the beginning of the church, even when the apostles of Christ were yet alive, and the blood of Christ as yet fresh and green before their eyes.

In St. Paul's time there were some that baptized for the dead: after that, there were some that baptized such as were already dead; and sprinkled them with water in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, laid their hands over them, and called them by their names, as if they had been alive. Which thing was reprov'd and forbidden in the council of Carthage.

Others there were that baptized children before they were born, being as yet in their mothers' womb. Which thing is mentioned and reprov'd by St. Augustine.

All these, as may soon appear, were great abuses.

Thus the sacrament of baptism, notwithstanding it were an holy thing, yet was abused.

The sacrament of the breaking of Christ's body and the shedding of his blood is an heavenly mystery and a holy thing; yet hath it oftentimes been abused, and that in the primitive church, when the religion of Christ seemed to be in highest perfection.

In the time of Tertullian and of St. Cyprian, which was a thousand and four hundred years ago, women commonly took the sacrament home with them in their napkins, and laid it up in their chests, and received a portion of it in the morning before other meats. This was an abuse of the sacrament, and therefore was it broken.

In St. Cyprian's and St. Augustine's time, young babes, as soon as they were baptized, received the communion; but that was a great abuse: for by the doctrine of St. Paul, the holy mysteries ought to be given unto none, but only unto such as be able to understand the meaning thereof, to judge the Lord's body, and to declare his death. And therefore now infants, when they be baptized, receive not the communion. In the time of St. Hierom, some portion of the holy communion was sent from the church to the new married man, and to his wife, to be received at home. This was a disorder of the sacrament, and therefore now is not used.

St. Irenæus saith, that one Marcus, a necromancer, was wont to enchant the cup of the sacrament of Christ's blood, so that the liquor should seem to increase and multiply, and from a little to grow to a great quantity. This also was an horrible abuse of Christ's holy sacraments.

Some, of late time, have received the communion for their purgation, to clear themselves against some notorious slander. And then the priest changed the words which commonly be used at the ministration, (and said thus :) *Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi sit tibi ad purgationem.*

Some others have used to hang the sacrament, as an *Agnus Dei*, before their breasts, for a protection against the assaults of the devil, and all other worldly enemies. St. Benet ministered the communion unto a woman that was dead; and it may well be thought that other did so as well as he: for it is forbidden by general consent in two councils, the one holden at Antissiodorum, the other at Carthage.

No man can lightly deny but these were great abuses. For Christ appointed not the sacrament of his last supper that women should bear it home and keep it in their chests: nor that it should be sent home to new married men and women, to be received in several: nor that it should be ministered to babes and infants, that knew not what it meant: nor that enchanters or necromancers should thereby avaunt their detestable practices: nor that men should thereby discharge themselves from slander: nor that it should be hanged before men's breasts, and carried about as a shield against the devil: nor that it should be ministered unto dead men or women, and closed up in their mouths, and laid with them in their graves:—but that such as bear the name of Christ, and trusted to be saved by his blood, should communicate together, and solace themselves in the remembrance of his death.

Thus Christ himself hath instructed us: “Do this,” he saith, “in remembrance of me.” This is the very true and lawful use of the holy communion of Christ's body and blood; and all others are abuses.

We see therefore, that albeit the sacrament be an holy thing, and an heavenly mystery, yet that notwithstanding it may many ways be abused.

But what need we so many proofs in a thing that is so

evident? St. Paul himself saw the abuses thereof in his time. St. Paul himself, even in the beginning of the church, within forty years after Christ's death, witnesseth, that even then there were abuses crept into the sacrament, and therefore reproveth the Corinthians. And for redress thereof calleth them back to the example and first institution of Christ. "That sameself thing," saith he "that I received of the Lord, that I delivered unto you, in such sort as I had received it. Let that be a pattern for you to follow."

Some man perhaps will here reply: Notwithstanding the sacrament in itself, either through the wickedness or through the folly of man, may be and have been abused, yet neither was there ever, nor can there be any such abuse in the mass. For it standeth of four special parts; godly doctrine, godly consecration, godly receiving of the sacrament, and godly prayers. In conclusion, it is so heavenly and so godly a thing, that no folly or wickedness can enter into it.

These things, good brethren, I know have been oftentimes spoken out of such places as this is, and stoutly avouched in your hearing. And therefore, after that the mass had been once abolished by the noble prince of godly memory, king Edward the Sixth; and the next prince, for that she knew none other religion, and thought well of the thing that she had been so long trained in, would needs have it put in ure again through all her dominions; it was forthwith restored, in like manner, in all points, as it had been used before, without any kind of alteration or change: as I believe, that their very doings therein might stand for proof sufficient, that neither the mass itself, nor any parcel or point thereof, had ever been abused.

But alas, what if they that most of all other defend the mass, themselves find faults and abuses in the mass? Mark, I pray you, what I say: What if the very maintainers and proctors of the mass confess plainly unto the world in their books openly printed and set abroad, that there have been, and be, abuses and errors in the mass?

Albertus Pigghius, the greatest pillar of that part, in a little treatise that he writeth of the mass, hath these words: *Quod si qui abusus in rem sacratissimam et saluberrimam irrepserunt, ut irrepsisse plerosque non diffitemur, scimus ad quem, et ad quos pertineat eosdem corrigere.* That is to say, "If there have cer-

tain abuses crept into that holy and wholesome thing, that is, the mass, as I grant there have crept in very many, yet we know to what man and men the redress thereof doth appertain." Here PIGGHIOUS granteth, simply without colour, that divers abuses have at sundry times privily crept into the mass. And yet I believe he was no such enemy to the cause, that he would ever have granted so much, specially against the sameself thing that he defended, unless he had known it perfectly to be true. If any man doubt of this man Albertus Pigghius, and know not his authority, nor what he was, let him understand that when I speak of him, I speak of all; for this is he that all the rest have chosen to follow as their captain; the greatest learned man, as it is supposed, and as he himself thought, that ever wrote in that quarrel. He hath found out errors and abuses in the mass, and is not abashed openly to confess the same.

Of these errors I have intended somewhat to entreat at this time; not of all, for that would be an infinite labour, but of so many and so far forth as the time shall suffer me.

I will not here enter to speak either of transubstantiation, either of the real presence, either of the sacrifice, either of the common sale or utterance, either of the superstitious ceremonies of the mass, which are for the most part both very vain, and also in manner without number.

Of these things I am content to disadvantage myself at this time, and briefly to touch two or three points, as of the Latin tongue, wherein commonly the mass hath been used: of the communion under one kind: of the canon: of the adoration of the sacrament: and of the private mass. And of these things I intend to speak, although not so largely, and with so many words as the cause would require; yet, by God's grace, so simply and so truly, that whoso will be moved with truth or reason shall soon perceive there have been abuses in the mass. And if there were but one of these abuses in it, yet were it worthy to be spoken of and to be amended. But if we shall plainly see with our eyes, that all the errors and disorders, besides a great number else, which I willingly pass by, have been in the mass, (O good brethren) let us not then think that so many godly men in these our days have spoken against it without cause.

First, as touching the unknown and strange tongue that hath been used in the mass, St. Paul's counsel and commandment is

in general, that whatsoever is done or said in the congregation, should so be done and said, that the hearers may have comfort thereby, and yield thanks unto God, and say, Amen. But the same St. Paul saith, "If thou make thy prayer in the congregation with the spirit or noise of strange words, how shall the unlearned man thereunto say Amen? for he knoweth not what thou sayest. For notwithstanding thy prayer perhaps be good, yet hath the other no comfort or profit by it." And therefore he saith further, "I had rather [first edit. lever] utter five words in the congregation with understanding of my meaning, so that the rest may have instruction thereby, than ten thousand words in a strange and unknown tongue."

St. Augustine, writing upon the Psalms, saith thus: *Oportet nos humano more, non avicularum ratione cantare: nam et merule, et psittaci, et corvi docentur sonare quod nesciunt*: "We must," saith St. Augustine, "in the prayers that we make to God, not chirp like birds, but sing like men; for popinjays, and ravens, and other birds, are taught to sing they know not what."

Justinian, a Christian emperor, made a strait constitution, that all bishops and priests should pronounce the words of the ministration with open voice, that the people might say, Amen.

And to pass by all other authorities and examples in this behalf, before the church grew to corruption, all Christian men throughout the world made their common prayers, and had the holy communion, in their own common and known tongue. But in the mass, as it hath been used in this latter age of the world, the priest uttereth the holy mysteries in such a language, as neither the people, nor oftentimes himself, understandeth the meaning. And thus the death of Christ and his passion is set forth in such sort, as the poor people can have no comfort or fruit thereby, nor give thanks unto God, nor say, Amen. Of all that holy supper and most comfortable ordinance of Christ, there was nothing for the simple souls to consider, but only a number of gestures and countenances; and yet neither they nor the priest knew what they meant. Think you this was Christ's meaning when he ordained the communion first? Think you that St. Paul received these things of the Lord, and delivered the same to the Corinthians? O good brethren, Christ ordained the holy sacrament for our sakes, that we might thereby re-

member the mysteries of his death, and know the price of his blood.

Touching the second abuse of the communion under one kind, it would be long to say so much as the place would seem to require. For, besides the institution of Christ, and the words of St. Paul, which to a Christian man may seem sufficient, it was used throughout the whole catholic church, six hundred years after Christ's ascension, under both kinds, without exception. But in one word, to say that may be sufficient for a wise man to consider; Gelasius, an old father of the church, and a bishop of Rome, saith, that to minister the communion under one kind is open sacrilege. His words be these: *Divisio unius ejusdemque mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest pervenire.* I trust I shall need no further evidence to prove that the mass, in this part, hath been abused.

The third point that I promised to speak of, is the canon; a thing for many causes very vain in itself, and so uncertain that no man can readily tell on whom to father it. St. Paul saith, *Scio cui credidi, et certus sum;* "I know whom I have believed, and I am certain." And unto Timothy he saith, *Permane in his quæ didicisti, sciens a quo didiceris;* "Stand steadfastly in such things as thou hast learned, knowing of whom thou hast learned them." Yet many men this day stand to the canon as unto the holiest part of all the mass, and know not of whom they have learned it. Some say Alexander the First made it; some say Leo; some say Gelasius; some say Gregorius the First; Gregorius saith, one Scholasticus; some others say, Gregorius the Third: but Innocentius Tertius, to put the matter quite out of doubt, said plainly it came from Christ, and from his apostles. Howbeit, whosoever was the first deviser of it, it forceth not. The substance of it and the meaning is more material; and thereof I think it needful to touch some part in as few words as I may. For notwithstanding I have small pleasure in opening such matters as may seem odious, yet is it behoveful for every man to understand of that thing that was counted so high and holy, what manner a thing it was, and what it contained.

First, the priest in the canon desireth God to bless Christ's body, as though it were not sufficiently blessed already. Further he saith, that he offereth and presenteth up Christ unto his

Father; which is an open blasphemy. For contrariwise, Christ presenteth up us, and maketh us a sweet oblation in the sight of God his Father.

Moreover, he desireth God so to accept the body of his Son Jesus Christ, as he once accepted the sacrifice of Abel, or the oblation of Melchisedech. It is known that Abel offered up of the fruit of his flock a lamb or a sheep; and that Melchisedech offered unto Abraham and his company, returning from the battle, bread and wine. And think we that Christ the Son of God standeth so far in his Father's displeasure, that he needeth a mortal and a miserable man to be his spokesman to procure him favour? or think we that God receiveth the body of his only begotten Son none otherwise than he once received a sheep or a lamb at the hands of Abel? or than Abraham received bread and wine of Melchisedech? If no; why then maketh the priest this prayer, in the canon immediately after the consecration? *Supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris, et accepta habere, sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui justi Abel, et sacrificium patriarchæ nostri Abraham, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech.* That is to say, "Look down with merciful countenance upon these sacrifices, (that is, the body of Christ thy Son, and the cup his blood,) and vouchsafe to receive them, as thou sometime vouchsafedst to receive the oblations of thy child Abel the just, and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and that thing that was offered unto thee by thy high priest Melchisedech." Besides this he desireth God that an angel may come and carry Christ's body away into heaven. This is the prayer that he maketh: *Jube hæc perferri per manus sancti angeli tui in sublime altare tuum.* What a fable is this, that Christ should be borne upon an angel, and so carried up away into heaven! I would not stand so long upon these follies, if force drave me not thereunto. Therefore I leave to speak further of the canon, giving you occasion by these few things the better to judge of the rest.

The fourth matter that remaineth to be touched, is the adoration; a great matter, full of danger and full of jeopardy, and so much the more dangerous, for that it is an honour belonging only unto God, and yet without any warrant of God's word. Christ, that best knew what ought to be done herein, when he ordained and delivered the sacrament of his body and blood,

gave no commandment that any man should fall down to it, or worship it. St. Paul, that took the sacrament at Christ's hand, and as he had taken it delivered it to the Corinthians, never willed adoration, or godly honour, to be given unto it. The old doctors, and holy fathers of the church, St. Cyprian, St. Chrysostome, St. Ambrose, St. Hierom, St. Augustine, and others, that received the sacrament at the apostles' hands, and, as it may be thought, continued the same in such sort as they had received it, never make mention, in any of all their books, of adoring or worshipping of the sacrament. It is a very new device, and as it is well known, came but lately into the church.

About three hundred years past, Honorius, being then bishop of Rome, commanded the sacrament to be lifted up, and the people reverently to bow down to it. After him, Urbanus the Fourth appointed a holy day of *Corpus Christi*, and granted out large pardons to the keepers of it, that the people should with better will resort to the church and keep it holy. This is the greatest antiquity of the whole matter: about three hundred years ago it was first found out and put in practice; but Christ and his apostles, the holy fathers in the primitive church, the doctors that followed them, and other learned and godly men whatsoever for the space of a thousand and two hundred years after Christ, never heard of it. Once again I say, for the space of a thousand and two hundred years after Christ's ascension into heaven, this worshipping of the sacrament was never known or practised in any place within the whole catholic church of Christ throughout the whole world. But after it was once received and put in use, and the people began to worship the sacrament with godly honour, the learned men and school-doctors that then were saw it could not stand without great danger, and confessed that the ignorant sort thereby might soon be led into idolatry. Mark, I beseech you, what I say, for I know unto some men it seemeth not possible that there may be any kind of danger in worshipping the sacrament of Christ's body; and therefore some have alleged St. Augustine's words in this behalf: *Nemo .. manducat nisi prius adoret*; "No man eateth Christ's body, but first he doth worship it." And again; *Non peccamus adorando, sed magis peccaremus non adorando*; "We offend not in worshipping the flesh of Christ; but rather we should offend, if we should not worship it." But indeed the

school-doctors and learned men saw there might be danger in worshipping the sacrament, and therefore gave warning of it.

John Duns and William Durand say thus: "If there remained the substance of bread after consecration, the people would thereof take occasion of idolatry, and instead of Christ's body, would give godly worship unto the bread;" and therefore they thought it best to remove away the bread, and to bring in transubstantiation, a word newly devised, and never once heard or spoken of before the council of Lateran, holden at Rome in the year of our Lord 1215. But the old doctors and fathers which first planted the church, and to whom more credit is to be given, write plainly, that in the sacrament, after consecration, there remaineth still very bread and wine in nature and substance as before. And to allege one or two instead of many; St. Augustine saith in a sermon *ad infantes*: *Quod videtis in mensa, panis est*; "That thing that ye see upon the table is bread." Gelasius also saith in like sort: *Non desinit esse substantia panis, vel natura vini: sed manent in suæ proprietate naturæ*: "It leaveth not to be the substance of bread, or the nature of wine, but they remain in the property of their own nature."

Theodoretus, an old doctor of the church, likewise saith; *Christus ea symbola, quæ videntur, corporis et sanguinis sui appellatione honoravit, non naturam transmutans, sed naturæ adjiciens gratiam*: "Christ," saith Theodoretus, "honoured the bread and wine, which we see, with the names of his body and blood, not changing the nature thereof, but unto the same nature joining his grace." I know not what may be more clearly spoken. St. Augustine saith, it is bread: Gelasius saith, it leaveth not to be substance and nature of bread and wine: Theodoretus saith, Christ honoured the bread and wine with the names of his body and blood, but yet changed not their nature. Thus the old godly bishops and fathers of the church acknowledge and affirm, that bread remaineth in the sacrament after consecration. But Duns and Durand and some others of the young fathers and doctors say, if the people worship the sacrament, and bread remain, then must they needs be in great danger of idolatry. Wherefore we may well conclude of them both, forasmuch as it is clear by the old doctors that bread remaineth, that the people resorting to the mass, and there worshipping the sacrament, must needs be in danger of idolatry.

Further, they say, idolatry may be done to the sacrament, if a man happen to worship the accidents of the bread; that is to say, the whiteness or roundness, or other such outward forms or shows of bread as he seeth with his eye, and give the honour unto that instead of Christ's body. O miserable people, that thus is led to worship they know not what! For, alas! how many of them understand these distinctions, or care for them? How many of them understand after what sort *accidentia* may be *sine subjecto*? or how whiteness is founded in the sacrament? or what is the difference between *substantia* and *accidens*? Or what priest, when he went to mass, ever taught the people to know these things, and to avoid the danger? Undoubtedly I could never yet perceive, by any reading, either of the scriptures, or else of other profane writings, but that the people of all ages hath evermore been readier to receive idolatry, than to learn the distinctions and quiddities of logic or philosophy.

Thus we see, even by the confession of Duns and Durand and other their own doctors, that he that goeth to the mass, and worshippeth the sacrament, unless he be learned, and take good heed, may soon commit idolatry. The doctrine of itself is new; the profit of it such, as the church of God for the space of twelve hundred years was well able to be without it; the jeopardy of it great and horrible, and scarcely possible to be avoided.

I speak not these things, good brethren, to the intent to spoil Christ of the honour that is due unto him. I know and confess that Christ's blessed body is most worthy of all honour. I know that the flesh of the Son of God is not therefore the less honourable, because it is now become glorious, and sitteth in heaven, at the right hand of God his Father. The body of Christ, sitting above all heavens, is worshipped of us, being here beneath in earth. Therefore the priest at the communion, before he enter into the holy mysteries, giveth warning unto the people to mount up with their minds into heaven, and crieth unto them, *Sursum corda*; "Lift up your hearts;" according to the doctrine of St. Paul, ^a*Si una surrexistis cum Christo, ea quæ sursum sunt quærite, ubi Christus est sedens ad dexteram Patris*; "If ye be risen again with Christ, seek for those things that be above, whereas Christ is sitting at the right

^a Coloss. iii.

hand of his Father." And again; ^b*Nostra conversatio est in cœlis, unde Salvatorem expectamus*; "Our conversation or dwelling is in heaven, from whence we look for our Saviour."

Therefore St. Augustine spake the words that I before alleged; *Nemo . . . manducat nisi prius adoret*; "No man eateth Christ's flesh, but first he doth worship it." The eating thereof and the worshipping must join together. But where we eat it, there must we worship it: therefore must we worship it sitting in heaven. So saith the old doctor and father St. Chrysostom: *Ubi cadaver, ibi aquilæ; Cadaver, Domini corpus est: aquilæ autem (nos) appellat; ut ostendat, oportere illum ad alta contendere, qui ad hoc corpus accedit. . . Aquilarum enim non graculorum est hæc mensa*. That is to say, "Wheresoever is the carcase, there be the eagles. The carcase is Christ's body: us he calleth the eagles; to declare, that whosoever will approach near to that body, must get aloft. For this is a banquet for eagles, that soar ahigh; not for jays, that keep the ground." Christ's body is in heaven: thither therefore must we direct our hearts: there must we feed: there must we refresh ourselves: and there must we worship it.

So saith St. Hierom: *Ascendamus cum eo in cœnaculum magnum stratum: ibi accipiamus ab eo sursum calicem novi testamenti*: "Let us get up," saith St. Hierom, "with him, into the great dining chamber, that is already prepared, and there let us receive of him above the cup of the new testament."

So saith St. Ambrose: *Non super terram, nec in terra, nec secundum terram [carnem] te quærere debemus, si volumus invenire*; "We may not seek for thee, neither upon the earth, nor in the earth, nor about the earth, if we list to find thee." And, to conclude, so saith Eusebius Emissenus: *Exaltata mente adora corpus Dei tui*; that is, "Lifting up thy mind unto heaven, there worship and adore the body of thy God."

Thus did the old catholic fathers worship the body of Christ. Thus may we also worship it safely, and without peril.

But to give God's honour to the sacrament, is a thing both lately brought into the church, unknown and strange to the ancient doctors; and, as the schoolmen and the greatest maintainers of it have themselves confessed, an occasion of idolatry, and full of danger.

^b Philip. iii. ^c Ad Hedibiam [iv. 172]. ^d In Lucam cap. xxiv. [i. 1538.]

For what if the priest happen not to consecrate? What if he leave out the words of consecration, and never speak them? as it is known that some priests have done many years together: or what if the priest have no intention or mind to consecrate? What case standeth the poor people then in? or what thing is it that they worship? Christ's body cannot be there without consecration: consecration there can be none, as they themselves have taught, if there miss either pronounciation and utterance of the words, or else purpose to consecrate and intention. And how can the people know with what intention or mind the priest goeth to the mass? or whether he hath duly pronounced the words? or whether he hath consecrated or no? And knowing none of these things, which in very deed is not possible for them to know, how can they be well assured that it is the body of Christ that the priest holdeth up, and whereunto they fall down and give godly honour? Thus, by their own learning, the people must needs stand still in doubt, and never know certainly what they worship. O good people! think not that I imagine these things of myself: our own adversaries that stand against us in this cause, even the famoussest and best learned of them all, have seen and written and confessed the same.

Alexander, a bishop of Rome, writing upon the Master of the Sentences, taketh up the matter on this sort: "Forasmuch as the priest's purpose and his privy doings about the consecration cannot be known, that therefore no man ought to worship the sacrament, when it is holden up, but with this condition, *Si ille consecraverit*;" that is, "If the priest hath consecrated." That is to say; "When ye see the sacrament lifted up, ye must say or think thus with yourself: 'If this priest hath consecrated, then do I worship it: if he hath not consecrated, then do I not worship it.'" This saith Alexander, a bishop of Rome.

But Thomas of Aquine leaveth the matter a little more at large. He saith, *Ista conditio non semper actu requiritur: satis est habere habitum*: that is to say, "It shall not be needful at every time to say or to think thus whensoever ye kneel down to worship; but it shall be sufficient if ye have a certain readiness in your mind to say or to think so." Yet Holcot, writing likewise upon the Master of the Sentences, saith thus: "*Laicus adorat hostiam non consecratam: . . . ista fides sufficit illi [sibi] ad*

^e [Sup. Sent. lib. 3. qu. 1.]

salvationem : tamen est erronea : "The layman," saith he, "as it may sometimes happen, worshippeth a wafer that is not consecrate: this faith is sufficient unto him to his salvation, and yet is it a false faith, and erroneous." And further he concludeth in this sort: *Homo potest mereri per fidem erroneam, etiamsi contingat, ut adoret diabolium.*

By these words we may see, such as will not content themselves to be ordered by God's wisdom, how dangerously they run headlong at the last. Holcot was not the worst learned man amongst them, yet, to uphold the error that he had once taken in hand to defend, he was driven to confess, that "a man may meed at God's hand by an erroneous and false faith, yea although he worship the devil."

This is the certainty of the doctrine that the people of God of long time hath been led in. In the highest and heavenliest point of religion, that is, in the worshipping of God, they themselves know not what they do. It is true of them that Christ saith to the woman of Samaria, "Ye worship ye know not what."

Alas! is this the honour that is due to Christ? Is this the worshipping of God in spirit and truth? Is this the seeking of Christ in heaven? But some man will say, These be trifling and light matters, and prove nothing. Such reports, I know, are given abroad of all that is preached and taught this day, that whatsoever is spoken by any of us is light and childish, and not worth the hearing. But the reporters hereof are they to whom the authority of the old doctors, the authority of the primitive church, the authority of the scriptures, the authority of Christ himself, seemeth light, and not greatly worth the hearing.

Loath I am here to rip up and to open unto you the high mysteries and secrets of their learning, and the force and strength of their reasons. Yet at this time the importunity of them forceth me so to do, that, after ye have once taken as well some taste of their arguments, as ye have of ours, ye may the better and more indifferently judge of both. And let not them that privily and untruly find fault with our reasons be aggrieved if they hear openly and truly somewhat of their own. ^dAnd first, to begin with the head, mark ye well and weigh this

^d [The following quotations have been verified; but it is thought unnecessary to print the exact references here.]

argument: "God made two lights in heaven; the greater light to rule the day, the less light to rule the night:" *ergo*, there be two powers to rule the world; the pope, that resembleth the sun, and the emperor, that is far less than he, and is likened unto the moon. And how much the emperor is less, the gloss declareth by mathematical computation; saying, that the earth is seven times greater than the moon, and the sun eight times greater than the earth: so followeth it, that the pope's dignity is six and fifty times greater than the dignity of the emperor. This is an argument of theirs, used by Innocentius Tertius^e unto the emperor of Constantinople. *In principio creavit Deus cœlum et terram, non in principiis*; "God created heaven and earth in the beginning, as in one; not in the beginnings, as in many:" *ergo*, the pope hath the sovereignty over all kings and princes. This is an argument of theirs, used by pope Bonifacius the Eighth; *Extrav. comm. de major. et obed.*: "Unam sanctam." *Cum transierit ad Dominum tolletur velamen*; that is, "When the infidel shall come to Christ, the veil of darkness shall be taken from his heart:" *ergo*, he that becometh a priest must shave his crown. This is an argument of theirs, to be found in Isidorus. There is but one only God: *ergo*, all nations throughout the world must pray to him in one tongue. This is an argument of theirs, made by Gerson, sometime chancellor of Paris. *Ecce duo gladii hic*; "Behold here be two swords:" *ergo*, the bishop of Rome hath power of both swords, both spiritual and temporal. This is an argument of theirs, used by Bonifacius the Eighth; *Extrav. comm. de major. et obed.*, as above. The bishop of Rome granteth out pardons: *ergo*, there must needs be a purgatory. This is an argument of theirs, used by John Fisher, bishop of Rochester. *Euntes docete omnes gentes*; "Go and teach all nations." And again: ^f*Quam speciosi pedes evangelizantium pacem, evangelizantium bona!* "O how beautiful be the feet of them that preach peace, of them that preach good things!" And again: ^g*Calceati pedes in præparationem evangelii pacis*; "Having your feet shod to the preparation of the gospel of peace." *Ergo*, the bishop must wear purple sandals. ^h*Aspergam super vos aquam mundam*; "I will sprinkle upon you

^e Extra de major. et obed. cap. "Solitæ" et in gloss. ibid.
^g Ephes. vi.

^h Ezechiel. xxxvi.

^f Isa. lii.

clean water:" *ergo*, the priest must sprinkle the people with holy water. *Sine me nihil potestis facere*; "Without me you can do nothing:" *ergo*, the bishop only must consecrate the church, and no man else. All these, with a number more of the like, be their arguments, used by William Durand in his *Rationali Divinorum*. But let us come near, and see the arguments whereupon the mass is built. *Nolite sanctum dare canibus*; "Give not holy things to dogs:" *ergo*, the priest at mass, and other where, may not speak to the people but in a strange tongue. The title of Christ's death was written upon the cross in Greek, Hebrew, and Latin: *ergo*, all common prayers in the church must be used in one of the same tongues; that is, either in Greek, or in Hebrew, or in Latin. These arguments have been used by many, devised first, as may be thought, by master Eckius. Christ was buried in a shroud of linen cloth: *ergo*, the corporal must be made of fine linen. This argument may be found in Sylvester. Many of the lay people have the palsy, and many have long beards: *ergo*, they must all receive the communion under one kind. This is a common argument, used in manner by all them that have written in this behalf. *Petra erat Christus*; "Christ was the rock:" *ergo*, the altar must be made of stone. *Domini est terra, et plenitudo ejus*; "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof:" and, *Veritas tua in circuitu tuo*; "Thy truth is in thy compass:" the money for which Judas sold Christ was round: *ergo*, the host or the sacramental bread must be round. *Calix aureus Babylon in manu mea*; "Babylon is a cup of gold in my hand," saith the Lord: *ergo*, the chalice must be of silver or gold. This is an argument of theirs, used by master William Durand. When Virgil saith, *Cum faciam vitula*, he useth *facere* for *sacrificare*; that is, he useth this word 'doing' for this word 'sacrificing:' *ergo*, when Christ said to his disciples, *Hoc facite in mei memoriam*, "Do this in remembrance of me," he meant, "Sacrifice this in the remembrance of me." This argument is fashioned out by master Clitovey [Clichtovæus]. And, to be short, the angel looked into the grave: *ergo*, the priest must take off the paten, and look into the chalice. Pilate washed his hands before the people: *ergo*, the priest must likewise wash his hands when he is at mass. Judas kissed Christ: *ergo*, the priest must kiss the altar. The thief on the cross repented himself of his wicked life: *ergo*, the priest at

mass must fetch a sigh, and knock his breast. These and other like be their reasons, and whoso listeth to see them, may find them, and other more as good as these, in William Durand.

Now, good people, judge ye in your conscience indifferently us both, whether of us bringeth you the better and sounder arguments. We bring you nothing but God's holy word, which is a sure rock to build upon, and will never fleet or shrink. And therefore are we able truly to say with St. Paul, *Quod accepimus a Domino, hoc tradidimus vobis*: "We have delivered unto you the same things that we have received of the Lord."

For concerning the last matter that I promised to touch, it cannot be denied by any man, be he never so wilful, but Christ in his last supper ordained a communion, and shewed no manner token of a private mass, as may plainly appear both by the words that he spake, and also by the order of his doings. For he took the bread, brake it, divided it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, "Eat ye (all) hereof;" not unto one alone, but unto the whole. He said further, by way of charge, "Do this:" that is to say, "Practise this that I have here done, and that in such form and sort as ye have seen me do it."

St. Paul likewise, when he saw that the use of the sacrament was grown to disorder, that every man took his own supper privately to himself, and that thereby both the holy communion and also brotherly love and unity was despised, as it hath been in the west part of the church, now a great many of years, in this latter time, he called them back again to the beginning thereof, and to the institution of Christ; as giving them thereby to understand, that the sacrament cannot be better used than Christ himself used it. Thus he saith: *Cum conveneritis in unum locum, non potestis Dominicam cœnam manducare; unusquisque enim præsumit cœnam suam*; "When ye resort together into one place, ye cannot eat the Lord's supper; for every one of you eateth his own supper aforehand." Therefore he saith unto them; *Alter alterum expectate*; "Tarry ye and wait one for another, and so receive the holy communion all together. For this is it that I delivered unto you, and the same self thing I received of the Lord."

Here have I briefly shewed the disorder of the private mass, by the first institution of the sacrament, and by the commandment and authority of St. Paul. Now will I, by God's grace,

also declare and open the same by the examples and whole practice of the primitive church, and by the ancient doctors and other learned fathers that followed after the apostles' time, for the space of six hundred years or more; and I trust ye shall clearly see, that for so long time there was no private mass in the catholic church of Christ in any country or coast throughout the world. For all the writers that were within the compass of that time have left behind them witness sufficient of a communion; but not one of them all could ever tell us of any private mass.

Clemens, who, as they say, was scholar to St. Peter, writeth thus in an epistle to St. James: *Tot in altare holocausta offerantur, quot populo sufficere debeant*; "Let there be so many hosts offered upon the altar, as may be sufficient for the people to receive."

Dionysius, an ancient writer, and, as some have thought, disciple unto St. Paul, (although the contrary may appear plainly by his own words,) in a little book that he hath made of the whole order of the church in his time, setting forth the manner of the Lord's supper, writeth thus: *Tum sacerdos ad sacram communionem et ipse convertitur, et reliquos, ut una communicent, hortatur*; that is, "The priest both turneth himself to the communion, and also exhorteth the rest to communicate and receive with him."

And further he saith; *Sumpta demum atque omnibus tradita communionem divina, gratias referens, finem mysteriis imponit*; that is, "The priest, when he hath received himself, and delivered the holy communion to all the people, giveth God thanks, and maketh an end of the mysteries." Hitherto we find plain tokens of a communion, but not one word of the private mass.

Justinus Martyr, in his Apology, or defence of the Christian faith, sheweth in what sort the Lord's supper was used in his time. *Diaconus*, saith he, *hortatur populum, ut illorum, quæ proposita sunt, velint esse participes*; that is, "The deacon exhorteth the people, that they will be partakers of those things that be laid forth before them."

Further he saith; *Diaconi distribuunt ad participandum presentium unicuique, ex consecrato pane, et vino et aqua: illis vero, qui non adsunt, deferunt domum*: that is, "The deacons deliver of the consecrate bread and wine and water to every one

that is there present: and if there be any away, they carry it home to them." Here also we find a communion, but no private mass.

St. Ambrose rebuketh his people that were then grown negligent in receiving the Lord's supper, and used to excuse the matter, for that they thought themselves not worthy. *Si non es dignus quotidie, ergo nec semel dignus es in toto anno*; "If thou be not worthy," saith St. Ambrose, "every day, then art thou not worthy once in a year."

And again, the same St. Ambrose, expounding these words of St. Paul, *Alius alium expectate*, writeth thus: *Expectandum dicit, ut multorum oblatio simul celebretur, et omnibus ministretur*; that is, "He commandeth them to tarry one for another, that the oblation of many may be celebrate or done together, and so be ministered unto them all." These words also savour altogether of a communion, and nothing of a private mass.

St. Hierom, St. Augustine, and the Ecclesiastical History witnesseth, that until that time commonly every where (but specially in Rome) the people used to communicate every day.

Leo writing unto Dioscorus, the bishop of Alexandria, gave him this advice, that where the church was so little that it was not able to receive all the whole people to communicate all together, then the priest should minister two or three communions in one day, that as the people came in, and had once filled the church, so they should receive the communion, and afterward give place to others.

St. Hierom, writing upon the eleventh chapter of the First to the Corinthians, hath these words; *Cæna Dominica omnibus debet esse communis, quia ille omnibus discipulis suis qui aderant æqualiter tradidit sacramenta*; that is, "The supper of the Lord must be common to all the people, for Christ gave his sacraments to all his disciples that were present."

I leave out other authorities, for shortness' sake; for it would be too long to say as much herein as might be said. All these holy doctors and godly fathers give us most perfect evidence of a communion, without mention making of any private mass.

Thus the catholic church of Christ used the holy communion at the beginning. And even thus the most part of Christian people throughout the whole world, the Indians, the Mauritians, the Egyptians, the Persians, the Arabians, the Armenians,

the Grecians, and as many as bear the name of Christ, have kept and continued the same amongst themselves, from the first time they received the gospel until this day; and never received or used the private mass.

But what better witness may we use in this behalf, than the very mass book itself, which is the rule and direction of the mass? If the mass book itself bear witness against the private mass, then I trust our cause shall appear somewhat better than it hath been taken heretofore.

First, by the way, before I enter near into the matter, the prayers that be used in the mass be common, as well to the people as to the priest. The priest saith, *Oremus*, "Let us pray," and so goeth forth in his collect: and at the end thereof the whole people by the mass book are taught to say, "Amen." The priest saith, "The Lord be with you:" the people by the mass book is taught to answer, "And with thy spirit." The priest saith, "Lift up your hearts:" the people by the mass book should answer, "We lift them up to the Lord." The priest turneth him to the people, and saith, *Orate pro me fratres et sorores*; "Pray for me, brothers and sisters:" and, by the very order of the mass book, the people should know what he saith, and at his request should pray for him. Hereby we see, that whatsoever prayers be used about the ministration of the sacrament, ought to be the common requests of all the people. Therefore saith Justinus, an old godly father and a holy martyr; *Ubi gratias egit præpositus, universus populus acclamat, Amen*; that is, "When the priest hath given thanks, the whole people say, Amen." And Chrysostom likewise saith; *Ne mireris, si populus in mysteriis nostris cum sacerdote colloquatur*; "Marvel not," saith Chrysostom, "though the people and the priest, in our mysteries, talk together." For in the common prayers that be used about the ministration, the priest and the people, both in voice and heart, should join together. And when the priest hath once done the consecration, and the people should at his hand receive the communion, the mass book itself biddeth him to break the bread in three parts: and thereof have idle heads of late time fancied out many mystical follies; as though one part thereof were offered for them that be in heaven; the other for them that, they say, be in purgatory; the third for them that be alive. These be phantasies and very follies, without

any ground either of the holy scriptures, or of the doctors, or of the old catholic church. But in very deed the breaking and dividing of the bread is a remnant of the true and the old communion, that was in use in the time of the doctors of the church and of the holy catholic fathers: for to that end the bread is broken, that it may be divided among the people; and therefore the supper of the Lord is called, *Fractio panis*; that is, "The breaking of bread."

Moreover, the priest by the mass book is taught to say, *Accipite, edite*; "Take ye, eat ye:" and, *Habete vinculum charitatis, ut apti sitis sacrosanctis mysteriis*; that is, "Have ye the bond of charity, that ye may be meet for the holy mysteries." And to whom shall we think the priest speaketh these words? It were too vain a thing for him, in the open congregation, to speak to himself, and specially in the plural number. Yet were it a great deal more vain for him to speak the same words to the bread and wine, and to say unto them, "Take ye, eat ye;" or, "Have ye the band of charity, that ye may be meet for the holy mysteries." Therefore it is evident that these words should be spoken to the people, and that in such sort as they might well understand them, and prepare themselves to the communion.

And, to conclude, the priest by his own mass book is bidden to say these words immediately after the *Agnus Dei*: *Hæc sacrosancta commixtio et consecratio corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi fiat mihi et omnibus sumentibus salus mentis et corporis*: that is to say, "This commixtion and consecration of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be unto me, and to all that receive it, health of body and soul." Thus in the mass book itself, which, as I said afore, is the very rule and direction of the mass, if it were used accordingly, we find a communion for the whole congregation to receive together, and no private mass.

Perhaps there may be some that will say, "We grant these things be spoken of the communion in the old doctors; but there be as many things or mo spoken by them of the private mass, and all that you dissemble and pass by." I know such replies have been made by divers: but, good brethren, I will make it plain unto you, through God's grace, by the most ancient writers that were in and after the apostles' time, and by the order of the first primitive church, that then there could be

no private mass, and that whoso would not communicate with the priest, was then commanded out of the congregation.

In the Canons of the Apostles there is a decree made against all such as would be present at the communion, and yet not receive the sacrament: the words be these; *Fideles qui in ecclesiam ingrediuntur, et scripturas audiunt, et communionem sanctam non recipiunt, tanquam ecclesiasticæ pacis perturbatores, a communione arceantur*; that is, "Such Christian men as come to the church, and hear the scriptures, and receive not the holy communion, let them be excommunicated, as men that disquiet the whole church."

Calixtus, a bishop of Rome, not long after the apostles' time, giveth out the like commandment in the same behalf: his words be these; *Peracta consecratione, omnes communicent, qui noluerint carere ecclesiasticis liminibus: sic enim apostoli statuerunt, et sancta Romana tenet ecclesia*: that is, "When the consecration is done, let every man receive the communion, unless he will be put off from the entry of the church: for this thing have the apostles ordained, and the holy church of Rome continueth the same."

St. Chrysostom, upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians, sharply rebuketh the people for refraining the holy communion. Thus he saith: *Non es dignus communione: ergo nec precibus: Qua ratione præco dicit, Abite; tu vero impudenter perstas*: "Thou wilt say," saith St. Chrysostom, "that thou art not worthy to receive the communion. Then art thou not worthy to be present at the common prayers. The deacon saith unto you that will not communicate, 'Get you hence;' and yet thou, like an impudent man, standest still."

St. Gregory, in his Dialogues, shewed the manner of the communion in his time, to the like purpose: *Diaconus clamat, Si quis non communicat, exeat, et locum cedat alteri*: "The deacon," saith St. Gregory, "speaketh out aloud, 'Whoso will not communicate, let him depart away, and give place to others.'" This was the order of the old time: the deacon gave warning to the people; *Exeunto catechumeni: exeunto pœnitentes*: "Let such as be young novices in the faith go forth: let such as are in their penance go forth:" that they, that might not communicate with the rest, should depart from the church, and not be present at the communion. And this order continued

still until the time of St. Gregory, which was six hundred years after Christ. Who was there then that consecrated the bread and wine, and received altogether to himself alone? where then was the private mass? where then was the single communion all this while?

Yet are there some that whisper in corners, that the mass is a blessed and a catholic thing, and that the holy communion, which now God of his great mercy hath restored to us, is wicked and schismatical; and therefore they murmur against it, therefore they refrain it, and will not come to it.

O merciful God, who would think there could be so much wilfulness in the heart of man? O Gregory! O Augustine! O Hierom! O Chrysostom! O Leo! O Dionyse! O Anacletus! O Sixtus! O Paul! O Christ! if we be deceived herein, ye are they that have deceived us: you have taught us these schisms and divisions; ye have taught us these heresies.

Thus ye ordered the holy communion in your time; the same we received at your hand, and have faithfully delivered it unto the people. And that ye may the more marvel at the wilfulness of such men, they stand this day against so many old fathers, so many doctors, so many examples of the primitive church, so manifest and so plain words of the holy scriptures; and yet have they herein not one father, not one doctor, not one allowed example of the primitive church, to make for them. And when I say, no one, I speak not this in vehemency of spirit, or heat of talk, but even as before God, by the way of simplicity and truth, lest any of you should haply be deceived, and think there is more weight in the other side, than in conclusion there shall be found. And therefore once again I say, Of all the words of the holy scriptures, of all the examples of the primitive church, of all the old fathers, of all the ancient doctors, in these causes they have not one.

Here the matter itself that I have now in hand putteth me in remembrance of certain things that I uttered unto you, to the same purpose, at my last being in this place. I remember I laid out then here before you a number of things, that are now in controversy, whereunto our adversaries will not yield. And I said, perhaps boldly, as it might then seem to some man, but as I myself, and the learned of our adversaries themselves, do well know, sincerely and truly, that none of all them that

this day stand against us are able, or shall ever be able, to prove against us any one of all those points, either by the scriptures, or by example of the primitive church, or by the old doctors, or by the ancient general councils.

Since that time it hath been reported in places, that I spake then more than I was able to justify and make good. Howbeit, these reports were only made in corners, and therefore ought the less to trouble me. But if my sayings had been so weak, and might so easily have been reprov'd, I marvel that the parties never yet came to the light, to take the advantage. For my promise was, and that openly here before you all, that if any man were able to prove the contrary, I would yield and subscribe to him, and he should depart with the victory. Loath I am to trouble you with rehearsal of such things as I have spoken afore; and yet, because the case so requireth, I shall desire you that have already heard me to bear the more with me in this behalf. Better it were to trouble your ears with twice hearing of one thing, than to betray the truth of God. The words that I then spake, as near as I can call them to mind, were these: "If any learned man of all our adversaries, or if all the learned men that be alive, be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old catholic doctor or father, or out of any old general council, or out of the holy scriptures of God, or any one example of the primitive church, whereby it may be clearly and plainly proved, that there was any private mass in the whole world at that time, for the space of six hundred years after Christ; or that there was then any communion ministered unto the people under one kind; or that the people had their common prayers then in a strange tongue, that they understood not; or that the bishop of Rome was then called an universal bishop, or the head of the universal church; or that the people was then taught to believe that Christ's body is really, substantially, corporally, carnally, or naturally in the sacrament; or that his body is or may be in a thousand places, or mo, at one time; or that the priest did then hold up the sacrament over his head; or that the people did then fall down and worship it with godly honour; or that the sacrament was then, or now ought to be, hanged up under a canopy; or that in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, there remaineth only the accidents and shows, without the substance of bread

and wine ; or that the priest then divided the sacrament in three parts, and afterward received himself all alone ; or that whosoever had said the sacrament is a figure, a pledge, a token, or a remembrance of Christ's body, had therefore been judged for an heretic ; or that it was lawful then to have thirty, twenty, fifteen, ten, or five masses said in one church, in one day ; or that images were then set up in the churches, to the intent the people might worship them ; or that the lay people was then forbidden to read the word of God in their own tongue : If any man alive were able to prove any of these articles, by any one clear or plain clause or sentence, either of the scriptures, or of the old doctors, or of any old general council, or by any example of the primitive church ; I promised then that I would give over and subscribe unto him."

These words are the very like, I remember, I spake here openly before you all. And these be the things that some men say I have spoken and cannot justify. But I, for my part, will not only not call in any thing that I then said, (being well assured of the truth therein,) but also will lay more matter to the same ; that if they that seek occasion, have any thing to the contrary, they may have the larger scope to reply against me.

Wherefore, besides all that I have said already, I will say farther, and yet nothing so much as might be said : If any one of all our adversaries be able clearly and plainly to prove, by such authority of the scriptures, the old doctors, and councils, as I said before, that it was then lawful for the priest to pronounce the words of consecration closely and in silence to himself ; or that the priest had then authority to offer up Christ unto his Father ; or to communicate and receive the sacrament for another¹ as they do ; or to apply the virtue of Christ's death and passion to any man by the mean of the mass ; or that it was then thought a sound doctrine to teach the people that the mass, *ex opere operato*, that is, even for that it is said and done, is able to remove any part of our sin ; or that then any Christian man called the sacrament his Lord and God ; or that the people was then taught to believe that the body of Christ remaineth in the sacrament as long as the accidents of the bread remain there without corruption ; or that a mouse, or any other worm or beast, may eat the body of Christ (for so some of our adversa-

¹ [Corrected in the Replie, art. 18, to "others."]

ries have said and taught); or that when Christ said, *Hoc est corpus meum*, this word, *hoc*, pointeth not the bread, but *individuum vagum*, as some of them say; or that the accidents, or forms, or shows, of bread and wine, be the sacraments of Christ's body and blood, and not rather the very bread and wine itself; or that the sacrament is a sign or token of the body of Christ that lieth hidden underneath it; or that ignorance is the mother and cause of true devotion and obedience—these be the highest mysteries, and greatest keys, of their religion, and without them their doctrine can never be maintained and stand upright—If any one of all our adversaries be able to avouch any one of all these articles, by any such sufficient authority of scriptures, doctors, or councils, as I have required, as I said before, so say I now again, I am content to yield unto him and to subscribe. But I am well assured, that they shall never be able truly to allege one sentence; and because I know it, therefore I speak it, lest ye haply should be deceived.

All this notwithstanding, ye have heard men in times past allege unto you, councils, doctors, antiquities, successions, and long continuance of time to the contrary. And an easy matter it was so to do, specially before them that lack either leisure or judgment to examine their proofs. On a time Mithridates, the king of Pontus, laid siege to Cyzicum, a town joined in friendship to the city of Rome. Which thing the Romans hearing, made out a gentleman of theirs, named Lucullus, to raise the siege. After that Lucullus was within the sight of the town, and shewed himself with his company upon the side of a hill, thence to give courage to the citizens within that were besieged, Mithridates, to cast them into despair, and to cause them the rather to yield to him, made it to be noised, and bare them in hand, that all that new company of soldiers was his, sent for purposely by him against the city. All that notwithstanding, the citizens within kept the walls, and yielded not. Lucullus came on, raised the siege, vanquished Mithridates, and slew his men. Even so, good people, is there now a siege laid to your walls; an army of doctors and councils shew themselves upon a hill; the adversary, that would have you yield, beareth you in hand, that they are their soldiers and stand on their side. But keep your hold; the doctors and old catholic fathers, in the points that I have spoken of, are yours; ye shall see the siege

raised, ye shall see your adversaries discomfited and put to flight. The Pelagians were able to allege St. Augustine as for themselves; yet, when the matter came to proof, he was against them. Helvidius was able to allege Tertullian, as making for himself, but in trial he was against him.

Eutyches alleged Julius Romanus for himself; yet indeed was Julius most against him. The same Eutyches alleged for himself Athanasius and Cyprian; but in conclusion they stood both against him. Nestorius alleged the council of Nice, yet was the same council found against him.

Even so they that have avaulted themselves of doctors and councils and continuance of time in any of these points, when they shall be called to trial to shew their proofs, they shall open their hands and find nothing. I speak not this of arrogancy, (thou, Lord, knowest it best, that knowest all things;) but, forasmuch as it is God's cause and the truth of God, I should do God great injury if I should conceal it. But to return again to our matter. There be some that say, that no mass is private, or to be taken as the action of one private man. For they say, The priest, that saith mass here, doth communicate with another priest, that saith mass some other where, wheresoever it be, the distance being never so great. This commission seemeth very large. For so may the priest, that saith mass in England or Scotland, communicate with the priest that is in Calicute, or in the furthest part of India. And by this means should there be no excommunication at all, for the party excommunicate might say, He would communicate with the priest whether he would or no. But St. Paul glosseth not the matter on this sort, but saith, *Alter alterum expectate*; that is, "Tarry ye one for another." And again he saith, "When ye come together, ye cannot eat the Lord's supper, for every one of you taketh his own supper aforehand."

Some others say, The priest may communicate for the people, and that is as meritorious unto them as if they had communicated themselves. But what commission hath the priest so to do? or from whom? or what certain knowledge hath he, that his receiving of the communion shall be available for the people? for if it be so, what needed it then Christ to say, *Accipite, bibite ex hoc omnes*? Or if we may receive the sacrament of Christ's body one for another, why may not we as well be baptized one

for another? why may we not as well confess our faults before the congregation and receive absolution one for another? why may we not hear the gospel and believe one for another? O that these follies, so weak and so vain, without show or shadow of any truth, should ever sink into a Christian heart, or take place in God's religion! St. Paul saith, *Qui manducat et bibit indigne, judicium sibi manducat et bibit*; "Whoso eateth or drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment (not unto others, saith St. Paul, but) to himself." Again, St. Paul saith, "Whoso believeth in him that justifieth the wicked, (not the faith of any other man, but) his own faith is reckoned to him unto justice." St. Chrysostome saith; "It is the heresy of the Marcionites, to think that any one man may receive the sacrament for another;" and therefore he maketh light of such disorder of the sacraments, and calleth them *sacramenta vicaria*. Origen saith, *Ille est sacerdos et propitiatio, et hostia...Est enim Agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mundi...Quæ propitiatio ad unumquemque venit, per viam fidei*; "He is our priest," saith Origen, "he is our atonement, he is our sacrifice...For he is the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world...Which atonement," saith he, "cometh unto us (not by the application of the mass, but) by the way of faith."

St. Augustine likewise saith, *Si non obliviscimur mundi* [i. munus] *salvatoris, quotidie nobis Christus immolatur...Ex ipsis reliquiis cogitationis, id est, ex memoria, Christus nobis quotidie immolatur*; "If we forget not the Saviour of the world, Christ is every day sacrificed unto us...Even by the remnants of our cogitations, that is, by our remembrance of his death, Christ is made a sacrifice unto us every day." It is not therefore neither the faith, neither the doing of the priest, but our own doing, and our own faith, that applieth unto us the virtue and merits of Christ's death. Some others say, that St. Peter said mass at Rome and St. James at Jerusalem. And why say they not rather, that Christ himself said mass? for that were the near way to bring the mass into credit. Or why say they not sooner, that Aaron and his chaplains said mass? For indeed, as it hath been used, the church hath had much more of the robes, of the ceremonies, and of the sacrifices of Aaron, than of the institution or ordinance of Christ. But this have men told you, and with such things as they have found out themselves, they have incoffed

and fathered the apostles of Christ. So commonly, conjurors and sorcerers make their vaunts, that they have all their books and their cunning from Athanasius, from Moses, from Abel, from Adam, from Raphael the archangel.

Thus the people of God is deceived and mocked, and, instead of precious stones, driven to take counterfeits. For I assure you, brethren, in the time of Peter and James, neither was there any man that ever heard the name of mass, (for *missa* was never named until four hundred years after Christ, and yet then was it no private mass neither, but a communion), nor yet were the pieces and parts of the mass, as we in our time have seen them, set together. And what mass could that be, that as yet had neither her own name nor her parts? But forasmuch as they affirm so constantly that St. James said mass at Jerusalem, and whatsoever it were that he said, will needs have it called by the name of a mass; let us compare their mass and St. James's mass both together. St. James said his mass in the common tongue, as the people might understand him; they say their mass in a strange Latin tongue, that the people should not know what they mean. St. James spake out the words of consecration distinctly and plainly; they in their mass suppress the same words and keep them close. St. James in his mass ministered the communion unto the people; they in their mass receive themselves all alone. St. James in his mass ministered the sacrament unto the people under both kinds; they in their mass minister the sacrament unto the people in one kind only. St. James in his mass preached and set forth the death of Christ; they in their mass have only a number of dumb gestures and ceremonies, which they themselves understand not, and make no manner mention of Christ's death. St. James's mass was full of knowledge; their mass is full of ignorance. St. James's mass was full of consolation; their mass is full of superstition. When St. James said mass, the people resorted to receive the sacrament; when they say mass, the people resorteth to look upon only and to behold the sacrament. And to conclude, St. James in his mass had Christ's institution; they in their mass have wellnear nothing else but man's invention.

Such difference ye may see between St. James's mass and their's. O that St. Paul were now alive and saw the behaviour and order of the priest at their mass! Think ye that he would

take it and account it for the Lord's supper? When he had espied but one fault in the holy communion amongst the Corinthians, straightway he rebuked them, and called them back to Christ's institution. "This," saith he, "I received of the Lord, and the same I gave over unto you."

But if he saw the disorder that we have seen, would he not be moved as much against us now, as he was sometime against the Corinthians? Would he not pull us back to the institution of Christ, as he did them? Would he not say unto us, Did I ever teach you to minister the holy communion in a strange language? Did I ever teach you to receive the communion privately to yourselves alone, and so to disdain and to despise your brethren? Did I ever teach you to minister the communion to the people in one kind? Did I ever teach you to say mass, or to receive the sacrament, for the people? Did I ever teach you the idle follies of your canon? Did I ever teach you to offer up the Son of God unto his Father? Did I ever teach you any other propitiatory sacrifice for sin, than that Christ once offered upon the cross? Did I ever teach you to minister the Lord's supper wherein the people should nothing else but look upon and behold your doings, without any kind of knowledge or comfort? Did I ever teach you to lift the sacrament over your head? Did I ever teach the people to fall down thereunto, and to worship they know not what? Be these the things that I delivered you? Be these the things that I received of the Lord? This would St. Paul say unto us, if he were now alive. Thus would he reprove us, and call us to the standard and original of the first appointing of the holy sacrament.

Our own inventions and phantasies wherewith we had filled the mass were so many and so gross, that they quite covered and shadowed the death of Christ, and the holy mysteries of our salvation. Therefore we could not truly say, These things Paul delivered unto us; or, these things Paul received of the Lord.

Wherefore, good people, and dearly beloved brethren, forasmuch as we see there have been great and evident abuses and errors in the mass, so plain and so manifest, that no man that hath reason, and will consider them, can deny it; let us follow the counsel of St. Paul, let us return to the ordinance of Christ, unto the true standard that cannot fail us.

As it is not in the power of man to appoint sacraments, so is

it not in the power of man to alter or change sacraments. God will not be worshipped after our phantasies, and therefore so oftentimes he chargeth us in the scriptures, *Non facietis quod bonum videtur in oculis vestris*; "Ye shall not do that thing that seemeth good to you in your own sight:" ye shall not turn neither to the left hand nor to the right; but what thing soever I bid you do, that only shall ye do. Your thoughts be not my thoughts, neither be your ways my ways; for as far as heaven is from the earth, or the east from the west, so far off be your thoughts from my thoughts, and your ways from my ways, saith the Lord. It is a dangerous thing for a mortal man to control or find fault with the wisdom of the immortal God.

Tertullian, an old father of the church, sheweth us the wilfulness of man's heart, after it hath once enterprised to presume a little against God's truth and ordinance; *Præter scripturas faciunt, ut post audacius contra scripturas faciant*; "First," saith he, "they attempt somewhat beside the scriptures, to the intent, that afterward they may gather courage and boldness to do contrary to the scriptures." At the end they proceed as far as the Scribes and Pharisees, that, for maintenance of their own traditions, despised and brake the commandments of God. For redress therein, there is no better way than to follow St. Paul's counsel here, and to have recourse to God's holy word.

St. Ambrose saith; *Interrogemus Petrum: interrogemus Paulum, si verum volumus invenire*; "If we will find out the truth, and be put out of doubt," saith St. Ambrose, "let us hearken what Peter and Paul will say unto us."

St. Cyprian saith; *Hinc schismata oriuntur, quia caput non quæritur, et ad fontem non reditur, et cælestis magistri præcepta non servantur*; "Hereof," saith St. Cyprian, "arise schisms and divisions, for that we seek not to the head, nor have recourse to the spring, nor keep the commandments of the heavenly Master."

Tertullian saith; *Hæc ratio contra omnem hæresim valet, hoc verum est, quod primum fuit*; "This reason," saith he, "is able to confound all manner heresies. That thing is true that was first appointed."

O that our adversaries, and all they that stand in defence of the mass this day, would content themselves to be judged by this rule! O that, in all the controversies that lie between us and them, they would remit the judgment unto God's word!

So should we soon agree and join together : so should we deliver nothing unto the people but that we have received at God's hand.

And if there be any here that have had, or yet have any good opinion of the mass, I beseech you for God's sake, even as ye tender your own salvation, suffer not yourselves wilfully to be led away, run not blindly to your own confusion. Think with yourselves, it was not for nought that so many of your brethren rather suffered themselves to die, and to abide all manner extremity and cruelty, than they would be partakers of that thing that you reckon to be so holy. Let their death, let their ashes, let their blood, that was so abundantly shed before your eyes, somewhat prevail with you, and move you. Be not ruled by your wilful affections. Ye have a good zeal and mind towards God ; have it according unto the knowledge of God. The Jews had a zeal of God, and yet they crucified the Son of God. Search the scriptures ; there shall ye find everlasting life. There shall ye learn to judge yourselves, and your own doings, that ye be not judged of the Lord. If ever it happen you to be present again at the mass, think but thus with yourselves ; What make I here ? What profit have I of my doings ? I hear nothing : I understand nothing : I am taught nothing : I receive nothing : Christ bad me take ; I take nothing : Christ bad me eat ; I eat nothing : Christ bad me drink ; I drink nothing. Is this the institution of Christ ? Is this the Lord's supper ? Is this the right use of the holy mysteries ? Is this it that Paul delivered unto me ? Is this it that Paul received of the Lord ? Let us say but thus unto ourselves, and no doubt God of his mercy will open our hearts ; we shall see our errors, and content ourselves to be ordered by the wisdom of God : to do that God will have us to do : to believe that God will have us to believe : to worship that God will have us worship. So shall we have comfort of the holy mysteries : so shall we receive the fruits of Christ's death : so shall we be partakers of Christ's body and blood : so shall Christ truly dwell in us, and we in him : so shall all error be taken from us : so shall we join all together in God's truth : so shall we all be able with one heart, and one spirit, to know and to glorify the only, the true, and the living God, and his only begotten Son, Jesus Christ ; to whom both, with the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory for ever and ever, Amen.

THE TRUE COPIES OF
THE LETTERS

BETWEEN

THE REVEREND FATHER IN GOD
JOHN BISHOP OF SARUM AND DR. COLE,

Upon occasion of a Sermon that the said Bishop preached before the Queen's
Majesty and her most honourable Council, 1560.

*Set forth and allowed according to the order appointed in the Queen's Majesty's
Injunctions :*

Cum gratia et privilegio Regiæ Majestatis per septennium.



THE COPY OF
A LETTER

SENT FROM DR. COLE

TO THE BISHOP OF SARUM.

I TRUST I shall not need many words to make my entry with you. You have made so large and gentle an offer, that my request, being employed within the compass of the same, shall have an answer I hope to my comfort.

Where in these Articles you seem very resolute, and as it is thought so well armed, that you have wherewith to persuade any reasonable man to be in them of your opinion: may it therefore like you to send me the chief places in these matters, not written, (for that were too much pains for you,) but noted, or, as they term it, quoted, which and where they be. And I promise you, by the faith I bear to God, I shall yield so far as you shall give me cause.

I would wish it might please you to write herein again, for talk will not so well further that you should herein intend. If haply it shall like you to write any more than the places, which ye account will thoroughly prove your opinion, I pray you do it rather *dialectice* than otherwise; for the weight of these matters more requireth learning than words.

If the places that you have in these Articles be but such as are already answered by learned men on our side, or but such as Calvin, Bucer, or other of the protestants have laid for themselves, then I trust you will lay more weight or reason to them. For such as they be in them, I have already seen. I repute them percase somewhat able to do with young folk, or the simple and unlearned people: other, I ween, weigh them no better than they be worthy.

Yet one thing more I long much to be answered in, why ye rather offer both in your sermon yesterday in the court, and at all other times at Paul's Cross, to dispute in these four points, than in the chief matters that lie in question betwixt the church of Rome and the protestants. It seemeth to me far the nearer way to compass that you would so fain win, if ye began not with such matters which we deny not, but a general council might take order that they should be practised as ye would have it. Marry the article of the presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament; the article of our justification; the value of a Christian man's good works; whether the mass used in the church of Rome be tolerable, yea or no; yea, whether that the mass be not a very sacrifice acceptable to God indeed, and good both for the quick and the dead; whether any scripture forbiddeth a man to desire the blessed apostles and martyrs in heaven to pray for us; whether it be lawful to honour them; and whether it be lawful for us, and good for them, to pray for all Christian souls. I ween if ye had the upperhand but in one of these questions, the world might well think we were smally to be trusted in all the rest. For we make a plat and plain answer to them, without "if" or "and." So do we not, whether the service ought to be in English or not; or, whether the people ought to receive in both kinds or no; or, whether any private mass ought to be said in the church or no.

I have jeopardied to wade thus far with you, for no worse purpose than I have uttered at the beginning. For of truth, if you shew me good cause why, I shall yield, as I have promised.

My adventure in this case shall be so taken, I trust, as no advantage be sought against me, as for breach of any part of my duty one way or other. Wherefore, I pray you, construe my doings by the meaning I had in them.

I have here set in writing the questions that you have so gently offered to be reasonable, in such sort in effect as they were reported from your mouth to me:

1. "Whether there remain any substance of bread and wine after the consecration done as the church appointeth?"
2. "Whether it be tolerable that the people should receive under one kind or no?"
3. "Whether it be any offence before God, that the common

service should be said in a tongue that the people understandeth not?

4. "Whether it be any offence before God, a priest to say mass, unless one or other receive with him?"

18. *Martii.*

HENRICUS COLE*.

*The Bishop of Salisbury's answer unto the letter
aforewritten.*

I PERCEIVE by your letters, that ye were not present yourself at my sermon in the court, but only heard of it by the report of others. And where you desire to be answered in certain points touching the same, considering both my calling and also the place where I spake, I stand in doubt whether I may safely without further license give a reckoning of my doctrine, being uttered before the prince, the council, and the whole state of the realm; specially to a subject, and such a subject as misliketh all sermons, and yet will not vouchsafe to hear one. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as I am persuaded that you charitably desire to be resolved, I can also charitably be contented, as a friend with a friend, or a scholar with a scholar, to confer with you herein, reserving alway my former protestation.

Touching the quotations of the special points and grounds that I stand upon, if you had heard the manner of my doctrine yourself, I believe you would not have required them. For your reporter hath altered the whole form of my speaking.

For I stood only upon the negative, which, as you said, when time was, in the disputation that should have been at Westminster^b, is not possible to be proved.

* [This is the same Cole who preached the sermon previous to Cranmer's execution. In the British Museum (Landsdown 981) is a MS. account of his life. He was born at Godshill (Isle of Wight), warden of New College 1542; resigned or deprived 1551; provost of Eton 1554, and not long after dean of St. Paul's; died in the Fleet about 1561. He had been appointed under Mary, a

commissioner against the Irish protestants, but Mary died before he could act.]

^b [See an account of this conference, and particularly of the part which Cole took in it, in Burnet, *Hist. Ref. Records*, ii. 474; and in *Epist. Juell. ad P. Martyr. apud Burnet. Records*, iii. 357 (printed in a later vol. of this edition).]

My offer was this ; that, if any one of all those things, that I then rehearsed, could be proved of your side by any sufficient authority, either of the scriptures, or of the old doctors, or of the ancient councils, or by any one allowed example of the primitive church, that then I would be content to yield unto you.

I say you have none of all those helps, nor scriptures, nor councils, nor doctors, nor any other antiquity ; and this is the negative. Now it standeth you upon to prove but one affirmative to the contrary, and so to require my promise.

The articles that I said could not be proved of your part, were these :

That it cannot appear by any authority either of the old doctors, or of the ancient councils, that there was any private mass in the whole church of Christ at that time.

Or, that there was then any communion ministered in the church to the people under one kind only.

Or, that the common prayers were then pronounced in a strange tongue, that the people understood not.

Or, that the bishop of Rome was then called *universalis episcopus*, or *caput universalis ecclesiae*, an universal bishop of the whole world, or else the head of the universal church.

Or, that the people was then taught to believe, that in the sacrament after the consecration the substance of bread and wine departeth away, and that there remaineth nothing else but only the accidents of bread and wine.

Or, that then it was thought lawful to say ten, twenty, or thirty masses in one church in one day.

Or, that the people was then forbidden to pray or to read the scriptures in their mother tongue.

And other mo articles a great number I reckoned up then at Paul's Cross, which it were long now to rehearse.

And if any one of all these articles can be sufficiently proved by such authority as I have said, and as ye have borne the people in hand ye can prove them by, I am well content to stand to my promise.

If you say, These are but small matters in comparison of others : yet as small as ye would have them seem now, some men have felt no small smart for them.

And where you marvel why I began not rather with the real presence, with justification, with the value of good works, with

the sacrifice of the mass, with praying unto saints, with praying for the dead: although indeed it may seem very much for me to be appointed by others what order I should take in my preaching; yet to answer the truth, why I passed by these matters at the first, and rather began with other, the cause was, not for that I doubted in any of the premises, but only for that I knew the matters, that you move question of, might at least have some colour or shadow of the doctors. But I thought it best to make my entry with such things, as wherein I was well assured ye should be able to find not so much as any colour at all. And if ye will first grant this to be true, as I believe you will, notwithstanding the people have been long told the contrary, afterward I am well content to travel with you further in the rest.

Further, I marvel much ye write, that touching a private mass, or the receiving under one kind, or the common prayers to be had in an unknown tongue, or otherwise, ye are not resolved to answer precisely without "if" or "and." For where ye say, ye are content to be ordered herein by a general council: first, I would know, what general council of any antiquity ever decreed any of those matters against us; unless perhaps ye will say, The council of Constance, that of late years pronounced openly against Christ himself, and all the primitive church, that it should be a schismatical disorder, if the people should communicate under both kinds. And having no ancient council, that ever was, to allege in these matters, I marvel how ye can justly say, ye are altogether ordered by councils. And yet further would I learn, what warrant any general council can have to decree any thing contrary to God's word.

Where ye say, Ye have seen master Calvin's and master Bucer's reasons, and have found them very weak, and not able to move any others than young folk, and unlearned people; methinketh that answer is so common and so general, that it may serve our turn as well as yours. For we have read Cochläeus, Eckius, Pigghius, Bunderius, and such others, and have found such reasons and answers in them, as I believe you yourself are not much moved withal.

Where you say, that master Calvin's and master Bucer's reasons have been answered, I grant indeed they have been answered; but not so much by learning as by other means, as you

know. But your reasons have been answered by reason sufficiently, as now, God be thanked, the whole world knoweth.

But to conclude as I began, I answer, that in these articles I hold only the negative; and therefore I look how you will be able to affirm the contrary, and that, as I said afore, by sufficient authority. Which if ye do not, you shall cause me the more to be resolved, and others to stand the more in doubt of the rest of your learning.

20. *Martii.*

JOH. SARUM.

Doctor Cole's second Letter to the Bishop of Sarum.

I SHALL for this time pass over all other parts of your answer, and renew my former suit unto you, in most hearty and humble wise, desiring you to give ear unto me in the same.

Remember, for God's sake, how I began with you, not for other intent than to be instructed, why I should be accounted obstinate for standing in contrary opinion with you. Now, when I weigh your answer sent me lately in writing, I think you do mistake my doing, supposing that the same cometh not of such ground as it doth. My letter sent to you declareth in my first entry with you, what my meaning was, and whereof it proceeded. I heard by report of many, that, both at Paul's and otherwhere, ye openly wished that one man, thinking otherwise than you do, would charitably talk with you, whom you would with like charity answer, and endeavour to satisfy. And although you had not so protested, yet is it the part of a common and public preacher to perform no less when occasion is given. With which cause I was moved to write as I did, intending, if I might, to learn of you that I knew not, and that could by learning persuade a man not wholly unlearned to yield thereunto, according to the words of my writing and protestation.

But I find not this meaning in your writing sent unto me, wherein you shew yourself disposed only to defend your teaching, as confessed and taken for true, and not to give any account thereof, or to satisfy any that doubteth. And there you bid me allege to the contrary and disprove your saying, which neither reason nor law can drive me to. Reason, because, the doctrine

being yet doubtful and standing upon proof, the teacher should first approve it unto such as doubt. Which the custom of learning in all universities proveth true: where the opponent, when the matter is denied, as your doctrine is by us, allegeth for that part which he would have seem true. And you take on you to disprove that doctrine, which long time hath been received. Evermore when any man professed a reformation of doctrine, as you do, the reformer hath ever alleged causes why they so did, and so take in hand to prove that they taught, against such as did and would think otherwise.

But because you are a bishop, and spake in such an audience, ye doubt whether you ought to shew cause of that you teach or no, and therefore ye spake by protestation. Whereat I do much marvel; for the person or the place maketh no difference who should prove or disprove. The greater personage you bear, the less cause have ye to be put to answer. You have not yet, I ween, all forgot the trade in Oxford, which you and I were brought up in. In schools of philosophy, a master of art is the highest degree; where the master is rather put to oppose, than to answer. And likewise in divinity, in ordinary disputation, the doctor opposeth, the meaner man answereth. And what reason should lead you to think that a bishop should not rather shew cause of that he teacheth, than any other? St. Paul requireth in a bishop that he be *διδασκαλικός*, a man before all other meet and able to teach. And it is a rule in bishops, that they be ready to give an account of their belief; and many reasons are there, why it should be so.

You cannot say I am an heretic, or obstinate, and thereby put me off. For I offer to yield in all that ye prove to me. I stand in place and case to learn, and you a man appointed to teach. I come for no other purpose but to learn more than I know. I come to you for counsel in those points ye seem very resolute in: I mean you no harm nor guile. Cast me not off for God's love, as men do beggars, when they mind to do them no good.

If ye have scriptures, councils, &c. with you, I desire to know them. If ye have none, let me and my fellows alone in your sermons. We trouble you not, nor give you cause to deal so unmerciful with us, as some of your side do, as though we were the most unreasonable men in the world.

By law upon good grounds no man should be put to reason, where matters are once agreed on. I and my fellows are in bands to avoid such kind of reasoning as ye would put me to. Wherein wise men see, when ye openly provoke us to disprove that ye teach, ye fare as if you should say to one that is bound hand and foot, Come strike me and thou darest. We are, as I said, in place of learners, and ye in place to teach. We are defendants, and ye the plaintiffs. We continue in the faith we professed sith our baptism, ye pretend a change in the same. We have with us an apostolical church, ye have none yet approved. We make no innovation; for, *In rebus novis constituendis*, saith the law, *evidens debet esse utilitas*: and all new attempts are to be suspected.

Ye seem to mislike in manner all that hitherto hath been received. But ye say, ye bring us again to the primitive church. It is a foul fall in reasoning, to bring that for proof which lieth yet in question, or plainly denied. We are in possession; ye come to put us from it. Ye mean to draw us to you; we desire to know cause why. What reason leadeth you to put a negative in question, thereby to grieve your adversary (yet have you none of me, for I seek on you to be taught), where in law a person assaulted can be put to no more but to defend. Where a negative implieth in it a yea, or affirmation, there the plaintiff is put to his proof. But I protest once again, I come not to dispute, but to learn.

You will haply say, that both our side and yours hath already said even so much in the matters that be in question betwixt us, that, as ye can say no more for your part than hath been said already, no more can we neither, and therefore as good never a whit as never the better. If the reasons, that Calvin, Bucer, and other protestants do make, cannot move you, what availeth any more talk? If the case be such indeed, that neither part can go further, but all is said that maketh for either part, then either let both parts let other alone, until such a general council be assembled as ye will agree to stand by, which will not be I trow whiles I live, nor seven years after for aught I see yet. And yet I see other folk think that not reasonable, because the chiefest points we strive on are already determined.

And here it booteth not to say as ye do of the council of Constance slanderously, till ye had proved that ye say. I am

somewhat bold with you in this term ; but pardon me, I pray you, this case requireth the same. It booteth not, I say, to say the church hath walked in blindness, so as ye make none account of such determination. Remember ye have not yet proved the error of one general council.

If it be as you say, All is said that can be ; then you and I now should do well to weigh the reasons of both sides. Here if ye say, What weights or balance will ye weigh them by ? let us hardly do herein as men do when the question is, which of two pieces of gold or two pieces of cloth is best ; then they take a fine piece of gold or cloth, and that that goeth nearest the best, that ought to be so taken for best. Let you and me weigh your men's reasons and ours by the fathers' weights and balance, and see who reasoneth most like St. Augustine, St. Basil, St. Cyprian, Tertullian, Irenæus, and Dionysius, the councils, and such other weights fit for that purpose.

Thus we see there is yet good cause enough why men may soberly learn one of another. And if it misfortune that for lack of insight we cannot agree which balance weigheth heaviest, let us borrow eyes of our neighbours. And if ye begin handsomely with me, I mistrust not but men shall at length get more liberty for so good a purpose, when good meaning is well known.

By this ye see I mean no guile, nor attempt no new practice. If ye refuse me at this request, foresee what may be thought. You are not all without enemies perdie. Some will percase construe, ye refuse *conscientia imbecillitatis*, &c.

Well, if ye send word ye are at a point, and will go no further, then I pray you, that of all this encounter there grow no further breach of amity, or harm otherwise. I mean and deal plainly, and trust upon your open promise to go harmless again from you as I began. Here, repeating again my former protestation, that I am not nor will be against any article that learning or reason can shew I ought to believe, being ready without malice to hear and take what may be alleged to drive me to that ye teach, and desiring you herewithal to construe my sayings by the intent I had in them, and also to tender my suit, I shall here make an end, and trouble you no further, unless I see more comfort at your hand.

I had once made ready to be sent you another answer, which upon better advice I thought good to stay. I meant in both one

thing, but my first was somedeal sour, and would have been as bitter as a medicine, or, in time of Lent, penance. I strive with nature, the less to offend you; and so I trust you see cause to forgive me, if in any part of my writing I seem over eager.

24 Martii.

HENRICUS COLE.

The answer of John, Bishop of Sarum, unto Dr. Cole's second letter.

- 1 IN your second letters I find many words to little purpose.
- 2 It had been better for you to have alleged one sufficient authority, whereby I might have learned that I looked for.
- 3 For, in my sermon at Paul's and elsewhere, I required you to bring forth on your part either some scripture, or some old doctor, or some ancient council, or else some allowed example of the primitive church. For these are good grounds to build upon. And I would have marvelled that you brought nothing all this while, saving that I knew ye had nothing to bring.
- 4 But now, forasmuch as you seek shifts, and will not come to answer, I count him unwise that knoweth not your meaning.
- 5 Ye ask why ye should be called obstinate. Doubtless I have a better opinion of you, and trust ye be not so. But if a man withstand an open truth, having nothing wherewith to defend himself, I remit him to your own judgment, whether he may be called obstinate or no.
- 6 You put me in remembrance of mine office, that forasmuch as I am a bishop, I should be *διδασκλικός*, that is, ready to yield account of such things as I teach: I thank God, so I do, and have done hitherto to my power, both privately and openly.
- 7 But if this be my duty, and required at my hands, what privilege have you, that you only may not allow one poor sentence to the confirmation of your learning?
- 8 You would have men think I fly answering, because I am a bishop. This, in logic, is called *paralogismus, a non causa, ut causa*.
- 9 I alleged the place and audience where I spake, and not only mine office, for that I thought it might appear some want of discretion to call that doctrine into question, which I knew was

grounded upon God's word, and authorized and set forth by the queen's majesty, and by the assent of the whole realm.

10 But as touching my calling, I am not only ready to answer any man in any thing that I profess, but also upon sufficient allegation, as I have promised, very well content to yield unto you.

11 But I beseech you, what reason of your faith in these matters gave you sometime, when ye were in place? Scriptures, doctors, councils ye had none, as it now appeareth by your silence.

12 Therefore the ground of your persuasion must then needs be, *Nos habemus legem, et secundum legem, &c.*—you know what
13 followeth. For, as truly as God is God, if ye would have vouchsafed to follow either the scriptures, or the ancient doctors and councils, ye would never have restored again the supremacy of Rome after it was once abolished, or the private mass, or the communion under one kind, &c.

It grieveth you that I should rest upon the negative, and so put you to your proofs. Wherein notwithstanding ye allege against me the custom of the schools, yet ye know Christ used
14 the same kind of reasoning in his school; as when he said to the Pharisees, *Hoc Abraham non fecit*; "This thing Abraham never did." And again, when he answered them in the case of matrimony, *A principio non fuit sic*; "It was not so from the beginning;" he stood only upon the negative. Wherein if the Pharisees had been able to prove but one affirmative, either that Abraham had done so, or that the law of divorce had been so from the beginning, Christ with his negative might soon have been confounded.

Even so, when the bishop of Constantinople had taken upon him to be called the universal bishop of the whole church, which title afterward the bishop of Rome began to usurp to himself, and for the maintenance of the same had oftentimes disquieted and shaken the whole world; but when the bishop of Constantinople first began to use this style, Gregory being then the
15 bishop of Rome, confounded him only with the negative: *Nemo*, said he, *decessorum meorum hoc profano vocabulo uti voluit*; "None of my predecessors would ever use this unchristianlike and lewd name." Lib. iv. Epist. 36. [ii. 771.] And again, Epist. 38. [ii. 743.] *Sancti ante legem, sancti sub lege, sancti sub gratia, omnes perficientes corpus Domini in membris sunt [ecclesiæ]*

constituti. At nemo se universalem dici voluit; "The holy men before the law, the holy men under the law, the holy men under the grace of the gospel, all together making up one body of the Lord, are placed amongst his members; but none of them would ever suffer himself to be called universal."

I have chosen especially these examples, because they seem to serve me to double purpose. Thus Gregory reasoned then as we do now, only upon the negative: and if then the bishop of Constantinople had been able to prove but one affirmative, that any bishop of Rome aforetime had used that style, or that ever any man, either before the law, or under the law, or under the gospel, had suffered himself to be called universal bishop, then had Gregory been confounded.

- 16 But as touching the custom of the schools, I trust ye have not yet forgotten that Aristotle giveth order to the opponent in many cases to require an instant; as I do now at your hand. And what is that else, but in the denial to defend the negative, and to drive the adversary to avouch the affirmative? But that will ye not do, and ye know why, although ye dissemble it. But sooner ye require to see our grounds.
- 17 And what better grounds can we have on our side, than that Dr. Cole, the chiefest man on the other side, can find no ground to stand against us?
- 18 He that will make any innovation, say you, must give a reason of his doings. O master doctor, this reason fighteth most against yourself; for you have misliked and put away the most part of the order of the primitive church, and yet ye never gave any good reason of your doings.
- 19 You say you are in possession. No, ye were sometimes, you are not now. And when you were, ye had no right title nor good evidence, no more than they that sometime sat in Moses' chair, or they that said, *Nos sumus filii Abraham*, "We are the children of Abraham," and thereby claimed their possession. Therefore ye were *possessores malæ fidei*, and for that cause ye are now justly removed.
- 20 Now if ye think ye have wrong, shew your evidence out of the doctors, the councils, or scriptures, that ye may have your right and reentry. I require you to no great pain; one good sentence shall be sufficient.
- 21 You would have your private mass, the bishop of Rome's

supremacy, the common prayer in an unknown tongue: and for the defence of the same, ye have made no small ado. Methinketh it reasonable ye bring some one authority beside your own to avouch the same withal. Ye have made the unlearned people believe ye had all the doctors, all the councils, and fifteen hundred years on your side. For your credit's sake let not all these great vaunts come to nought.

- 22 Where ye say ye are in place of a learner, and gladly come to be taught, you must pardon me, it seemeth very hard to believe. For if you were desirous to learn, as you would seem, ye would come to the church, ye would resort to the lessons, ye would abide to hear a sermon: for these are the schools, if a man list to learn. It is a token the scholar passeth little for his book, that will never be brought to school.
- 23 Ye desire ye may not be put off, but that your suit may be considered. And yet this half year long I have desired of you and of your brethren but one sentence, and still, I know not how, I am cast off, and can get nothing at your hands.
- 24 You call for the special proofs of our doctrine, which would require a whole book; whereas if you of your part could vouchsafe to bring but two lines, the whole matter were concluded.
- 25 Yet lest I should seem to fly reckoning as ye do, or to follow you in discourtesy, I will perform some part of your request, although indeed it be unreasonable.
- 26 Against your new device of transubstantiation, besides many others whom I will now pass by, ye have the old father and doctor Gelasius, whose judgment I believe ye will regard the more, because he was sometime bishop of Rome, which see, as you have taught, can never err.
- 27 And is alleged in the decrees: his words be plain: *Non desinit esse substantia panis, et natura vini*; "It leaveth not to be the substance of bread, and the nature of wine."
- 28 But to avoid this authority, some men of your side have been forced to expound these words in this sort: *Non desinit esse substantia, hoc est, non desinit esse accidens*; "It leaveth not to be the substance of bread; that is to say, it leaveth not to be the accident, or the form, or the shape of bread." A very miserable shift.
- 29 Even as right as the scholiast expoundeth the text, Dist. 4.

^c*Statuimus, id est, abrogamus.* Yet Dr. Smith of Oxford took a wiser way: for his answer is, that Gelasius never wrote those words, and that they hang not together, and that there is no sense nor reason in them.

- 30 Here have you, that after the consecration there remaineth the substance of bread and wine.
- 31 Now bring ye but one doctor that will say as ye say, that there remaineth only the accidents or shapes of bread and wine, and I will yield.
- 32 As touching a private mass, Gregory saith in his Dialogues, that before the time of the communion the deacon was wont in his time to cry unto the people, *Qui non communicat, locum cedat alteri*; "Whoso will not receive the communion, let him depart and give place to others."
- 33 To break the ordinance of Christ, and to communicate under one kind only, your own doctor Gelasius calleth it *sacrilegium*. And Theophilus Alexandrinus saith; *Si Christus mortuus fuisset pro diabolo, non negaretur illi poculum sanguinis*; "If Christ had died for the devil, the cup of the blood should not be denied him."
- 34 That the common prayers were used in the common tongue, you have St. Basil, St. Hierom, St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, and the emperor Justinian: the places be known.
- 35 You see I disadvantage myself of many things that might be spoken, for at this present I have no leisure to write books.
- 36 Now must I needs likewise desire you, forasmuch as I have followed your mind so far, either to bring me one old doctor of your side, or else to give us leave to think, as the truth is, ye have none to bring.
- You desire us to leave talking against you, and no more to deal so unmercifully with you in the pulpits.
- 37 O master doctor, call you this unmerciful dealing? When you were in authority, ye never could call us other than traitors and heretics; and yet, besides all that, used our bodies as you know.
- 38 We only tell the people, as our duty is, that you withstand the manifest truth, and yet have neither doctor, nor council, nor

^c [Jewel probably owed this illustration to Ridley, *Declaration of the Lord's Supper*, p. 25. See Jenkyns' *Cranmer*, vol. iii. p. 207. note.]

scripture for you; and that you have shewed such extremity, as the like hath not been seen, and now can give no reckoning why: or if ye can, let it appear.

- 39 You say, our doctrine is yet in doubt. I answer you, to us it is most certain and out of all doubt. But if you for your part be yet in doubt, reason and charity would ye had been quite resolved and out of doubt before ye had dealt so unmercifully for it with your brethren.
- 40 You are bound, you say, and may not dispute^d: yet, God be thanked, you are not so bound as ye have bound others. But I would wish the queen's majesty would not only set you at liberty in that behalf, but also command you to shew your grounds. But when ye were at liberty, and a free disputation was offered you at Westminster, before the queen's most honourable council and the whole estate of the realm, I pray you, whether part was it that then gave over? and yet then you know ye were not bound.
- 41 Ye say ye remain still in the faith ye were baptized in. O good master doctor, stand not too much in that point. You know ye have already forsaken a great number of such things as were thought necessary when ye were baptized; and yet, besides that, how many times have some of you altered your faith within the space of twenty years? Remember yourself: Who wrote the book ^e*De vera obedientia*, against the supremacy of Rome? ^fWho commended it with his preface? ^gWho set it forth with solemn sermons? ^hWho confirmed it with open oath?
- 42 You have *ecclesiam apostolicam*, ye say, and we have none. Howbeit, in all these matters that we now intreat of, we have, as you know and must needs confess, the old doctors' church, the ancient councils' church, the primitive church, St. Peter's church, St. Paul's church, and Christ's church; and this, I believe, ought of good right to be called the apostles' church. And I marvel much that you, knowing ye have none of all these, yet should say, ye have *ecclesiam apostolicam*.
- 43 Where ye say, ye make no innovation, it is no marvel; for in manner all things were altered afore to your hands, as may

^d [Strype's Annals, i. 140. It was for contempt, in refusing to proceed with the conference, that Cole and five others were bound in recognizances, and subsequently fined.]

^e Gardiner.

^f Bonner.

^g Tonstall.

^h Cole. And in

manner all the rest.

most evidently appear by all these matters that be now in question between us, wherein ye have utterly changed and abolished the order of the old church, and do nothing but the contrary; and what evident profit the church of God hath gotten by it, I think it a hard matter to declare.

44 You would have the matter turned over to some general council as we would be content to stand by; howbeit, that, you think, will not be in your time.

45 Notwithstanding, I dare boldly say, such a council will be a great while before ye shall be able to find any doctor or old council to serve your purpose. But though there were never such a council, yet truth will be truth notwithstanding; for the council cannot make the falsehood truth, but the thing that is taken to be true, it certifieth only to be true. But what redress can there be looked for of such a council, whereas no man shall be judge, or suffered to speak one way or other, but only such as be openly and justly accused and found faulty, and whereas he that is himself most out of order shall be head and reformer of the whole?

46 Both parties, ye say, have waded so far herein, that now they can go no further, and therefore ye would have either part let other alone. If you of your part would have done so, when time was, many a godly man had now been alive.

47 Whereas you say, you would have the sayings of both parties weighed by the balance of the old doctors, ye see that is our only request; and that in the matters ye write of, I desire even so to be tried.

48 But why throw ye away these balances, and, being so earnestly required, why be ye so loath to shew forth but one old doctor of your side? Ye make me believe ye would not have the matter come to trial; only ye set forth the empty names of St. Augustine, of St. Hierom, of St. Chrysostom, of St. Basil, of St. Cyprian, of Tertullian, of Irenæus, of Dionysius, of the councils, &c., as the apothecaries oftentimes set forth their painted boxes, and nothing in them: you shew me only the names of the doctors, which I knew afore; but ye shew me not one word in them of the private mass, or of the rest of the matters that lie between us. If ye could have found any thing in them for your purpose, I believe you would not have brought them empty. But that is a policy in the time of siege, when the soldiers

within begin to want victuals, to throw forth a few loaves over the walls, that the enemy without may think they have store enough, and so give over the siege.

49 You say, I slanderously misreport the late council of Constance. O sir, these words savour too much of your choler, and might better have been spared. I speak more favourably of that council than I might have done.

50 For the words of the council be these, speaking namely of the communion under both kinds: *Pertinaciter asserentes oppositum, tanquam hæretici arcendi sunt*; that is, "They that stubbornly defend and maintain the contrary"—that is to say, they that stand in defence of that that Christ commanded to be done and the apostles, which all the old catholic doctors and the whole primitive church observed—"ought to be punished so as is meet for heretics." By these words they are called, not schismatics, as I said, but stubborn heretics, which is a great deal more odious. You see therefore my report was more gentle than the council deserved.

51 Whereas you say, we could never yet prove the error of one general council, I think your memory doth somewhat deceive you: for, to pass by all other matters, Albertus Pighius, the greatest learned man, as it is thought, of your side, hath found such errors to our hands; for in his *Eccles. Hierarchia*, speaking of the second council holden at Ephesus, which you cannot deny but it was general, and yet took part with the heretic abbot Eutyches against the catholic father Flavianus, he writeth thus: *Concilia universalia etiam congregata legitime, ut bene, ita perperam, injuste, impieque judicare et definire possunt*; "General councils," saith he, "yea, even such as be lawfully summoned, as they may conclude things well, so may they likewise judge and determine things rashly, unjustly, and wickedly."

52 And of the two councils holden of late years at Constance and at Basil, whereas pope John and pope Eugenius were deposed, he saith plainly, that they decreed both against reason, and against nature, and against all examples of antiquity, and against the word of God; and yet both these councils were called general.

53 Ye press me sore, that, if I write you not a book of my proofs, it will be thought I do it *conscientia imbecillitatis*, "for the distrust of the weakness of my part." Belike you have forgotten,

wherefore you with all your company not long since openly refused to enter disputation with us at Westminster. Doubtless the greatest part thought it was (as it was indeed) *conscientia imbecillitatis*, even for distrust of the weakness of your part. And what think ye is there now judged of you, that, being so long time required, yet cannot be won to bring one sentence in your own defence?

- 54 I have afore alleged a few reasons of my part, which by order of disputation I was not bound to do: now let the world judge, which of us two flieth conference. I protest before God, bring me but one sufficient authority in the matters I have required, and afterward I will gently and quietly confer with you further at your pleasure.
- 55 Wherefore, forasmuch as it is God's cause, if ye mean simply, deal simply; betray not your right, if ye may save it by the speaking of one word.
- 56 The people must needs muse somewhat at your silence, and mistrust your doctrine, if it shall appear to have no ground, neither of the old councils, nor of the doctors, nor of the scripture, nor any allowed example of the primitive church to stand upon; and so your fifteen hundred years, and the consent of antiquity and generality, that ye have so long and so much talked of, shall come to nothing. For think not, that any wise man will be so much your friend, that in so weighty matters will be satisfied with your silence.
- 57 Whereas you say, I am not altogether without enemies, I assure you, whosoever be enemy unto me, I for my part am enemy unto no man, but only wish that God's truth may be known of all men. But he, that is enemy unto me in this behalf, I fear me, is enemy unto some other, whom he would be loath to name.
- 58 You suppressed, ye say, your first letters, for that you saw they were too sour. That had been all one to me; for sour words are not enough to quail the truth. Howbeit, to my knowledge I gave you no evil word to increase that humour. But if ye will still strive against nature, as ye say ye have done now, and conquer the rest of your affections too, I doubt not but we shall soon agree.
- 59 Here I leave, putting you eftsoons gently in remembrance, that, being so often and so openly desired to shew forth one

doctor or council, &c. in the matters afore mentioned, yet hitherto ye have brought nothing; and that, if ye stand so still, it must needs be thought ye do it *conscientia imbecillitatis*, for that there was nothing to be brought.

JOHN SARUM.

20 Martii.

Doctor Cole's Answer to certain parcels of the second letters of the bishop of Sarum, set forth in such sort as it came from the author. 8 Aprilis, anno 1560.

- 1 IT liketh you thus to say, that your readers may think you touch me very sore, where you discover great untruth in your writing: for my purpose was to be taught, and to this mark only I shot. You, for lack of good matter, answer, I speak not to the purpose: not to your purpose, but to mine.
- 2 How oftentimes must I tell you, I come not to teach, but to be taught?
- 3 You require that is dangerous for me to do, as you know.
- 4 Well railed; you shall find that we have more than all you shall be able to answer, when time shall require.
- 5 These words glistered goldlike, and discloseth in you no will to satisfy my demand; I ween, for lack of stuff.
- 6 You say much, and prove nothing: your truths be so open, that none seeth them but your own side.
- 7 I have no privilege; when reason and law shall will me to do it, you shall find it; now I stand bound to the contrary, as you know.
- 8 I must needs think some part of your writings made by some smatterer, as here, for a show of skill in logic, brought in a place of logic out of all purpose. How frame you this to your purpose? and you shall find me therein true, as I shall haply make you to see, if you drive me to it.
- 9 So did I too. Your doctrine against transubstantiation is yet to be proved, and no man bound to believe it. And yet being as true as you would have it seem, yet may you inform the weak and willing to learn.
- 10 That you are required, that you refuse, and make large offer to no purpose.

- 11 We brought more than ye were able to answer, all were it no scriptures, nor councils, nor doctors.
- 12 This argument would I fain see proved.
- 13 Stout and bold asseveration maketh no proof in the law.
- 14 Here is again one place that I reckon ye put not in yourself, for it maketh quite against you : for Christ proved the Pharisees were not Abraham's children, and that a man may not put away his wife for every cause.
- 15 Two purposes against yourself. Gregory proveth a negative, because none of his forefathers ever used the title. As one might say, that you preach is naught, because men in times past taught not so. This part of Gregory serveth no whit to disprove the sovereignty, as Driedo will teach you, if you vouchsafe to read him.
- 16 If you read again the place in Aristotle's Topicks, you shall there see the better to understand it. He speaketh it where men dispute *dialectice*, in such sort as we do not, and therefore it served not your purpose. But I tell you yet once again, I come not to dispute, but to learn.
- 17 *Ridetur, chorda qui semper aberrat eadem.*
Dr. Cole will prove it when it cometh to his turn.
- 18 In the end of this writing ye shall find mine answer to that you here say : the last answer.
- 19 When you meddle with law, you shew your skill. I am still in possession of all that ever I thought ; and if you put me out of possession by force, I ought to be restored. Had not the priests in the old law good title to sit in Moses' chair? What! you forget yourself: yes perdie. The law accounteth no man *male fidei possessorem*, after that he hath continued in possession an hundred years. But I pardon you for mistaking the law, it is not your faculty.
- 20 I enter no suit against you, and it were folly to shew mine evidence until it may serve and take place. I crave only to be informed, which I cannot obtain. *Patientia.*
- 21 When I commence law against you, then this speech may serve you to some purpose.
- 22 Why I come not to your sermons? This question is captious, and yet you are not herewith discharged why you should not instruct me. As men choose their wives, so choose they their

teachers, St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom, &c. Sermons tend more to teach, than to convince.

23 We stand not in case like: what need so much of one thing?

24 All that I required may be couched in six lines, and, for ought that I see yet, in less too.

25 It is no discourtesy to refuse to do that, wherewith I might forfeit my recognizance.

26 I see well ye write much and read little. Gelasius is full answered by Tapper, *in articulo de transubstantiatione*.

27 You allege his words otherwise than you find them; which fault I trust groweth on oversight.

28 Shew what they are, that it be not thought that you devise this of your own phantasy.

29 This gloss you mislike, because you understand not the glosser's meaning. It may stand full well.

30 Soft and fair; you have not read the answer. Read Roiarde, and you shall see more.

31 At my cue I shall be ready for you.

32 Ye have better stuff than this, I trow; for this is somewhat weak.

33 The decrees, where you learned this of Gelasius, tell you how you should understand it.

Theophilus shall be answered when I come to dispute with you.

34 Whether the Greek and the Latin tongue were then understood of the common people, remaineth yet upon proof. Well, I trow St. Basil, &c. proveth not very well. Here I remain still in doubt.

35 I pray you take good leisure, and write effectually.

36 I wist you know I may not, nor the case I stand in requireth it not. You misreport: I said, if, &c.

37 Men of your side used themselves traitorously to queen Mary, as none of us do now.

38 Not manifest, until it be better proved. You had but the law; you require more than any law will bear against us.

39 I doubted more than I do. You give me good cause to be well confirmed.

40 At Westminster we came to dispute, and we were answered, there was none appointed; where we refused not to write neither. But when our book could not be read as yours was, we refused not utterly to dispute, but only this case, if our book

could not be suffered to be read as indifferently as yours was. Now hardly, weigh whether you have indifferently reported, that we utterly refused to dispute with you or no.

41 What one thing am I gone from? You say much, and prove little. You mean the old bishop of Winchester, who repented at the hour of his death. And where you mean I condescended to the primacy of king Henry at my first coming home, or I had laboured that matter, you did the like yourself: for in queen Mary's time you subscribed to the articles, some of them we are entered to talk in, to your no less blame than mine. There be in the town that both saw you subscribe and can bring forth your hand.

42 To this and some part of the next article you shall be answered in the end of this writing, as I before said.

43 What needeth so much of one thing? this serveth you to seem to say too much.

44 I grant.

45 Such fond excuses men lay: how true, let other judge.

46 You forget yourself, I say not thus perdie: look better in the place.

47 Then begin, if you think the time will serve, or put it over till another time.

48 All these be but words often repeated, and answered already.

49 Read the place again, I say not so, and then you shall see less cause to complain.

50 You say, the council at Constance openly pronounced against Christ himself. Wherein, I pray you? because the fathers there said, "Who saith it is of necessity to receive under both kinds, and that the approved custom of the church is sacrilege, to be taken for an heretic;" and yet no heretic, but in a wrong opinion. Then belike you can bring in some text where Christ commanded it should not be received but under both kinds, which you can never do. So is your report of this council very slanderous still. Read 4 *can. concil. Constantiens.* [Sess. 13. xxvii. 728.]

51 You ground your proof upon Pighius's error. For Pighius holdeth, the council of Ephesus was general, which the council of Chalcedon denieth. So that I marvel much herein of you, that you allege that for a council, which hath no place in the book of councils.

- 52 Wherein doth Pigghius prove the councils of Constance and Basil to have erred? Marry, because they decreed the general council to be above the pope. If ye take these two councils to have erred in this point, you are a greater papist than I am; for I hold herein rather with Gerson. I trow this be one place that you wrote not yourself. Yet I reckon no error proved in any general council by that you have said.
- 53 To this I have answered already to you.
- 54 I have answered to this already: what order of disputation dischargeth you of proof? Yet remember, I came not to dispute, but to be taught.
- 55 If you refuse to instruct me, unless I bring some proof of my part, you bid me to my cost. You bid me to a feast, where, while I should take on me to prove your doctrine naught, I were like to forfeit my recognizance, which you guilefully allure me unto.
- 56 God wot I pass little in these matters what the poor silly souls deem of my doings. Wherein you have no cause to complain, sith they be edified toward you. Wise men, I doubt not, see what just cause I have to do as I do.
- 57 You would bear folk in hand, that they that agree not in doctrine with you are not the queen's friends; which you gather by your own side in queen Mary's reign: but I never brake amity with any man for dissent in religion. I keep still mine old friends, be their religion good or bad.
- 58 As though mine affection only caused me to dissent from you in religion. Which argument may serve you haply in rhetoric, but nowhere else, I ween.
- 59 This place is above answered.

Now forasmuch as you make this a great foundation against us, that we vary from the primitive church, and thereby make the simple souls ween, that we were in the wrong side; here I pray you shew your opinion, whether we are bound to do all things, which we find by sufficient authority were in ure in the primitive church. And because you shall not be herein squeamish, I shall here begin to shew you mine.

I am of the opinion that the council of Constance was in this matter. I think it an error, I am bound to do as the primitive church did, where the church customably used the contrary. I

reckon an example no bond. I deny not but those examples were to be followed, and not to be broken at every man's will and pleasure, until by common assent other order were taken. But if you seek old writers, and find me that the church these six hundred years observed not many things which were practised and accounted for good, wholesome, and holy in the primitive church, and thereby deem us in error, this were a wrong judgment. For the church of Christ hath his childhood, his manhood, and his hoar hairs: and, as that, that is meet for a man in one age, is unmeet in another, so were many things meet, requisite, and necessary in the primitive church, which in our days were like to do more harm than good.

This is no new devised phantasy, but uttered eleven hundred years ago by St. Ambrose, without reproach. I shewed you and read you the place at Westminster, (as you may remember,) and it were too long to make rehearsal of his words here.

We might, by taking the contrary opinion herein, be led to think we ought to receive the sacrament evermore after supper, and not fasting. But St. Augustine saith, that Christ left this to his church, to take order how, and in what sort, his sacraments should be received and used: wherein he saith, It is a marvellous insolent kind of madness to dislike that which is received in the church, where the custom is not against any commandment in the scripture. St. Peter caused, as Damasus saith, a commandment to be given, that no man should come barefaced to the church. St. Clement took order, that the clergy should have all things in common, and to live together, as in the late reformed order of St. Benet's monks doth most godly appear. And, not many years since, the said order in all cathedral churches was observed. Yet I ween it were an error to hold, of necessity it should be so still, or to say the church were in error, because it hath suffered a contrary custom to creep in. Then, if the custom of the church may break that was in the primitive church commanded, it is less offence to leave undone that was at the beginning practised, and no commandment given for other to follow the same. Thus much I thought to put you in remembrance of, for such matters as you touch in the 18th, 42d, and 43d numbers.

HENRICUS COLE.

8 *Aprilis*.

A Letter sent from the Bishop of Sarum to Dr. Cole, wherein he requireth of him a true and a full copy of the former answer.

I UNDERSTAND by the report of divers, that appearing of late before the queen's majesty's visitors at Lambeth, and being there demanded of a letter that was then abroad in your name, as answer unto me, whether ye would acknowledge the same as your own or no; and so much the more, for that ye had used the matter under covert, and sent your copies abroad into all places, even into mine own diocese, and yet not unto me, thereby to discredit me in corners at my first coming, whereof I have the greater cause to complain of your doings; ye made answer, not only that it was your own, but also that it was much abridged, and that the original was twice as much. If it be so, the fault is your own, that would so unadvisedly bestow your writings. As for my part, as they came to me not by your sending, but by very chance, even so did I cause them to be copied out justly and truly, without adding or diminishing of one letter, and according have I made out mine answer to the whole. Now forasmuch as I understand there be certain, both honourable and worshipful, that would gladly have our doings to the print, and so published; these shall be to desire you, for the bettering of your own cause, to send me your own copy full and large, as ye say ye gave it out at the first, that I may do as I shall think good, and you have no cause to think yourself injured, if I answer one parcel of your letters, and not to the whole. I pray you let me hear from you with expedition; for I mean plainly, and therefore have caused the print to stay upon your answer. Thus I bid you farewell. From Shirburne, the twenty-second of July, anno 1560.

JOHN SARUM.

Unto this letter Dr. Cole, being besides by messenger earnestly required, would make no answer one way or other; therefore, upon his refusal, it was thought good to answer his letters as they were.

The Reply of the Bishop of Sarum to the Letter above written, which Dr. Cole, contrary to even dealing, had given out and sent abroad, not to the said Bishop to whom he wrote it, but privily and secretly unto certain of his own friends.

THERE came to my hands of late, by chance, a scroll set forth in short broken sentences, containing an answer to the second letters that I had sent unto you before, which as by certain familiar phrases, by the date, by the subscription of your own name, and by other tokens, appeared to me to be yours; so, by the using and ordering of the same, I had some cause to think it should not be yours, and especially for that being, as it appeared, written unto me, it was sent privily abroad unto others, and not to me. For I thought that you, being a man of this age and credit, would not have been ashamed of your own writings, or would have concealed them from him to whom you had directed them, or have sought for a false light to set forth your matters in, as merchants sometimes use to do, the better to utter their sorry wares.

Moreover, I saw that your words throughout were heaped up with taunts and scorns, and were somewhat too much stained with choler to have proceeded from a sober grave man, as I ever took you to be.

Thus being uncertain of the truth herein, after I had sent oftentimes to you, to know whether you would avouch it for your own or no, and could never get word from you, by reason that you shifted yourself, and would not be found, I thought it good to stay myself from answering, until I might get certain knowledge of the author.

At the last, after I had assayed many ways, and could by no means hear from you, having no longer continuance in the city, to stay the untrue reports which I heard were scattered by some of your friends, I could not but, before my departure hence, make out mine answer unto you, as having cause to think the letters that were brought me should be his, in whose name they were given abroad.

First, where you have made your answers several, and set them so far off from the parcels of my letters, I guess you did that of very purpose, that your reader might see your answer, but not see what it was whereunto you answered.

Therefore I have joined my sayings and yours simply and plainly both together, without colour or shadow, that the indifferent reader may have all before his eyes, and so be the better able to judge aright¹.

SARUM.

In your second letters I find many words to small purpose. It had been far better for you to have alleged one sufficient authority, whereby I might have learned that I looked for.

COLE.

It liketh you thus to say, that your readers may think you touch me very sore; where you discover a great untruth in your writing: for my purpose was to be taught, and to this mark only I shot. You, for lack of good matter, answer, I speak not to the purpose. Not to your purpose, but to mine. How oftentimes must I tell you, I come not to teach, but to learn?

THE REPLY OF THE BISHOP OF SARUM.

Contrary to the rules of rhetoric, I see you begin to chafe and to inflame all your affections even at the first. Soberness were much fitter for a doctor. But your heats be such, that your friends have shewed me you must be borne withal.

I neither discover nor cover any untruth in my writing, but, as you know, only utter the very truth. For at Paul's Cross I required you, or any of you, to shew the grounds of your religion, if you had any, that by indifferent conference the truth the better might appear. And this had been to your purpose, if ye had meant plainly, and to mine too. But you run away in the mist, and fly the net, lest haply ye should be taken; and so purposely go about to blear your reader's eyes, and to cover the truth: and having in very deed nothing to allege for yourself, yet ye make a countenance, as though ye lacked nothing. And so I grant you follow your purpose, and not mine.

Where you say, ye come only to learn, and not to quarrel, he must needs be your very friend that will believe you. Howbeit, the pretence of a learner may keep your credit for a while,

¹ [It will be observed, that in this Reply Jewel has made some occasional changes in the expressions used in the letters as printed above, p. 41. to p. 64. The variations are unimportant, and were probably adopted for the sake of clearness.]

and save you from shewing what ye can say: and therefore I rede you, use it still. But by your scoffs and scorns it may appear you come to control, sooner than to learn. God send us both humbleness of heart, that we may content ourselves to be taught.

SARUM.

In my sermons, as well at Paul's Cross as elsewhere, I required you to bring forth of your part either some scripture, or some old doctor, or some ancient general council, or else some allowed example of the primitive church; for these are good grounds to build upon. And I would have marvelled that you brought forth nothing all this while, saving that I knew you had nothing to bring.

COLE.

You require that is dangerous for me, as you know.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

If it be dangerous to you, because you stand bound, why do you not put it over to some other of your side that is not bound? This shadow will serve well before your friends, that will wink when you bid them, and see no more than you will have them see. But forasmuch as ye have used this excuse so often, and so few wise men will believe it, I would think it good, that now ye would devise some other.

SARUM.

But now forasmuch as ye seek shifts, and will not come to answer, I account him unwise that knoweth not your meaning.

COLE.

Well railed: you shall find that we have more, than all you shall be able to answer, when time shall require.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

This answer, notwithstanding it is bitter, yet because it is untrue, and beareth more smoke than flame, it moveth me the less. Here I miss in you some part of your courtesy. These

matters would be tried by reasoning, better than by scolding. By likelihood some other man had moved your choler; for my words be as far from railing, as yours are from modesty.

Where you write, that you have more than all we shall be able to answer, if every crake were a good substantial argument, I were confuted. But notwithstanding these terrible threats, yet in conclusion, as your custom is, ye bring nothing.

The arguments, that you say we shall never be able to answer, are sword and fire, such as of late days ye used so plenteously, for lack of others. And yet, as strong and as forcible as they were, God be thanked, they have been fully answered, to the great and unspeakable comfort of God's people, and to your shame and confusion for ever.

As touching the old doctors and councils, I would ye had a term assigned you, *ad exhibendum*: in the mean season, for lack of other witness, ye may write *teste meipso*, as princes do.

SARUM.

Ye ask me why ye should be counted obstinate. Doubtless I for my part have a better opinion of you, and trust you are not so. But if a man withstand an open truth, having nothing wherewith to defend himself, I remit him to your own judgment, whether he may be counted obstinate or no.

COLE.

These words glitter goldlike, and disclose in you no will to satisfy my demand; I ween, for lack of stuff.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

It pleaseth you to make yourself merry with these words. I alleged unto you St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, St. Hierom, Gelasius, Theophilus, and St. Gregory; therefore it is untrue that ye say, I had no will to satisfy your demand. Now bring you but one of all these, or any other, of your side in the matters that lie now between us, to satisfy my demand, and, as I have said, you shall have the victory.

You say, we lack stuff to prove our purpose. O would to God your stuff and ours might be laid together! then should it soon appear how true it is that ye say, and how faithfully ye have used the people of God.

SARUM.

You put me well in remembrance of mine office, that, forasmuch as I am a bishop, I should be διδακτικός, that is, ready to yield an account of such things as I teach. I thank God so I do, and have done, to my power, both privately and openly. But if this be my duty, and required at my hands, what privilege have you, that you only may not allow but one sentence to the confirmation of your doctrine?

COLE.

You say much, and prove nothing. Your truth is so open, that no man can see it but your own side. I have no privilege: when reason and law shall will me to do it, you shall find it: now I stand bound to the contrary, as you know.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

I speak not too much, as yourself can witness. How much I prove, shall rest upon the wisdom and judgment of the reader. Both the truth of our part, and the untruth of your part, is so open, that now, God be thanked, the whole world is able to see it, unless there be some such as have eyes and will not see: yet *justificata est sapientia Dei a filiis suis*.

Ye say, you will speak when reason and law shall will you to do it. Of the law I will say nothing, but only this by the way, because you are a doctor of law; what law have you that can drive a man to prove a negative? or, if ye have no law, what reason have you that I should do it? But methinketh both reason and humanity would ye should have answered me somewhat, specially being so often and so openly required. At the least, you should have alleged Augustine, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Hierom, as ye did sometimes allege the decree of the council of Ephesus, the first, for the communion under one kind; which decree never was yet found, nor never will be. Howbeit, because you speak of reason, whereas a man hath nothing to say, it is good reason he keep silence, as you do.

SARUM.

You would have men think I fly answering, because I am a bishop. This in sophistry is called *paralogismus*, a

non causa ut causa. I alleged the place and audience where I spake, and not only mine office. For I thought it might appear some want of discretion, to call that doctrine into question, which I knew was grounded upon God's word, and authorized and set forth by the queen's majesty, and by the assent of the whole realm.

COLE.

I must needs think some part of your writing made by some smatterer, as here, for a shew of skill in logic, brought in a place of logic out of all purpose. How frame you this to your purpose? and you shall find me therein true, as haply I shall make you to see, if you drive me to it. Your doctrine against transubstantiation is yet to be proved, and no man bound to believe it. And being as true as ye would have it seem, yet may you inform the weak and willing to learn.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

Ye do me too much wrong, that will not allow me thus much logic of mine own. But it was ever your grace to bear the people in hand that all we are altogether unlearned, and know nothing. Which thing, if it were true, it were the more to your shame, thus openly to be confounded through the whole world by men of so small learning. Howbeit, thus it pleased you to talk, for want of better reason.

Ye call me a smatterer in logic, as if yourself were as perfect in logic as Aristotle. And yet I remember well I understood as much logic as this cometh to, and somedeal more, for twenty years ago, ye wis when you, by your own report, were but a simple smatterer in divinity. Neither did I bring it in for a shew of skill, as you say, but to declare your oversight and lack of skill, which appeareth now not only in divinity, but also in logic. For where you say, I brought it in out of all purpose, methink you have forgotten some part of your old rules, and know not what *paralogismus a non causa ut causa* meaneth; which is, whensoever in reasoning the very true cause is suppressed, and another cause of purpose set in place. For example I say, I confer with you under protestation, lest I should seem to call the doctrine into doubt, which I knew to be established by God's word and by sufficient authority throughout this realm. And you would have it taken that I do it because I am a bishop; which indeed is of your side a sophistication, a *non*

causa ut causa. So likewise I say, you allege no doctors, nor scriptures, nor general councils, as true it is, because ye have none to allege. But you would make men believe, ye dare not allege them, because ye stand bound in recognizance to the contrary; and this of your side is another sophistication, *a non causa ut causa.*

Where you say, ye will shew me that I brought this in out of all purpose, it had been more for your credit if ye would have done it out of hand. But forasmuch as the fairest shew of your learning hangeth on the future tense, and standeth only upon promise, I trust you will bring forth your old doctors and councils, and perform this both together; which will be, ye know when.

The truth of our doctrine against transubstantiation was proved sufficiently, and well allowed, before your doctrine with transubstantiation was ever heard of. For you are not able to shew me not so much as the very name of transubstantiation in any kind of writer, new or old, before the late council of Lateran, which, as you know, was holden in Rome a thousand two hundred and fifteen years after Christ. So long the church of God and the catholic faith was able to stand without your transubstantiation; which, if it were so true as ye would have men think it, I marvel it could never be known before.

SARUM.

But as touching my calling, I am not only ready to answer any man in any thing that I profess, but also upon sufficient allegation, as I have promised, very well content to yield unto you.

COLE.

That you are required, that you refuse, and make large offer to no purpose.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

That you required me I have partly performed, even in my last letters, as you yourself do know right well; and that not altogether from the purpose, as it shall appear. Bring you forth as much of your side, and I will say, ye come well to the purpose.

SARUM.

But I beseech you, what reason of your faith in these matters gave you sometime, when you were in place? Scriptures, doctors, councils, ye had none, as now appeareth by your silence.

COLE.

We brought more than ye were able to answer; all were it not scriptures, nor doctors, nor councils.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

Instead of scriptures, doctors, and councils, ye brought such extremity as the world hath not seen the like, and as you are now loath to hear of; and yet it pleased God that the same should be answered sufficiently, with patience and sufferance. But here am I glad ye confess one truth by the way, that ye brought in all that time neither scriptures, nor doctors, nor general councils of your side; and yet I trow ye were free from recognizance. This I believe passed you unawares, and not of purpose. As your prolocutor in the disputation at Oxford^k, gave out one truth by chance unadvisedly, as he gave knowledge to the audience in the divinity school of what matters they would dispute. For thus he said, and that in your own hearing; *Viri fratres, convenimus huc hodie disputaturi contra horribilem illam hæresim, de veritate corporis et sanguinis Christi in eucharistia*; “Brethren,” said he, “we come hither this day to dispute against that horrible heresy, of the verity of Christ’s body and blood in the sacrament.” God would have him utter some truth then, as you do now, because he was *pontifex illius anni*. But, forasmuch as you confess ye brought neither scriptures, nor doctors, nor councils, I remit the matter to your own reader to consider what ye brought.

SARUM.

Therefore the ground of your persuasion must then needs be, *Nos habemus legem, et secundum legem, &c.* You know what followeth: that is, “We have a law, and according to our law he must die.”

^k [This was the disputation with locutor was Dr. Weston, Dean of Cranmer, held April 16, 1554, in which Westminster. See Jenkyns’ Cranmer, vol. iv. p. 8.] acted as Cranmer’s notary. The pro-

COLE.

This argument I would fain see proved.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

Your whole practice, and the order of your doings for six years together, hath proved it sufficiently. And besides that, a bishop of yours, even in that time sitting in judgment upon a poor man in a case of religion, and hearing him allege the scriptures and other authorities for himself, rounded a gentleman in the ear that sat next to him, with these words; Nay, if we strive with them in scriptures and reasoning we shall never have done. We must proceed against them with the law.

SARUM.

For, as truly as God is God, if ye would have vouchsafed to follow either the scriptures, or the ancient doctors, or the councils, ye would never have restored again either the supremacy of Rome after it was once abolished, or the private mass, or the communion under one kind, &c.

COLE.

Stout and bold asseveration maketh no proof in the law.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

True and earnest asseveration maketh a proof sufficient in the law, as long as ye have nothing to the contrary; as indeed ye have not, nor never shall have. But without question, your terrible guard of bills and halberts, your grinning and scoffing, with other like your demeanour, as ye used in the disputations at Oxford against the martyrs and faithful witnesses of God's truth, and as now your crakes of many things, and bringing forth of nothing, I believe to any wise man maketh but small proof in divinity. But if ye would have had any wise man mislike my asseveration, ye should have shewed by what scriptures, by what councils, or by what doctors, ye restored these things again.

SARUM.

It grieveth you that I should rest upon the negative, and so put you to your proofs. Wherein notwithstanding

ye allege against me the custom of the schools, yet you know Christ used the same kind of reasoning in his school. As when he said to the Pharisees, *Hoc Abraham non fecit*, "This thing Abraham never did;" and again, when he answered them in the case of divorce, *A principio non fuit sic*, "It was not so from the beginning;" he stood only upon the negative.

COLE.

Here is again one place that I reckon you put not in yourself, for it maketh quite against you. For Christ proved the Pharisees were not Abraham's children, and that a man may not put away his wife for every cause.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

I see you would fain put me out of credit, as though I were not able to answer your letters without conference. But this I reckon you do for a jolly policy, that, while your reader is looking upon me, he should forget the whole matter that we talk of. If the examples that I allege be against myself, then are you the more beholden to me. For they cannot lightly make against me in this case, but they must needs make for you. Yet I pray you shew me by all your logic, how holdeth this argument of yours:

Christ proved that the Pharisees were not Abraham's children, and that a man may not put away his wife for every cause: *ergo*, this matter maketh quite against me.

Methinketh here is a very short *sylogismus*. I marvel where you left your *medius terminus*; you should have squared it better before it had passed your hands. As for the allegation, it maketh evidently for me; for as I said, Christ stood then upon the negative against the Pharisees, as we do now against you.

SARUM.

Even so, when John the bishop of Constantinople had taken upon him to be called universal bishop of the whole church; which title afterward the bishop of Rome began to usurp to himself, and, for the maintenance of the same, hath oftentimes disquieted and shaken the

whole world; but when the bishop of Constantinople first began to use this title, Gregory, being then bishop of Rome, confounded him only with the negative: *Nemo*, said he, *decessorum meorum hoc profano vocabulo uti voluit*; "None of my predecessors" (which had continued from Peter downward for the space of six hundred years after Christ) "would ever use this unchristianlike and lewd name." Lib. iv. Epist. 36. And again, Epist. 38. *Sancti ante legem, sancti sub lege, sancti sub gratia, omnes perficientes corpus Domini in membris sunt [ecclesiæ] constituti*; "The holy men before the law, the holy men under the law, the holy men under the grace of the gospel, all together making up one body of the Lord, are placed amongst his members. But none of them would ever suffer himself to be called universal." I have chosen me specially these examples, because they seem to serve me to double purpose. Thus Gregory reasoned then, as we do now, only upon the negative; and if the bishop of Constantinople had been able to prove but one affirmative that any bishop of Rome aforetime had used that title, or that ever any man, either before the law, or under the law, or under the gospel, had suffered himself to be called universal bishop, then had Gregory been confounded.

COLE.^k

Two purposes against yourself. Gregory proved a negative, because none of his forefathers ever used that title: as one might say, that you preach is naught, because men in times past taught not so. This part of Gregory serveth no whit to disprove the sovereignty, as Driedo will teach you, if you vouchsafe to read him.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

You say, I bring Gregory against myself. God be thanked you are able to bring neither Gregory nor any else, that in any of these matters may but seem to make with you. But if Gre-

^k Dr. Cole confesseth that no bishop of Rome before Gregory, that is, for the space of six hundred years after Christ, would ever take upon him the title of universal bishop.

gory stand upon the negative, as I do, and as you yourself confess, he maketh sufficiently to my purpose. Now judge you, whether these proofs be negatives or no :

Nemo decessorum meorum hoc profano vocabulo uti voluit. Or this : *Nemo se universalem dici voluit.* And say not I allege matter against myself, unless ye have wherewith to disprove it better.

You answer further, that one might say the like against us, that we preach this day is naught, because men in times past taught not so. Like as Gregory found fault with John the bishop of Constantinople, for that he entituled himself an universal bishop of the whole church, whereas none of his predecessors durst ever take that name upon him. Indeed this answer might have some show, if men in times past had never taught so as we teach now. But I doubt not but herein your own learning and conscience crieth out against you : for you know that the matters, that lie in question between us, have been taught as we now teach them, both by Christ himself, and by his apostles, and by the old doctors, and by the ancient general councils : and that you, having none of these or like authorities, have set up a religion of your own, and built it only upon yourself. Therefore I may justly and truly conclude, that you now teach, and of long time have taught the people, touching the mass, the supremacy, the common prayer, &c., is naught ; for neither Christ, nor his apostles, nor the old doctors, Tertulian, Cyprian, St. Hierom, St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Chrysostom, &c. ever taught the people so as you have taught them.

You say this place serveth me nothing against the supremacy : I marvel much you say not, it serveth you to prove the supremacy. Gregory saith, no bishop of Rome until his time, which was six hundred years after Christ, would ever be called the universal bishop.

He saith that Leo, his predecessor, refused the name, notwithstanding it were offered unto him in the general council of Chalcedon.

He saith, It is a proud and a profane title, and a name meet for antichrist.

He saith, Whosoever will take that name upon him, is antichrist's forerunner.

He saith, To consent to such a name is the denial of the

faith : and yet say you, He speaketh not one word against the supremacy.

Here would I fain be answered one thing by the way. If no bishop of Rome would ever take upon him to be called the universal bishop, or head of the whole church, for the space of six hundred years after Christ, where then was the head of the universal church all that while? Or how could it then continue without a head, more than now? For now you say it is impossible. Or if the church had no universal head in the earth for so long a time after Christ, why do you now furnish out the bishop of Rome's authority, in the hearing of the unlearned, with such a glory and face of antiquity? As if the bishop of Rome had ever been named the head of the church, since the time that Peter came first to Rome. But because yourself were not able to avoid the force of Gregory's words, you did well to turn me over to Dr. Driedo.

SARUM.

But as touching the custom of the schools, I trust ye have not yet forgotten that Aristotle giveth order to the opponent in many cases to require an instant of the respondent, as I do now at your hands. And what is that else, but in denial to defend the negative, and to drive the adversary to avouch the affirmative?

COLE.

If you read again the place in Aristotle's Topics, you shall see there the better to understand it. He speaketh it where men dispute *dialectice*, in such sort as we do not; and therefore it serveth not your purpose. But I tell you yet once again, I come not to dispute, but to learn.

SARUM.

I never thought it had been so high a mystery to understand the nature of an instant. Children were wont to have it in their common disputations in the parvise schools in Oxford. If it serve only for them that dispute *dialectice*, and ye (as ye pretend) bear the person only of a learner, and come not to dispute, why then did ye allege against me the custom of the schools, and the disputations of masters of art in the universities? Ye know, they use there to dispute only *dialectice*, and none otherwise. And that I spake herein, I spake only upon occasion of

your own words. How shall I think ye remember your Aristotle, if ye so soon forget your own letters?

SARUM.

But that ye will not do, and ye know why, although ye dissemble it. But sooner ye require to see our grounds. And what better ground can we have on our side, than that Dr. Cole, the chiefest man on the other side, can find no ground to stand against us?

COLE.

Ridetur, chorda qui semper oberrat eadem. Dr. Cole will prove it, when it cometh to his turn.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

Seeing for lack of doctors ye answer me with poets, it shall do well to answer you again with the same: *Decies repetita placebunt.* And yet when ye come so often with the pretence of desire to be taught, and of your recognizance, if I list to scoff as ye do, why may not I as well say to you, *Ridetur, chorda qui semper oberrat eadem?* As for the proving hereof, ye do well to take a day. In the mean season, give others leave to think the truth.

SARUM.

He that will make any innovation, say ye, must give a reason of his doings. O master doctor, this reason fighteth most against yourself; for ye have misliked and put away the most part of the order of the primitive church, and yet ye never gave good reason of your doings.

COLE.

In the end of my writing ye shall find mine answer to that ye here say. The last answer.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

And there shall you find the reply.

SARUM.

Ye say ye are in possession. No, ye were sometime, ye are not now: and when ye were, ye had no right title

or good evidence to claim by; no more than they, which sometime sat in Moses' chair, or they, that said, *Nos sumus filii Abrahami*, "We are the children of Abraham," and thereby claimed their possession: therefore ye were *possessores malæ fidei*, and for that cause ye are now justly and orderly removed.

COLE.

When ye meddle with law, ye shew your skill. I am still in possession of all that ever I taught, and if you put me out of possession by force, I ought to be restored. Had not the priests in the old law good title to sit in Moses' chair? What, ye forget yourself, yes perdie. The law accounteth no man *malæ fidei possessorem*, after that he hath continued in possession an hundred years. But I pardon you for mistaking the law, it is not your faculty.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

I have not so little skill in the law but I understand what are *malæ fidei possessores*. And as now (God's name be praised) it is well known that ye have been they, ye are put out of possession, not by violence of man, but by the very force of God's truth, which so devoureth and consumeth up all error and falsehood, as Moses' serpent devoured and swallowed up the feigned serpents of the sorcerers. If ye claim to be restored, be not aggrieved to shew your evidence.

Where ye say, the bishops and priests that were in Christ's time had good title to sit in Moses' chair, I grant you they had even as good title as ye had to sit and bear rule in the church of Christ; and therefore your example misliketh me never a whit. Yet ye know, Christ called them *fures et latrones*, "thieves and robbers:" and said unto them, *Vos ex patre diabolo estis*, "Ye are the children of the devil."

Ye say, The law accounteth no man *possessorem malæ fidei*, that hath continued in possession one hundred years: which thing notwithstanding I can be content to grant you to be true in the civil law, yet is it not true in the law of God; and that, as ye know, is proved by divers authorities even in your own decrees, Dist. 8. [*Qui contempta*] there is alleged St. Augustine, whose words are these: *Veritate manifestata, cedat consuetudo veritati... Nemo consuetudinem rationi, et veritati præponat: quia consuetudinem ratio et veritas semper excludit*: "After the truth

is once found out, let custom give place unto the truth. Let no man set custom before truth and reason; for reason and truth evermore put custom to silence."

Likewise St. Gregory; and his words are these: *Si consuetudinem opponas, advertendum est, quod Dominus dicit, Ego sum via, veritas, et vita: non dicit, Ego sum consuetudo. Et certe . . . quælibet consuetudo quantumvis vetusta, quantumvis vulgata, veritati omnino est postponenda*; "If ye lay custom for yourself, ye must remember that Christ saith, I am the way, the truth, and the life: he saith not, I am custom. And doubtless any custom, be it never so ancient, never so common, yet must it needs yield to the truth."

Likewise St. Cyprian; whose words be these: *Si solus Christus audiendus est, non debemus attendere, quid aliquis ante nos faciendum putarit, sed quid, qui ante omnes est, Christus prior fecerit. Neque enim hominis consuetudinem sequi debemus, sed veritatem Dei, cum per Esaiam prophetam Deus loquatur, et dicat, Sine causa colunt me docentes mandata, et doctrinas hominum*: "If only Christ must be heard, we may not weigh what any man hath thought good to do that hath been before us, but what Christ hath first done that is before all men. For we may not follow the customs of man, but the truth of God; specially for that God saith by the prophet Esay, They worship me in vain, teaching the commandments and doctrines of men." Thus ye see, even by your own decrees, that custom against the truth is a very simple ground to build upon.

And like as ye used to say, *Nullum tempus præscribit regi*; some thinketh of good right ye ought as well to say, *Nullum tempus præscribit Deo*. Otherwise antichrist shall come, and sit in possession of the holy place, and bear himself as if he were God; and that, God knoweth how many hundred years together: and yet at the last he shall be but antichrist, sit he never so high. For prescription of an hundred years cannot make the falsehood to be the truth; nor can any prescription be available in your own law, unless it have *bonum titulum*, and that in religion must needs be the word of God. Which word forasmuch as ye have not to allege (as ye yourself know, no man better), all the face of your prescription is but vain, and therefore ye were, as I said, *possessores malæ fidei*. And ye have a rule of your law, *possessor malæ fidei, nulla temporis longinquitate præ-*

scribit. And therefore Christ, in the case of divorce, rested not upon the custom that was then received, but appealed unto the first institution of marriage, and told the Pharisees then, as we now tell you, *a principio non fuit sic*; "It was not so at the beginning."

Whereas ye say, I mistake your law; I grant, it is possible I may so do, as well as you; howbeit, I am well assured in this place I mistake it not. I would to God, you, being a doctor of the law, did no worse mistake the scriptures.

SARUM.

Now if ye think ye have wrong, shew your evidence out of the scriptures, the doctors, or councils, that ye may have your right again and so reenter. I require you to no great pains; one good sentence shall be sufficient. Ye would have your private mass, the bishop of Rome's supremacy, the common prayers in an unknown tongue; and for defence of the same ye have made no small ado. Methinketh it were reason ye should bring some authority besides your own to avouch the same withal. Ye have made the unlearned people believe that ye have all the doctors, all the councils, and fifteen hundred years of your side. For your credit's sake, let not all these great vaunts come to nought.

COLE.

I enter no suit against you, and it were folly to shew my evidence until it may serve and take place. I crave only to be informed, which I cannot obtain. When I commence law against you, then this speech may serve you to some purpose.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

If you will not prosecute your suit, it is reason ye be cast in a nonsuit. But ye do best to make a delay, for ye know ye have to do with them that have seen your evidence.

Ye say, ye keep your proofs until some better time, when they may serve, and take place. When Pompey, a noble gentleman of Rome, was marching forth to fight in the field against his enemy, Julius Cæsar, and Cato an old grave senator, one of the

same party, had shewed him he wanted men; Tush, quoth he, I shall have men enow; for as soon as I shall but stamp the ground with my foot, ye shall see spring up a swarm of soldiers. Afterward when the field was fought, and Pompey discomfited, and began to fly with much dishonour, O sir, said Cato, where is now your promise? why stamp ye not the ground? when shall we see your swarm of soldiers? Even so may I say to you, Notwithstanding your great vaunts that ye have made, ye see now ye are discomfited, ye see the field is almost lost: where are now your crakes of doctors, and councils? Why stamp ye not your books? why come ye not forth with your evidence? Now ye stand in need of it, now it will serve and take place, if ye have any. But ye learned this policy of your Tully; *Scitum est*, saith he, *causam conijcere in tempus, cum adferre plura, cum velis, non queas*; "When ye have no more to say, it is wisdom to lay the fault in time."

SARUM.

Where ye say, ye are in place of a learner, and gladly come to be taught, ye must pardon me to say the truth, I reckon your very friends, in this point, will hardly believe you. For if ye were desirous to learn, as ye would seem to be, ye would come to the church, ye would resort to the lessons, ye would abide to hear the sermons; for these are the schools, if a man list to learn. It is a token the scholar setteth little by his book, that will never be brought to school.

COLE.

Why I come not to your sermons? This question is captious: and yet ye are not herewith discharged why ye should not instruct me. As men choose their wives, so choose they their teachers. St. Augustine's and St. Chrysostom's sermons tend more to teach than to convince.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

I meant not to be captious, but only to put you in remembrance that your pretence of learning is but feigned, and that you are not indeed so willing to be taught as ye would seem to be. Whensoever ye shall shew me by your law, that a man may be required to prove a mere negative, I will be content to confer with you, and to shew you the rest of my proofs.

Ye say, ye choose your teacher as men do their wives ; many men are led by folly and fancy in choosing their wives. I would your luck should be better in choosing your teacher. But St. Paul prophesied in his time, that there should come scholars with tickling ears, and choose themselves teachers according to their own appetites, that should turn away their ears from the truth, and give themselves to the hearing of fables. The prophet Esay saith, there were scholars in his time that would say to their teachers, *Loquimini nobis placentia, videte nobis errores. Auferte a nobis viam, declinate semitam, cesset a facie nostra Sanctus Israel* ; that is, “Speak to us such things as may like us ; see us errors, lead us out of the way, bring us out of the path. Let us have no more of the holy God of Israel before our face.” And shall I think you choose me for love, as men do their wives ? I can as yet little find it in your talk. But because I came near to the matter, and with my negative declared the weakness of your side more than some others did, therefore ye break out first upon me, and laid in a claim without evidence. And having nothing to say, ye would seem to have somewhat ; as women that would seem to be with child sometimes rear up their bellies with a cushion.

SARUM.

Ye desire ye may not be cast off, but that your suit may be considered. And yet this half year long I have desired of you, and all your brethren, but one poor sentence ; and still, I know not how, I am cast off, and can get nothing at your hands.

COLE.

We stand not in case like. What need so much of one thing ?

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

Ye are much beholden to your recognizance ; ye make much ado, and yet bring nothing.

SARUM.

Ye call for the special proofs of our doctrine, which thing requireth a whole book. Whereas, if ye of your part would vouchsafe to bring but two lines, the whole matter were concluded.

COLE.

All that I required may be couched in six lines, and, for aught I see, in less too.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

Let the rest of your truth be tried by this. Ye know that the old father Theodoretus had more than six lines of our side; and therefore Dr. Clement tare the whole place out of his book and burnt it, thinking there had been no more copies, lest perhaps it should come to light^u.

Ye know that Occam, one of your own doctors, hath more than six lines against you. And therefore the last pope condemned him as an heretic.

Ye know there is somewhat beside in St. Augustine, in St. Hierom, in St. Chrysostom, &c.; I believe, more than Royard or Tapper could ever answer.

Ye know that ye yourself, in your last answer, granted me that the examples of the primitive church are of our side, and therefore ye rest upon another point, that the primitive church in the apostles' and old doctors' time, was but an infant and a babe in comparison of your church of Rome. Therefore methinketh, saying that it was your pleasure, ye were somewhat overseen to say, that all our allegations may be couched in six lines. But as I have offered you oftentimes, bring ye but two lines of your side, and the field is yours.

SARUM.

Yet lest I should seem to fly conference and trial, which indeed in this case I most desire, or to follow you in discourtesy, I will perform some part of your request, although indeed it be unreasonable.

COLE.

It is no discourtesy to refuse to do that wherewith I might forfeit my recognizance.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

Your recognizance doth you good service to save your credit: ye fly away like a faint soldier, and yet hold up your shield as if ye were fighting still.

^u [See the Apol. and the Def. of the Apol. ch. 2. div. 1 and 2. where this story is repeated.]

SARUM.

Against your new device of transubstantiation (besides many others whom I now pass by), ye have the old father and doctor Gelasius, whose judgment, I believe, ye will regard the more because he was sometime a bishop of Rome, which see, as ye have taught, can never err; and is alleged in the decrees: his words be plain; *Non desinit esse substantia panis, et natura vini.*

COLE.

I see well ye write much, and read little; Gelasius is full answered by Tapper, *in articulo de transubstantiatione*^x. Ye allege his words otherwise than ye find them; which fault, I trust, groweth of oversight.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

How are ye so privy to my reading? Wise men avouch no more than they know: ye lacked shift when ye were driven to write thus. I assure you I have not been so slack a student these twenty years, but that, besides other old writers of divers sorts, Greek and Latin, I have not spared to read over even such as have written of your side, as Roffensis, Pigghius, Hosmasterus, Eckius, Hosius, and such others; and yet until this day I never set abroad in print twenty lines. But this is your old wont, to make the people think that we read nothing else but twopenny doctors, as ye call them: as in the disputation at Westminster, ye would seem to stand in doubt, whether we were able to understand you or no, when ye spake a little Latin: and as of late ye doubted not to say, that master doctor Martyr was not able to make a syllogismus; which thing indeed is as true as the rest of your religion.

But I pray you, what had Stephen Gardiner read, when he alleged the third book of St. Augustine, *De sermone Domini in monte*, and yet St. Augustine never wrote but two?

What had the same Stephen Gardiner read, when he alleged Theophylactus, and called him Theophilus Alexandrinus, who was before Theophylactus well near five hundred years?

What had Dr. Smith, of Oxon, read, that, openly in the dis-

^x [Declar. Art. Lovan. adv. nostr. temp. hæret. p. 245. ed. 1554. Ruard Tapper or Tappart, born in Holland 1485, dean of St. Peter's at Louvain, chancellor of the university, &c. See a scurrilous account of his character in *Ruardi Tapper. Apotheosi*, per Grat. Verum (Bodl.)]

putations there, anno Dom. 1554, alleged the council of Nice to prove the fancy of your transubstantiation: and when he came to shew the place, was not able to find one word, either in that council, or in any other of antiquity, that might seem to make for it?

What had he^y read, that being a judge in the same disputations, cried out so bitterly upon the man of God, the archbishop of Canterbury, and that four or five times together, *Ostende mihi qualis corpus fuit? qualis corpus fuit?* and was not able to utter his mind in congrue Latin? This thing I trust ye will record with me, for it was spoken in your own hearing.

Your importunity hath caused me, contrary to mine own nature, to utter these things, which otherwise I could have concealed. O, boast not yourself too much of your great reading. When you bring me any old doctor or council for your purpose in the matters that we now talk of, then will I say ye have read much.

As for Gelasius, howsoever it pleaseth Dr. Tapper to construe him, he saith plainly, that in the sacrament there remaineth the substance and nature of bread and wine. But ye say, I allege Gelasius otherwise than I find him, and hereof your friends have made much ado. I see, it must be a very small fault that shall escape your eyes. Gelasius' words be these, *Non desinit esse substantia panis, vel natura vini*; which words, having not the book at hand, I reported thus; *Non desinit esse substantia panis, et natura vini*. I beseech you, how far went I either from the words, or from the meaning of the author? I see it was not for nought, that children in the schools were wont to find a difference between these two propositions, *bis comedi panem*, and *bis panem comedi*; but I perceive the fault was such that ye were loath to make matter of it. If I had altered any part of the sense and meaning of the writer, I trow I had been like to hear more of it.

I remember what a clapping of hands and stamping of feet ye made at Oxon against that notable, godly, learned man, the archbishop of Canterbury, for that he, alleging a place out of St. Hilary, had changed but one letter, and written *vero* instead of *vere*, ye triumphed over him, and pointed him to the people, and

^y Dr. Oglethorpe. [See the same story in Jenkyns' Cranmer, Disput. with Chedsey, vol. iv. p. 23.]

called him a falsary, a wrester, a corrupter of the doctors. And yet afterward it was found, and will yet appear, that two of your own doctors, Stephen Gardiner and Smith, in their own printed books had changed the same letter, and written *vero*, as well as he^z.

Howbeit, God be thanked, ye will not give me cause to find such fault with your allegations, for ye are able to allege nothing at all.

But it were too long to shew how many times, and how shamefully, the writers of your side have corrupted the old doctors. Yet for example sake, of a great number to shew you one or two, how think you by your doctor Pigghius, that violently altereth both the words and the meaning of St. Augustine? For where St. Augustine writeth thus^a, *Quid tam grate offerri, aut (ab illo) suscipi potest, quam caro sacrificii nostri, corpus effectum sacerdotis nostri?* meaning the sacrifice that Christ offered upon the cross: Pigghius putteth in of his own, *a nobis*, which St. Augustine had not, and made up the sentence of this sort; *Quid tam grate offerri a nobis, aut ab illo suscipi potest, quam caro sacrificii nostri, corpus effectum sacerdotis nostri?* and so perforce turned it to the pretended sacrifice of your mass.

How think ye by Stephen Gardiner, that in his book of the devil's sophistry, was not afraid to corrupt the words of the holy prophet? For whereas David had written, *Escam dedit timentibus se*, he doubled the pronoun, and wrote it thus; *Escam se dedit timentibus se*. This must needs appear to be somewhat more than oversight. But what needeth mo examples? Camotensis, a doctor of your own, saith in general, of all your side: *Vim faciunt scripturis, ut habeant plenitudinem potestatis*; "they wrest," saith he, "the scriptures violently, that they may have the fulness of their power."

SARUM.

But to avoid this authority, some men of your side have been driven to expound these plain words of Gelasius in this sort; *Non desinit esse substantia, hoc est, non desinit esse accidens*. Even as right as the gloss expoundeth the text, Dist. 4. *Statuimus, id est, abrogamus*.

^z [See Dr. Jenkyns' notes, vol. iv. p. 48.] ^a De Trinit. lib. 4. c. 14. [viii. 823. It is curious that Jewel himself "puts in of his own" (*ab illo*).]

COLE.

Shew what they are, that it be not thought that ye devise this of your own phantasy. This gloss ye mislike, because ye understand not the glosser's meaning. It may stand full well.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

What if I should say, Dr. Cole hath expounded it so? If not, then I pray you imagine with yourself how ye may be able to shift away Gelasius otherwise. Yet because ye will needs put me to my proofs, in a matter that ye know is plain, I pray you take the pains to read Stephen Gardiner, in his book that is answered by the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer; ye shall find these words; "Gelasius," saith he, "speaking of the bread and wine, reciteth not precisely the substance to remain, but saith the substance or nature: which nature he calleth after the property." Here, by this doctor's mind, *substantia* is Latin for "property;" which, as ye know, is nothing else but *accidens*.

And again, in his book that he calleth Marcus Antonius Constantius, written in Latin, ye shall find these words; *Quod ait panem in sua substantia vel natura manere, vel substantiam sentit accidentium, vel naturæ proprietatem*. It is a very strange phrase of speech to say *substantia accidentium*; but it is as strange to say, as he saith in another place, *accidentia sunt substantiarum partes*. Howbeit, after ye had once devised a new religion, it was meet that ye should devise out also some new phrases of speech, that never had been heard of afore. And yet is not this the grossest part of your learning neither. Now I trust ye see, I devised not this of mine own phantasy.

I marvel somewhat that ye say I understand not the glosser's meaning: for methinketh there is not so high nor mystical learning in it, but that a mean learned man may soon reach unto it. But I see it must be a desperate sore, but ye will find some salve for it: I pray you first read the text, and then consider how handsomely the gloss will frame unto it. The text is this; *Statuimus, ut septem hebdomadas plenas ante sanctum pascha, omnes clerici, id est, in sortem Domini vocati, a carne jejurent*. Now followeth your gloss; *Statuimus, id est, abrogamus*. And because ye understand the gloss better than I, as ye say, and like it so well, read the text accordingly, and say thus; *Abrogamus ut septem hebdomadas plenas ante sanctum pascha, omnes*

clerici a carne jejument. And I believe whatsoever meaning ye make of it, ye shall make but unhandsome Latin. Now let your reader judge, whether of us two better understandeth the glosser's meaning.

SARUM.

Here ye have, that, after the words of consecration, there remaineth in the sacrament the substance of bread and wine. Now bring ye but one doctor that will say, as ye say, that there remaineth only the *accidents* and shows of bread and wine, and I will yield.

COLE.

Soft and fair, ye have not read the answer. Read Royard, and ye shall see more. At my cue I shall be ready for ye.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

If Royard's answer had been worth the hearing, ye would not have been ashamed to have alleged his words. At your cue ye will be as ready as St. George a horseback, evermore riding, and yet evermore standing still; ye will be a very evil auditor, that lay down so little and reckon so much. But bring some old council or doctor with you at your cue, or else folk will say ye have none to bring.

SARUM.

As touching a private mass, Gregory saith in his dialogues, that before the time of the communion the deacon was wont, even in his time, to cry unto the people on this wise, *Qui non communicat, locum cedit alteri*; "Whoso will not receive, let him depart, and give place to others."

COLE.

Ye have better stuff than this, I trow, for this is somewhat weak.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

Whatsoever this stuff seemeth to you, your answer seemeth to me very weak. If ye be no better able to answer this, how will ye be able to answer the rest? It appeareth by these words of St. Gregory, that in his time, which was six hundred years after Christ, whoso would not communicate with the priest at

the communion, was commanded out of the church. Whereby it is clear they had then a communion, and that all the congregation present received together. Now either shew ye me so much for your private mass, or else say no more, This stuff is weak.

SARUM.

To break the ordinance of Christ, and the people to communicate under one kind only, your own doctor Gelasius calleth it *sacrilegium*. And Theophilus Alexandrinus of the same matter writeth thus; *Si Christus mortuus fuisset pro diabolo non negaretur illi poculum sanguinis*.

COLE.

The Decrees, where ye learned this of Gelasius, telleth you how ye should understand it. Theophilus shall be answered when I come to dispute with you.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

Here, I trow, your memory deceived you; ye mean the gloss and not the Decree. For the words of Gelasius in the Decree are plain; *Divisio unius ejusdemque mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest pervenire*. And the words that he useth further, *aut integra sacramenta percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur*, seem not so much to pertain to the priests as to the people. But ye did well to turn over Theophilus until some other time, for I ween ye had no answer ready made.

SARUM.

That the common prayers were used in the common known tongue, ye have St. Basil, St. Hierom, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom, and the emperor Justinian, and many others. The places be known.

COLE.

Whether the Greek and Latin tongue were then understood of the common people, remaineth yet upon proof: well I trow St. Basil approveth not very well. Here I remain still in doubt.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

I marvel much that any learned man should doubt at this. For if the common Greek people understood not the Greek tongue, nor the common Latin people the Latin tongue, then

would I fain know what tongue they understood? I can see no great cause why they should forget their own tongue, and learn another. But Arnobius, in his time, called the Latin tongue *sermonem Italum*, because it was used throughout all Italy.

St. Ambrose, in his time, preached to the people of Italy in Latin, and, as it is to be thought, the people understood him.

St. Augustine, in his sermons to the common people in Africa, hath divers times these words: *Nunc loquar Latine ut omnes intelligatis*; "Now will I speak Latin," saith St. Augustine to the common people, "that ye may all understand me." St. Gregory in his sermons used the Latin tongue to the people; and I trow he spake not all in vain. I marvel why ye doubt not as well, whether the common Greek people understood Demosthenes or Æschines, or the common Latin people understood Cicero or Hortensius, when they spake unto them in their mother tongue.

Now, that the common prayers in St. Basil's, St. Ambrose, and St. Augustine's time were in the common vulgar tongue, mark how well it may be proved.

St. Basil saith thus of the usage of the common prayer in his time: *Conjunctus sonus virorum, mulierum, parvulorum, tanquam fluctus ferientis littora, in nostris ad Deum precibus excitatur*: "In our prayers that we make to God we raise up such a sound of the voices of men, women, and children praying together, as if it were the noise of the waves beating against the sea-banks." Whereby it appeareth, that, in St. Basil's time, men, women, and children sang in the churches all together.

Chrysostom of his time saith thus: *Ne mireris, si in sacris nostris populus cum sacerdote colloquatur*; "Marvel not," saith he, "if that in our prayers the priest and the people talk together."

Augustine of his time saith thus: *Non est opus loquutione cum oramus, id est, sonantibus verbis, nisi forte sicut sacerdotes faciunt, significandæ mentis suæ causa, non ut Deus, sed ut homines audiant*; "We need not," saith he, "to use words or sound of voice when we pray, unless it be as the priests do, to declare their meaning; not to the intent that God may therefore hear them, but that they may be heard of men."

But, because ye be a doctor of law, I would not have you forget Justinian the emperor, the first compiler of your laws.

He, if ye be remembered, commanded the bishops that they should set forth the common prayers in open voice, and that, as he saith, *ut majori devotione audientium animi efferantur*; that is, "that the minds of the hearers may be stricken with more devotion." He thought then, that the understanding of the prayers should enkindle devotion in the hearts of the hearers. For I believe he had never heard say, that ignorance should be the cause of true devotion, as ye boldly avouched in the disputation at Westminsterⁿ, in the hearing and wondering of the most part of the honourable and worshipful of this realm. I know not, by what secret revelation ye learned this first: for your own councils say, *Ignorantia mater est cunctorum errorum*; that is to say, "Ignorance is the mother of all manner errors." And the same words ye have alleged in your own decrees, *Distin. 38*, and are very agreeable unto Christ's words in the gospel: *Erratis nescientes scripturas*; "Ye are in error, because ye understand not the scriptures."

Origenes, one of the oldest doctors of the church, saith thus: *Tormentum est diabolo, si quem videat legere sacras literas: possidet enim omnes qui versantur in ignorantia*: "It is a scourge," saith he, "and a torment to the devil, if he see any man read the scriptures: for he hath power upon all them that remain in ignorance."

St. Cyril saith; *Pueri nostri legunt sacras literas, et ex eo fiunt religiosissimi*; "Our children," saith he, "read scriptures, and thereof they become devout and holy."

And what needeth mo allegations? Your own doctor Lyra saith; *Si populus intelligat rationem sacerdotis, melius reducitur in Deum, et majori devotione respondet, Amen*; that is, "If the people understand the priest, they are better brought to God, and with more devotion they answer, Amen."

It must needs be a miserable cause, that is grounded only upon ignorance; for no man hateth the light, but he that doth evil. Christ said to the Pharisees, "This is your time, and the power of darkness." If the people had understanding of the truth, they would not suffer you thus to lead them into error, as ye do and have done. But I remember Plinius writeth, that, notwithstanding the lion be a marvellous fierce and courageous

ⁿ [Juelli Ep. ad Petr. Martyr. (ap. Burnet, Ref. Records, iii. 357); printed in a later volume of this edition.]

beast, yet, if ye may once hoodwink him, or make him blind, ye may lead him whither ye list. Thus much by the way I thought good to put you in remembrance, for that the strangeness of your doctrine so required. If ye had as much to shew of your side, I believe, of your courtesy ye would not hide it.

SARUM.

Ye see I disadvantage myself of many things that might be spoken: for at this present I have not leisure to write books.

COLE.

I pray you take good leisure, and write effectually.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

A doctor of law, and a man of wisdom, should bring more learning, and fewer scorns.

SARUM.

Now must I needs desire you, forasmuch as I have followed your mind so far, either to bring me one doctor of your side, or else to give us leave to think ye have none.

COLE.

I wist ye know I may not; nor the case I stand in requireth it not.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

I wist ye know ye cannot, and therefore ye do best to say ye may not.

SARUM.

Ye desire us to leave talking against you, and no more to deal so unmercifully with you in the pulpits. Alas, master doctor, call ye this unmerciful dealing? What was then your dealing, when ye were in place? If ye remember, ye could never vouchsafe to call us other than schismatics, heretics, or traitors, in your pulpits; and yet, besides all that, ye used our bodies as ye know. We only tell the people, as our duty is, that ye withstand the manifest truth, and yet have neither scripture, nor doctor, nor council for you; and that ye have shewed such

extremity, as the like hath not been seen, and now can give no reckoning why; or if ye can, let it appear.

COLE.

Ye misreport me. I said, if men of your side used themselves traitorously to queen Mary, as none of us do now. Not manifest, until it be better proved. Ye had but the law: ye require more than any law will bear against us.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

If they were traitors, why did ye burn them as heretics? The matter would be too odious to shew what hath been wrought by men of your side against their princes. But as I then never liked them that drew their sword against their sovereign, even so now I pray God confound them, whosoever they be, that shall first begin the same.

What law ye ministered us in those days, I remit it unto you that are a lawyer: but I am well assured ye shewed us neither divinity nor humanity. But, I pray you, what law had ye to imprison such even as had broken no law? and so to keep them in your coalhouses, in stocks and fetters, with all extremity and cruelty, until ye had made a law for them, and to do with them, as Cyril saith the Jews did with Christ: *Primum ligant, deinde causas in eum querunt: prius captum habent, quam accusatum*: “First they bind him fast,” saith Cyril, “and then they devise matter against him: they lay hands upon him before any man accuse him.”

What law had ye to burn the queen’s subjects’ hands with candles or torches, before they were condemned to die by any law?

What law had ye to ascite a man to appear *peremptorie* at Rome within fourscore days, and yet that notwithstanding to keep him still in prison in Oxford? and afterward, for not appearing at his day at Rome, to condemn him there as obstinate?

Or what law had ye to put the same man to death, against the express words of your own law, after he had subscribed unto you, and was found in no relapse? I trust ye can say somewhat herein, for that you, being then a lawyer and in commission, had the execution of the law. But I believe, when ye have searched your books through, ye shall find ye had not

so much law, as they that said, *Nos habemus legem, et secundum legem debet mori.*

SARUM.

Where ye say, our doctrine is yet in doubt; I assure you, to us it is most certain, and out of doubt. But if ye for your part be yet in doubt, reason and charity would, ye had been better resolved, and quite out of doubt, before ye had dealt so unmercifully with your brethren.

COLE.

I doubted more than I do now: ye give me good cause to be well confirmed.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

This is a fair shift of rhetoric, when other help faileth you. Even thus the Pharisees, after they had been long in a mammering and in doubt of Christ, at the last were fully confirmed and out of doubt, and said unto him, *Jam scimus te habere dæmonium*: as if they should then have said unto Christ, as you say now to us, “We doubted more before than we do now; for now ye give us good cause to be well confirmed.” But if I have confirmed you, bringing such proofs as ye are not able to answer, how then, think ye, have others cause to be confirmed at your hands, that have used such extremity, and yet are able to bring nothing at all?

SARUM.

Ye are bound, ye say, and may not dispute: yet are ye not so bound as ye have bound others. But when ye were at liberty, and a free disputation was granted and offered at Westminster, before the queen’s majesty’s most honourable council, and the whole state of the realm, I pray you, whether part was it that then gave over? and yet then, ye know, ye were not bound, unless it were to silence, because ye had nothing to say.

COLE.

At Westminster we came to dispute, and were answered, that there was none appointed; where we refused not to write neither. But when our book could not be read as yours was, we refused not utterly to dispute, but only in the case if our book could not be suffered to be

read as indifferently as yours was. Now hardly weigh whether ye have indifferently reported, that we utterly refused to dispute with you, or no.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

Ye could not lightly have gotten so many untruths together, without some study. Where ye say, ye were answered, There was no disputation appointed at Westminster; if I should ask you who made you that answer, I reckon ye would be to seek. For I trust ye have not yet forgotten, that ye yourself were the first man that began to dispute there that day, and spake there an whole hour together, without interruption. But I marvel ye say not, that we of our part gave you over, and refused to dispute.

Ye say, ye refused not to write your allegations and answers, as ye had promised to do, and earnestly required it might be so; and yet, contrary to your request and promise, ye could not be gotten, as ye know, to write one line.

Ye say, your book could not be read as our's was; and yet ye know ye had no book there to be read at all, as we had.

As for the indifferent ordering and hearing of the matters, I remit that to them that were the orderers of it, of whom ye cannot in any wise complain, but both your own and the hearers' consciences must needs accuse you.

The order of the disputation was, that both parts should the first day bring in their assertion all in writing, and that the next day either party should answer the other's book, and that also by writing; which was your own request, as it will appear by your protestation sent to the council in that behalf. The first day ye came without any book at all, contrary to the order taken, and also, as I have said, to your own request. The second day ye refused to proceed any farther, and stood only upon this point, that unless ye might have the last word, ye would not dispute. For ye said, Whosoever might have that, were like to *discedere cum applausu*: for these very words °two of your own company uttered in Latin, even by the same terms as I do now; otherwise ye said ye would not dispute. Which answer was so vain, that not only the rest of the hearers, but also the bishop, that then was, of York, your own friend, found fault with it, and was ashamed of it, and bade you proceed. In

° Drs. Scot and Fecknam.

conclusion, contrary to all men's looking for, only upon your refusal, the disputation was suddenly broken off. And I am content to stand to the judgment of all the hearers herein, whether I have reported indifferently or no.

SARUM.

Ye say, ye remain still in the faith ye were baptized in. O master doctor, stand not too much upon that point. Ye know ye have already forsaken a great number of things that were thought necessary when ye were baptized. And yet, besides that, how many times have some of you altered your faith within the space of twenty years! Remember well yourself: ^pWho wrote the book *De vera obedientia*, against the supremacy of Rome? ^qWho commended it with his preface? ^rWho set it forth in solemn sermons? ^sWho confirmed it with open oath?

COLE.

What one thing am I gone from? Ye say much, and prove little. Ye mean the old bishop of Winchester, who repented at the hour of his death. And where ye mean I condescended to the primacy of king Henry at my first coming home, or I had laboured the matter, ye did the like yourself: for in queen Mary's time ye subscribed to the articles, some of them we are entered to talk in, to your no less blame than mine. There be in this town that both saw you subscribe, and can bring forth your hand.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

Yes, I think ye are gone from one thing at the least, besides pardons and pilgrimages. I meant not Dr. Gardiner to pull him out of his grave, and to torment him being dead, as ye did master Bucer, master Fagius in Cambridge, Dr. Peter Martyr's wife in Oxford, and others mo: but only that I would not have you build too much upon your constancy, which hitherto hath been found to be even as the pleasure of the prince.

But he repented him, ye say, when he saw he should needs die. I trust he did so, for he had good cause so to do. But if he repented himself of his book that he had written so stoutly

^p Gardiner.
almost all the rest.

^q Boner.

^r Tunstall.

^s Dr. Cole. And

against the pope, why did he not recant it in all his lifetime? why did he not revoke his error openly? why held he his peace? why dissembled he so deeply for the space of twenty years together?

Ye say, it was only at your first coming home from Italy that ye condescended to the primacy of king Henry. Here must I put you in remembrance, that ye continued therein still all king Henry's time out, even until the death of king Edward, and the coming in of queen Mary: and if her grace had continued out to have entituled herself the supreme head of the church of England, as she did a great while after her first entry, and that, as it is to be thought, without burden of her conscience, I doubt not then but ye would have talked better with yourself, and continued so still. All this mean while ye came to the church; ye said and heard the common prayers; ye ministered and received the communion; and in all your doings bare yourself as any other subject of this realm: and thus held out, as I said, for the space of twenty years. I may say to you, this was a good long coming home. Therefore I may well thus conclude, and ye must needs confess the same, that either ye deceived the people then by your example and conformity of all your doings, allowing that religion for good, which in your conscience ye knew to be naught; or else that ye be a dissembler and deceive the people now, making them, as much as in you lieth, by your example, to think this religion to be naught, which in your conscience and knowledge ye find to be godly and good. So that, whatsoever judgment ye have now, or heretofore have had, of this religion, it must needs appear, that either ye be now, or else have been, a deceiver of the people. But after ye had laboured the matter better, and, as ye say, had read the doctors, I pray you what doctor found ye, that ever told you, either that the pope ought to have the supremacy of the whole church, or that the prince in his own church ought not to have it?

But I have subscribed, ye say, as well as ye, and my hand is to be seen, and there be some that saw me when I did it. These proofs were needful, if I had denied the fact. But I have confessed it openly and unrequired in the midst of the congregation. The arguments that ye made were so terrible; ye concluded altogether with fire and fagot. I confess I should have done otherwise: but if I had not done as I did, I had not

been here now to encounter with you. If ye should now be apposed with the like conclusions, I doubt not but ye would be glad to do, as both ye yourself and your fellows have done heretofore.

SARUM.

Ye have *ecclesiam apostolicam*, ye say, and we have none: yet ye know, in all these matters that we now intreat of, we have the old doctors' church, the ancient councils' church, the primitive church, St. Peter's church, St. Paul's church, and Christ's church; and this, I believe, unless ye can bring me good reason to the contrary, may be called the apostles' church. And I marvel much, that ye, having, as ye know, none of all these churches, or any shadow or token of them, yet should so boldly say, ye have *ecclesiam apostolicam*.

COLE.

To this, and some part of the next article, ye shall be answered in the end of this writing, as I before said.

SARUM.

Where ye say, ye make no innovations, it is no marvel; for in a manner all things were altered to your hand, as may most evidently appear by all these matters that be now in question; wherein ye have utterly changed and abolished the order of the primitive church, and do nothing else but the contrary. And what evident profit the church of God hath gotten by it, I think it a hard matter for you to declare.

COLE.

What needeth so much of one thing? This serveth you to seem to say too much.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

This answer is so short, that it concludeth nothing.

SARUM.

Ye would have the matter turned over to some such general council as we would be content to stand unto;

howbeit, that, ye think, will not be in your time. Notwithstanding, this I dare boldly say, such a council will be, a great while before ye shall find any doctor or old council to serve your purpose. But if there never be such a council, yet truth will be truth notwithstanding: for the council cannot make falsehood truth, but that thing, that it taketh for truth, it certifieth only to be true.

COLE.

I grant.

SARUM.

But what redress can there be looked for at such a council, whereas no man shall be judge, or suffered to speak one way or other, but only such as be openly and justly accused, and found faulty? and whereas he that is himself most out of order shall be head and reformer of the whole?

COLE.

Such fond excuses men lay: how true, let other men judge.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

Ye know, that in your own law there was evermore *exceptio judicis incompetentis*. And by what law can ye find, that a man may be a competent judge in his own cause? If the indifferent using of the matter may be tried by experience, in this your last general council holden at Trident, ye know, that not one man of our side, notwithstanding there were a great number of them there, sent thither of purpose by their princes, could be suffered to sit among the rest, or to have a voice, or to yield a reason of his faith: and the pope, Julius Third, gave out under his brief, that none of them all should be heard there, unless it were, as he said, to recant their errors.

And notwithstanding Pigghius himself had confessed there were open errors in the mass; notwithstanding Latomus, a doctor of your own, had confessed a great abuse in the communion under one kind; notwithstanding Pius the Second, bishop of Rome, had seen and confessed great abuse in the restraining of priests' marriage: yet in the same council they concluded among themselves, that no manner of thing should be changed

at all, that had been once received in their church. Therefore these be not fond excuses; the world seeth they be too true.

SARUM.

Both parties, ye say, have waded so far herein, that now they can go no further, and therefore ye would have either party let other alone. This ye say now, because ye see ye are called to an audit, and are not able to make your account. But if ye of your part had been so indifferent when time was, many a godly man had now been alive.

COLE.

Ye forget yourself, I say not so perdie: look better in the place.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

If ye meant not so, it skilleth not greatly, it is to small purpose: consider it well, and ye shall find my conclusion true.

SARUM.

Where ye say, ye would have the sayings of both parties weighed by the balance of the old doctors, ye see, that is our special request unto you. And that in the matters you writ of, I desire even so to be tried. But why throw ye away these balance? and, being so oftentimes required, why be ye so loath to shew forth but one old doctor of your side? Ye make folk believe ye would not have the matter come to trial. Only ye set forth the empty names of St. Augustine, of St. Hierom, of St. Chrysostom, of St. Basil, of St. Cyprian, of Tertullian, of Irenæus, of Dionysius, of the councils, &c., as the apothecaries set forth their painted boxes, and oftentimes nothing in them. Ye shew me only the names of the doctors which I knew before; but ye shew me not one word in them of the private mass, or of the rest of the matters that lie between us. If ye could have found any thing in them for your purpose, I believe ye would not have brought them empty.

Ye say all these matters be already determined. But where, I pray you? or in what general council? This is it, that I would so gladly know at your hand, and that ye say ye have, and yet so ungently keep it from me.

COLE.

Then begin, if ye think the time will serve, or put it over till another time. All these be but words often repeated, and answered already.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

I have offered and begun in vain; for ye keep yourself off, and will not come to answer. These words I grant have been upon good occasion oftentimes repeated, and I think ye would say somewhat to them, if ye were able.

SARUM.

Ye say, I slanderously misreport the late council of Constance. O good master doctor, these words savour too much of your choler, and might better have been spared. I spake more favourably of that council than I might have done. The words of the council be these, speaking namely of the communion under both kinds: *Pertinaciter asserentes oppositum, tanquam hæretici arcendi sunt.* By these words, they that maintain the manifest ordinance of Christ, and the practice of the apostles, are not called schismatics, as I said, but stubborn and wilful heretics. Ye see, therefore, my report was more favourable than the council deserved.

COLE.

Ye say, the council of Constance openly pronounced against Christ. Wherein, I pray you? Because the fathers there said, "Whoso saith it is of necessity to receive under both kinds, and the approved custom of the church is sacrilege, is to be taken as an heretic;" and yet none heretic, but in a wrong opinion. Then belike ye can bring in some text, where Christ commanded it should not be received but under both kinds, which ye can never do. So is your report of this council slanderous still. Read 4 *can. concil. Constantiens.*

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

It grieveth you that I should say, the council decreed against

Christ: but consider it aright, and ye shall find it. Christ, as ye know, appointed the communion under both kinds, and commanded his disciples to do the same as he had done it. Therefore he that commandeth the contrary, and that under the pain of heresy, pronounceth openly against Christ.

Ye call it an approved custom of the church: yet ye remember St. Cyprian's words, that be alleged in your own decrees: *Christus non dicit, Ego sum consuetudo, sed Ego sum veritas*; that is to say, "Christ saith not, 'I am custom,' but 'I am the truth.'" But if custom might justly prevail against an open and plain truth, I pray you where was your communion under one kind ever at any time, since the beginning of the world, allowed for a general custom? or being but a particular custom, as it is, and that received only of yourself, in what general council was it ever allowed?

Ye say, your own ordinances may not be broken, without the authority of a general council. And dare ye, without any such authority, only upon a vain and particular custom, to break the universal ordinance of Christ?

Ye say, men are not to be judged heretics, that withstand your order herein, but only to be in a wrong opinion. Here I see, that ye and your brethren agree not in judgment both together; and therefore ye shall the less marvel, if we disagree from you, and mistrust you both. For Hosius, a doctor of your side, is not afraid to call it heresy and sacrilege: his words be plain. *Nunc hæresin profert, seque pollicetur ostensurum, omnes esse impios, qui utriusque speciei communionem laicis denegant.* And again; *An autem idem in regno tuo factum non vidimus? ubi calix per summum sacrilegium usurpatur?* And again; *Vellem autem unam mihi terram aliquam ostendi, ubi privata libidine calix usurpari coeptus est, in qua non e vestigio multæ sint aliæ et quidem horribiles hæreses consequitæ.*

Thus, to do that thing, that Christ and his apostles and all the old fathers did in the primitive church, without exception, this doctor concludeth it to be an horrible heresy.

And if it were taken for no heresy, as ye say it was not, then was your council too much to blame, that gave so cruel sentence against the people of Bohemia, for that they thought it necessary to use both kinds, according to the institution of Christ, and pronounced thus against them; *Tanquam hæretici arcendi sunt.*

For if they take them for no heretics, they did them great wrong to punish them as heretics. And yet is your doctor Hosius too much to blame, to condemn any thing for heresy, without any word of God, and specially without the authority of any old doctor or any general council.

Ye ask me, what text I can bring forth, wherein Christ commanded that the communion should be received under both kinds. The institution of Christ, and his commandment thereunto annexed, as methinketh, is text good enough to him that will be ruled by Christ. I will not ask ye, what text ye can bring, wherein Christ hath commanded you to minister the communion in one kind: but this only would I know, what text ye can bring, whereby a priest, ministering the sacrament, is commanded to receive it in both kinds, more than any other layman. I know your answer; ye must needs say, The institution of Christ. And yet by your own interpretation, if a priest communicate himself under one kind, Gelasius calleth it *sacrilegium*; which thing I reckon he would not have said, if he had not thought it contrary to the open words and institution of Christ.

Again, what text can ye bring, whereby as touching this point the priest hath any privilege above the people? If ye can find none, as indeed ye shall never be able, then that, that is sacrilege in the priest, is also sacrilege in the people.

Again, what text can ye bring, whereby Christ hath precisely forbidden any man to baptize only in the name of the Holy Ghost? undoubtedly ye can find none in all the scriptures, but only Christ's institution. And yet whosoever would decree that such kind of baptism should be used, I trow ye would say he decreed against Christ, because he breaketh the institution of Christ.

Even so doth your council of Constance in the matter we last talked of. Therefore my words are true still, and yet ye (ye must give me leave to say the truth) have concluded with a slander.

Touching the thing itself, ye are so certain of it, that none of you all can tell at what time it first began. But this ye know well, if ye list to be known of it, that it began neither in Christ's time, nor in the apostles' time, nor in the old doctors' time, nor within the compass of seven hundred years after Christ. And

therefore if a man should ask you of your communion under one kind, *De cælo est, an ex hominibus?* ye must needs answer, It came not from heaven, forasmuch as it hath no testimony of God's word, but only crept in (as Stephen Gardiner confesseth) by a superstitious negligence in the people.

SARUM.

Where ye say, ye could never yet find the error of one general council, I trow this escaped you for default of memory. Albertus Pigghius, the greatest learned man of your side, hath found out such errors to our hands, namely, in his book that he calleth *Ecclesiastica Hierarchia*, speaking of the second council holden at Ephesus, which ye cannot deny but it was general, and yet took part with the heretic, abbot Eutyches, against the godly man, Flavianus; he writeth thus: *Concilia universalia, etiam congregata legitime, ut bene, ita perperam, injuste, impieque, judicare ac definire possunt*; that is, "General councils, yea even such as be lawfully summoned, as they may conclude things well, so may they likewise judge and determine things rashly, unjustly, and wickedly."

COLE.

Ye ground yourself upon Pigghius' error; for Pigghius holdeth the council of Ephesus was general, which the council of Chalcedon denieth. So that I marvel much herein of you, that ye allege that for a council, which hath no place in the book of councils.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

In Pigghius' words there are two things to be noted: the one is, that he saith a general council may err in faith; the other, that he saith the second council of Ephesus was general. And forasmuch as ye challenge him only for the latter, I think ye will agree with him in the first; which to my purpose is sufficient.

But here ye cause me to marvel, what ye mean to make so little account of Pigghius: for he, as ye know, hath been taken for the chiefest champion of your side.

Pigghius saith, the council of Ephesus was general; and ye say it was not so. Ye must give me leave to say the truth; if the matter come to a *quid dicunt*, Pigghius will be taken in the country for a man as well learned, and as skilful in the councils, as Dr. Cole. Ye should not so little esteem the doctors of your own side, lest that being not able to allege any old doctor, and refusing the new, it may haply be thought ye have neither old nor new. And yet when ye were before the queen's majesty's commissioners, at Lambeth, ye said openly there that Pigghius is full of errors. But forasmuch as ye yourself have begun to find fault with your own doctors, I trust hereafter ye will the better bear with us, if we sometime shall do the same. Here ye drive me to use the mo words, partly to defend Pigghius in his right, and partly to make you see, how wilfully ye withstand an open truth, having so little to the contrary. And as ye shall be found true in this, even so am I well content to take you in all the rest.

First, Nicephorus and Evagrius, that write the whole story and order of the council of Ephesus, never denied it to be general.

Theodosius the emperor, that summoned the bishops together, as it may appear by his words, took it to be general. For thus he writeth to the council: *Cogitantes non esse tutum absque vestra sancta synodo, et ubique sanctarum ecclesiarum præsulibus, hujusmodi questionem de fidei renovari, necessarium duximus vestram sanctitatem convenire.* These words, *sanctarum ecclesiarum, quæ ubique sunt*, import a generality of all churches through the world. Further, there was the emperor's authority; the bishop of Rome's legate, which, as some men think, maketh up all together; and other bishops of all nations. And how could such a council not be general?

Your doctors of Paris have concluded thus, Artic. xxii.: *Quod autem magistri nostri dicunt de legitima congregatione, notandum est ad hoc, ut concilium legitime congregetur, sufficere, quod solemnitas et forma juris solemniter sit servata. Quia si quis trahere vellet hoc in disputationem, utrum prælati, qui ibi sedent, habeant rectam intentionem, et utrum sint docti, et utrum habeant scientiam sacrarum literarum, et animum obediendi sanctæ doctrinæ, esset processus in infinitum.* That is to say, "Whereas our doctors speak of a lawful council, we must mark, that to this,

that the council be lawfully gathered, it shall be sufficient that the solemnity and form of law be solemnly observed. For if we should move question, whether the bishops that sit in council have a godly meaning, and whether they be learned, and whether they have understanding of the scriptures, and whether they mind to submit themselves to sound doctrine, then should we never have done." Thus it is decreed by your doctors, that neither godly meaning, nor learning, nor knowledge of the scriptures, nor obedience unto sound doctrine, is to be weighed in the bishops that rule the council, but only a certain solemnity and form of law. Dioscorus, that was president of the same council, and his words be reported in the council of Chalcedon, saith thus; *Theodosius confirmavit omnia quæ judicata sunt a sancta et universali synodo generali*; "Theodosius," saith he, "hath confirmed all such things as were determined by this universal and general council."

Here ye see, it is called an universal and a general council; and afterward, in the same council of Chalcedon, ye shall find these words; *Sanctissimæ, et Domino amantissimæ, universali synodo congregatæ in Epheso metropoli*; "To the holy, beloved unto the Lord, the universal council gathered in the mother city of Ephesus."

But if perhaps ye doubt of these words, because the one was Eutyches, the other was Dioscorus, by whom they were spoken, (howbeit, notwithstanding they were heretics, yet could they not lightly make an open lie in a matter that was so evident,) then read ye the old father Liberatus, that was *archidiaconus Carthaginensis*, and lived under Vigilius, bishop of Rome, at the least a thousand years ago, and writeth the very story of this council: his words be these; *Fit Ephesi generale concilium, ad quod convenerunt, Flavianus, et Eutyches, tanquam judicandi*: "There is appointed," saith he, "at Ephesus, a general council, in the which Flavianus and Eutyches made their appearance, as men standing to be judged." Now if ye will say, that *generale concilium* is not in English "a general council," then I would it might be put over to some other court. O master doctor, if ye meant nothing else but truth, ye would not do as ye do.

Thus much have I written in the defence of your Dr. Pighius, for that I saw him accused of you without cause.

SARUM.

And of the councils holden of late years at Constance and Basil, whereas pope John and pope Eugenius were deposed, he saith plainly, that they decreed both against reason, and against nature, and against all examples of antiquity, and also against the word of God. And yet both these councils were called general.

COLE.

Wherein doth Pigghius prove the councils of Constance and Basil to have erred? Marry, because they decreed the general council to be above the pope. If ye take these two councils to have erred in these points, ye are a greater papist than I am; for I hold herein rather with Gerson. I trow this be one place that ye wrote not yourself. Yet I reckon no error proved in any general council by that ye have yet said.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

Yes, I assure you, master doctor, I put in this place, and all the rest, myself alone without conference. And yet, God be thanked, I can find nothing in your writings but such as any man may soon guess it came only from yourself alone. Ye take exception before with that I alleged the council of Basil, and sent me word that no such thing could be found. But now I see ye are better advised.

As touching Pigghius, I used his authority herein, as St. Paul, to reprove them that denied the resurrection, used the authority of them that baptized for the dead, not for that he thought such baptism well ministered, but only for that it serveth to his purpose. For I shewed you not what I thought myself, but what Pigghius, your great doctor, thought; and what ye yourself must needs think, unless ye will pull down your own doctrine, and set the pope himself and all his adherents upon your top.

But if ye take part with Gerson, as ye say you do, mark how the chief pillar of your building begins to shake.

If the pope be head of the church, as ye say, and the council be but *ecclesia representativa*, that is, a resemblance of the church, as your canonists and schoolmen say, how can it be but the pope by your own saying (whether Gerson will or nill) must needs be head of the council? for he that is head of the whole, must also be head of the part; unless perhaps ye will say, the

part is greater than the whole. Of these grants of yours there followeth consequently great inconvenience against yourself.

Ye say, The pope is not above the council. *Ergo*, may some other man say, He is much less above the whole church.

Again, The pope is not above the church. *Ergo*, He is not head of the church.

But all this notwithstanding, ye say the council is above the pope. And yet ye know, that even now, whatsoever is decreed in any general council, there is evermore devotion made to the pope, as unto him that is thought to be above the council, and without whom nothing may be concluded.

Have ye forgotten that pope Pius and pope Julius of late years commanded there should no appeal be made from the pope to any council?

Have ye forgotten that the last general council holden at Trident concluded thus at the end, *Salva semper in omnibus sedis apostolicæ autoritate*: as confessing openly that they took the pope to be above the council?

Have ye forgotten that your own doctors say, *Papa est fons omnis juris*; "The pope is the fountain of all manner law:" and, *Papa habet omnia jura in scrinio pectoris sui*; "The pope hath all law under the secret of his breast"?

Have ye forgotten what is written in the pope's own decretals, *Extra, de electione, et electi potestate: si totus mundus sentiet in aliquo contra papam, videtur quod standum sit sententiæ papæ*: "If all the world should give sentence in any matter against the pope, it appeareth for all that, we ought to stand to the determination of the pope"?

Have ye forgotten that it is written in your own councils, *Papa a nemine judicatur*; "The pope is judged of no man?" and a jolly reason joined to the same, *Quia non est discipulus supra magistrum*; "For there is no scholar above his master"?

Have ye forgotten that that is written in your decrees; *Neque ab Augusto, neque a regibus, neque a toto clero, neque a populo, judex judicabitur*; "The judge," that is to say, the pope, "shall be judged neither by the emperor, nor by kings, nor by the whole clergy, nor by the people"?

And again; *Aliorum hominum causas voluit Deus per homines terminare: sed hujus sedis præsulem, suo sine quæstione servavit*

arbitrio ; “ Other men’s causes God would have to be determined and ruled by men ; but the bishop of this see, out of all doubt, he reserved only to his own judgment.”

And again ; *Facta subditorum judicantur a nobis, nostra autem a solo Deo* ; “ The doings of our subjects are judged by us ; but our doings are judged only by God.”

Have ye forgotten that your schoolmen say, *Papa habet jus infragabile, de quo non licet disputare* ; “ The pope hath a right that no man may withstand, of which right no man may dispute?”

Have ye forgotten that is written in your decretals, *De translatione episcopi*, in the gloss ; *Papa naturam rerum immutat, substantialia unius rei applicando alteri : et de nullo potest facere aliquid : et sententiam, quæ nulla est, facit aliquam. Quia in his quæ vult, ei est pro ratione voluntas. Nec est qui illi dicat, Cur ita facis ?* that is, “ He changeth the nature of things, applying the substantial parts of one thing to another : and of nothing he is able to make somewhat. And that, that is no sentence, he maketh a good sentence : for in any thing that he willeth, his will standeth instead of reason. And there is no man that may say unto him, Why dost thou thus ?”

Have ye forgotten the words of your own councils, *Papa non potest judicari* ; “ The pope cannot be judged” ? and the same fortified with a good reason, out of the words of the prophet Esay, who spake in the person of God ; *Quia scriptum est, Nunquid gloriabitur securis adversus eum qui secat cum ea ?* “ Shall the axe boast himself against him that heweth with it ?” Or have ye forgotten that Hostiensis, your own doctor, writeth, *Papa est omnia, et super omnia* ; “ The pope is all, and above all” ? which words St. Paul speaketh only of Christ. So reverently the doctors of your side use God’s holy scriptures.

Yet I pass by as great a number of the like sentences to the same purpose. Thus ye see, if ye take part with Gerson, a great many of your own friends will fall out with you, and ye will be in hazard to be called an heretic.

Ye see by this, that the council of Constance, and Basil, being both general, as Pighius saith, decreed a falsehood, and were in error ; as ye yourself must needs confess, as well as Pighius, if ye will stand to your own doctrine. And therefore Cardinalis Cajetanus, one of your own side, saith, that both these councils were afterward justly abrogate : I think for that they were

thought to have decreed amiss. And so both Gerson and you, by the judgment of all your brethren, remain still in error. And when ye have sought out the bottom of your learning, I believe it will be hard for you to find any good sufficient cause, why a general council may not as well be deceived, as a particular. For Christ's promises, *Ecce ego vobiscum sum*, and *Ubi-cunque duo aut tres convenerint in nomine meo, ibi sum ego in medio illorum*, are made as well to the particular council, as to the general.

Howbeit, whether the council may err or no, ye know it availeth you but little to stand greatly to the defence of councils in these points, unless ye had some council to make for you. But like as the Romans in old times worshipped their god Vulcanus with all godly honour, and yet would never vouchsafe to give him a chapel within their town; even so ye, as it appeareth, can content yourselves to honour the councils, and to have them ever in mouth, yet will ye not vouchsafe to take them near to you, and to be ordered by them. And therefore these words of yours are only of office, and of course, that the very countenance ye give the matter might make your reader believe, that ye have all the councils of your side, and we have none.

But alas, what reverence or regard have ye to the councils? The council of Nice appointed three patriarchs to rule the whole church, each of them within his precincts of like authority: ye have broken this council, and given all the whole authority to one alone. The council holden at Eliberis decreed, that there should be no kind of image of any thing that is worshipped, painted in the church: ye have broken this council, and filled your churches full of images. The council of Antioch decreed, that such as came into the church and heard the scriptures read, and abstained from the communion, should be excommunicate from the church: ye have broken this council, and neither do ye read the scriptures in such sort as the people may perceive them, nor once exhort them to the communion. The council of Carthage commanded there should nothing be read in the church but only the scriptures of God: ye have broken this council, and read such legends and fables unto the people, as ye yourselves know were manifest and open lies. The council of Rome, under pope Nicolas, commandeth, that no man be present at the mass of a priest, whom he knoweth undoubtedly to keep a con-

cubine, and that under the pain of excommunication: yet he whom ye would so fain have to be taken for the head of your church, not only hath broken this council, but also, for a certain ordinary tribute to be yearly paid, giveth his priest free license and dispensations, under his great seal, openly to keep concubines without controlment. And what need we mo examples? Ye make the councils weigh as ye will: when ye list, as heavy as gold; again, when ye list, as light as feathers. Pope Julius the Second called a council at Rome, only to overthrow the council of Pisa. And the whole order of St. Dominic's friars cried out shame upon the council of Basil, for that the bishops there had taken part with the Scotists against the Thomists, touching original sin in our lady. The council of Paris was scoffed at, and jested out of all parts, and until this day kept of no part: for our doctors of England said, it had no power to sail over the sea; Egidius of Rome saith, it was too heavy to climb over the Alps. Thus much for that ye seem to stand so earnestly to the defence of councils, having in these points not one council to allege for yourself.

SARUM.

Ye press me sore, that if I write you not a book of my proofs, it will be thought I do it *conscientia imbecillitatis*. Belike ye have forgotten why ye, with all your company, not long since refused to enter into disputation with us at Westminster. Doubtless the greatest part thought it was, as it was indeed, *conscientia imbecillitatis*. And what think you is there now thought in you, that, being so often required, yet cannot be won to bring so much as one poor sentence in your own defence? I have before alleged a few reasons of my part, which by order of disputation I was not bound to do. Now let the world judge, whether of us both flieth conference.

COLE.

I have answered to this already. What order of disputations discharge you of proof? Yet remember, I came not to dispute, but to be taught.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

Ye have answered me by saying nothing ; which I think ye would not have done if ye had any thing else to answer. From proof in this matter I am sufficiently discharged by the law of impossibility. For as ye said openly at Westminster (and once again I put you in remembrance of the same, because it is your own law), it is impossible to prove a negative. All your help is in the shadow and pretence of learning, whereby it appeareth well ye fly disputation. Ye were best to get some better cloke to hide you under, for these be but fig-leaves, and cover not your shame.

SARUM.

I protest before God, bring me but one sufficient sentence or authority in the matters I have required, and afterwards I will gently and quietly confer with you further at your pleasure. Wherefore, forasmuch as it is God's cause, if ye mean simply, deal simply ; betray not your right, if ye may save it by speaking one word.

COLE.

If ye refuse to instruct me, unless I bring some proof of my part, ye bid me to my cost. Ye bid me to a feast, where, while I should take on me to prove your doctrine naught, I were like to forfeit my recognizance, which ye guilefully allure me unto.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

Ye hide yourself under your recognizance, and think ye walk invisible, as the ostrich, when he hath once couched his head under a little bough, though the rest of his body, which is great and large, stand open and uncovered, yet he thinketh no man can espy him. Although ye be sanded and set aground, yet ye keep up the sail still, as if ye had water at your will.

Ye say, ye may not dispute lest ye should forfeit your recognizance. I would wish you to remember yourself, and to let the people understand the truth. Ye know, ye are not bound in recognizance for disputing with any man ; but, for that being required to disputations by the queen's most honourable council, and the place appointed, and great and worthy audience assem-

bled to the same, ye gave over, as ye know, upon the sudden, and would not dispute at all. And therefore for your disobedience and contempt ye were bound in recognizance.

But I pray you, were ye thus bound in queen Mary's time too, as well as now? Or if ye were not bound, how happened it, that ye never durst allege one ancient doctor in these matters all that while? Remember your own words: ye said a little before, that ye brought more than we were able to answer, notwithstanding it were, as ye said, nor scriptures, nor councils, nor doctors. And further, I pray you, were all the rest of the doctors of your side, Pigghius, Eckius, Hofmasterus, Bunderius, &c., bound in recognizance, as well as you? Or, if they were not bound, why were they so dainty of their doctors, that in these matters they could never vouchsafe to allege one? Look better upon your recognizance: I cannot believe ye should be so free to scoff and to scorn, more than either divinity or good humanity would bear withal, and only be forbidden to do that thing, which of all good reason ye ought most to do: or that ye should be restrained from the alleging of St. Augustine, St. Hierom, St. Ambrose, St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, &c., and have a privilege only to allege Aristotle, Horace, the decrees, the decretals, the gloss, Gerson, Driedo, Royard, and Tapper, such men as I never could have thought had been canonized and allowed for doctors of the church. Augustus Cæsar, on a time, as he was passing through Rome, and saw certain strange women lulling apes and whelps in their arms; What, said he, have the women of these countries none other children? So may I say unto you, that make so much of Gerson, Driedo, Royard, and Tapper, Have the learned men of your side none other doctors? For alas, these, that ye allege, are scarcely worthy to be allowed amongst the black guard. Hilarius saith unto the Arians, *Cedo aliud evangelium*; "Shew me some other gospel;" for this that ye bring helpeth you not. Even so will I say to you, *Cedo alios doctores*, "Shew me some other doctors;" for these, that ye bring, are not worthy the hearing. I hoped, ye would have come in with some fresher band. It must needs be some miserable cause, that can find no better patrons to cleave unto. I know it was not for lack of good will of your part; ye would have brought other doctors, if ye could have found them.

SARUM.

The people must needs think somewhat of your silence, and mistrust your doctrine, if it shall appear to have no manner of ground, neither of the councils, nor of the doctors, nor of the scriptures, nor any one allowed example of the primitive church, to stand upon. And so your fifteen hundred years, with the consent of antiquity and generality, shall come to nothing.

COLE.

God wot, I pass little in these matters what the poor silly souls deem of my doings; wherein ye have no cause to complain, sith they be edified towards you. Wise men, I doubt not, see, what just cause I have to do as I do.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

Now God wot, then are the poor silly souls little beholden to you, that have been so long and so worshipfully maintained by the sweat of their brows, and now seeing them, as ye say, deceived, and perish before your eyes, ye can hold your peace and let all alone. St. Paul said, *Quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor? quis offenditur, et ego non uror? Cupio anathema esse a Christo, pro fratribus meis*: and so would ye say too, if ye were so sure of the matter as St. Paul was, or if ye had the spirit of St. Paul. Wise men, ye say, know that ye have just cause to do as ye do. Doubtless; for he, that can find nothing to say, hath a reasonable cause to hold his peace: and yet I think, a mean wise man may see, that by the virtue of your recognizance ye might as well have alleged St. Augustine and St. Hierom, as Royard and Tapper. But ye know, the matter is such, that, if ye once come to allegations, whatsoever ye say, it will be the worse. As for my part, so that both the wise and the unwise may see your errors, and how little ye have to say for yourself, I pass not greatly, whether ye confess the same by speaking, or by holding your peace: for, *Qui tacet, consentire videtur*, as ye yourself are wont to say. O master doctor, deal simply in God's causes, and say ye have doctors, when ye have them indeed: and when ye have them not, never lay the fault in your recognizance.

SARUM.

Where ye say, I am not altogether without enemies, I

assure you, whosoever he be that is enemy unto me, I for my part am enemy unto no man, but only wish, that God's truth may be known of all men. But he that is enemy unto me in this behalf, I fear me is enemy unto some other, whom he would be loath to name.

COLE.

Ye would bear folk in hand, that they that agree not in doctrine with you are not the queen's friends, which ye gather by your own side in queen Mary's reign. But I never brake amity with any man for dissent in religion; I keep still my old friends, be their religion good or bad.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

To the first part thereof, I will not say so much as I were able. God soon confound all them, that be or shall be otherwise. If ye love your friends notwithstanding their religion, ye are more charitable than some of your brethren. For ye remember, how unfriendly some of you have used their friends, only for dissent in religion, unless perhaps ye will say, ye imprisoned them, and burnt them, even for very love.

SARUM.

Ye suppressed, ye say, your first letters, for that they were too sour. That had been all one to me, for sour words are not enough to quail the truth. Howbeit, to my knowledge, I gave you no ill words to increase that humour. But if ye strive still against nature, as ye say ye have done now, and conquer the rest of your affections too, I doubt not but we shall soon agree.

COLE.

As though mine affection only caused me to dissent from you in religion. Which argument may serve you well in rhetoric, but nowhere else, I ween.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

When ye shall bring me any such authority as I have required of you, wherefore ye should dissent from us in these points, then will I grant, ye dissent not only for affection. If ye be able to bring nothing, I trust ye will pardon me to say as I say. This argument, ye say, would serve me in rhetoric, and nowhere else. Thus ye write to make your reader believe, as

ye have reported in places, that the ground of my sermons is rhetoric, and not divinity. Wherein ye were somewhat to blame for your so light credit. For if ye had heard me yourself, as ye never did, I think ye might have heard somewhat else than rhetoric. But it appeareth ye hunt very narrowly for faults, that account learning for a fault. If I were skilful in rhetoric, as ye would have me appear, only to discredit me with the people, yet can I not understand, wherefore that thing should be so faulty in me, that was sometimes commendable in St. Augustine, in St. Chrysostom, in St. Hierom, in Arnobius, in Lactantius, in Cyprian, in Tertullian, and in many other old godly fathers: for all these, as ye know, were great rhetoricians. But as in the book of the Kings, the Assyrians, when they were overthrown by the Jews, cried out, *Dii montium sunt dii illorum*, "The gods of the hills be their gods;" as though Silvanus, or Pan, or Faunus, had conquered them, and not the true living God of Israel; even so ye at this time, after ye see yourselves scattered and put to flight, cry out, It is rhetoric and eloquence, that hath overthrown you, and not the force of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

Likewise was Porphyrius wont to say, that St. Paul persuaded so far, and won so many to the faith of Christ, not for that he had any truth of his side, but only for that with his eloquence and other subtilty he was able to abuse the simplicity of the people. But, alas, small rhetoric would suffice to shew how little ye have of your side to allege for yourself.

SARUM.

Here I leave, putting you eftsoons in remembrance, that being so oft and so openly desired to shew forth one scripture, or one allowed example of the primitive church, or one old doctor, or one ancient council, in the matters before named, yet hitherto ye have kept back, and brought nothing; and that, if ye stand so still, it may well be thought ye do it *conscientia imbecillitatis*, for that there was nothing to be brought.

COLE.

This place is above answered.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

Doubtless, by saying nothing, as all the rest.

COLE.

Now, forasmuch as ye make this a great foundation against us, that we vary from the primitive church, and therefore make simple souls ween, that we were in the wrong side: here, I pray you, shew me your opinion, whether we are bound to do all things, which we find by sufficient authority were in ure in the primitive church?

And because ye shall not be herein squeamish, I shall here myself begin to shew you mine. I am of the opinion that the council of Constance was in this matter. I think it an error, I am bound to do as the primitive church did, where the church customably useth the contrary. I reckon an example no bond.

I deny not, but those examples were to be followed, and not to be broken at every man's will and pleasure, until by common assent other order were taken.

But if ye seek old writers, and find me that the church this six hundred years observed not many things which were practised, and accounted for good, wholesome, and holy, in the primitive church, and thereby deem us in error, this were a wrong judgment. For the church of Christ hath his childhood, his manhood, and his hoar hairs: and as to one man that is meet to him in one age is not meet for him in another; so were many things requisite and necessary in the primitive church, which in our days were like to do more harm than good. This is no new devised phantasy, but uttered eleven hundred years ago by St. Ambrose without reproach. I shewed you and read you the place at Westminster, as ye may remember, and it were too long to make rehearsal of his words here. We might by taking contrary opinion herein, be led to think we ought to receive the sacrament evermore after supper, and not fasting. But St. Augustine saith, that Christ left this to his church, to take order, how and in what sort the sacraments should be received and used. Wherein he saith, It is a marvellous insolent kind of madness to mislike that which is received in the church, where the custom is not against any commandment in scripture. St. Peter caused (as Damasus saith) a commandment, that no woman should come barefaced to the church. St. Clement took order, that the clergy should have all things in common, and so live together, as in the late reformed order of St. Benet's monks doth most godly appear. And not many years since, the same order in all cathedral churches was observed. Yet I ween it were an error to hold of necessity it should be so still: or to say, the church were in an error, because it hath suffered a contrary custom to creep in.

Then, if the custom of the church may break that was in the primitive church commanded, it is less offence to leave undone that was at the beginning practised, and no commandment given for other to follow the same.

Thus much I thought to put you in remembrance of, for such matters as ye touch in 18. 42. 43. numbers.

THE REPLY.—SARUM.

In the conclusion ye take great advantage to answer many

things in one, wherein your words, because they came flowing down in abundance like a stream, they carried away a great deal of slime and baggage with them.

First, where ye grant that ye of your side have varied, and do yet vary, from the custom of the primitive church, I cannot but commend your plainness therein in telling the truth.

But where then is your antiquity become? Where be your ancient doctors? Where be the fifteen hundred years that ye have so much talked of? If ye would grant the same in the pulpit openly before the people, that we require the use and order of the primitive church; and that ye, of your part, maintain your private mass, your supremacy, your unknown prayers, and the most part of your religion, contrary to the same; that our doctrine is old, and that yours is new: if ye would but grant this simply and plainly before the people, we would desire no more at your hands.

But ye say further, that the examples of the apostles and doctors bind you not; that in their time the church was but an infant, and that many things, that were good for her in that age, would be hurtful to her in this age: and thereto, notwithstanding your recognizance, ye allege St. Augustine and St. Ambrose, wherein I have cause somewhat to marvel at your doings, that now can so frankly bring in your doctors to so small purpose, and afore in matters of weight, touching the greatest part of the contention that standeth between us, durst not once name one doctor for fear of your recognizance. At the last ye conclude, that it were an error to say, we are bound of necessity to follow the use of the primitive church.

To make you a full and a clear answer hereunto, I must needs use this distinction: There were some orders in the primitive church commanded by God, and some other were devised by men, for the better training of the people. Such orders as were commanded by God, may not be changed in any case, only because God commanded them: for as God is everlasting, so is his word and commandment everlasting.

Of the other side, such orders as have been devised by men may be broken, upon some good consideration, only because they were men that devised them: for as men themselves be mortal, so all their wisdoms and inventions be but mortal. As, that the communion should be used in the morning, or at night:

that women should come to the church either covered or open-faced; wherein ye say St. Peter took order: that the ministers' goods should be all in common, or otherwise, &c. These and otherlike were things appointed and ordered by men, and therefore were never used in all places of one sort; but as they were brought in by men, so might they be dissolved and broken by men. In these things, I grant, the examples of the doctors or apostles bind us not. In these things it were an error to say we are bound of necessity to follow the use of the primitive church. These and other like things they be that St. Ambrose speaketh of, whom ye at Westminster alleged in the case ye then intreated of, directly making against yourself. And we, when we heard you name him first, marvelled much what ye meant to meddle with him above all others. For as touching the common prayers to be had in a strange tongue, (which matter we had then in hand,) St. Ambrose seemeth of purpose to control both you and your brethren, in manner one whole chapter through writing upon the fourteenth chapter of 1 Cor. And further, the examples that he useth in the place where ye alleged him are these: That the deacon in the primitive church used to preach, and in his time preached not: and that women in the primitive church used to baptize, and in his time baptized not: and that in the primitive church the sacrament of baptism was ministered at all times indifferently, without difference of days, and that in his time it was ministered only upon certain days. And yet in your church, contrary to the order of St. Ambrose, both women baptize, and deacons preach, and children are baptized every day without difference of time. Thus ye would seem to follow St. Ambrose, and yet allege him in such places where yourself most of all vary from him. But perhaps your mind was occupied, or ye had not then leisure to mark him better.

Hitherto, I think, we agree, that touching such things as have been ordained by men, we are not bound of necessity to the order of the primitive church.

But of the other part, I say, that such things, as God hath commanded precisely by his word, may never be broken by any custom or consent. And such be the things that we now require at your hands, not devised by men, but commanded by God to last for ever. Unless ye will haply say, as Montanus did, that God hath revealed both mo things, and also better

things unto you, than ever he did unto his apostles; or else, as Manichæus said, that the apostle saw nothing, but only *in speculo, et in ænigmate*; or as your doctor Silvester Prierias saith, *Indulgentiæ non habent auctoritatem ex verbo Dei, sed habent auctoritatem ab ecclesia Romana, quia major est*; “Pardons,” saith he, “have no ground of God’s word, but they have their ground of the church of Rome, which is a great deal more.” The cup, which ye have taken from the people, is not a ceremony, but a part of the sacrament. And as good right as ye had to take that part away, so good right had ye to take away also the other, and so to leave the people nothing at all. And therefore the old father Gelasius saith, *Aut integra percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur*; “Either let them receive the whole sacrament, that is to say, under both kinds, or else let them be put from the whole.” By which words of the old doctor Gelasius it may appear, that, unless both parts of the sacrament be received together, the sacrament is mangled, and not whole.

Again, to pray in such a tongue as the people may understand and thereby be edified, is not a ceremony to be changed at man’s pleasure, but the commandment of God: for Paul, when he had spoken long thereof, concludeth at the end, *Si quis est propheta, aut spiritualis, sciat, quod quæ scribo, Domini sunt præcepta*; “If any man be a prophet, or spiritual, let him well know, that the things that I write are the commandments of God.” Prayer in the vulgar and known tongue, St. Paul saith, is the commandment of God, and not an order taken by man.

Again, for any one man to take upon him to be universal bishop of the whole church, St. Gregory saith, it is both against the gospel of Christ, and also against the old canons and ancient orders of the church; his words be these: *Quis est iste, qui contra statuta evangelica, contra canonum decreta, novum sibi nomen usurpare præsumit?* “What man is this that taketh upon him this new-fangled name, to be called the universal bishop of the whole church, contrary to the laws of the gospel, and contrary to the decrees of the canons?” And further he saith, *Consentire in hoc nomen est fidem amittere*; “To agree unto this name, is to go from the faith.” These things, and other like, because they have their foundation in God’s word, may not be changed by any order of the church: for the church, as she is lady of her own laws, so is she but a handmaid to the laws of Christ.

But here would I fain know what smatterer taught you to frame this argument :

The church hath power to break some orders :

Ergo, she hath power to break all orders, where and when she listeth.

As perfect a logician as ye make yourself, yet here ye have made a sophistication, *a secundum quid ad simpliciter* ; which, as ye know, in logic is a foul error in reasoning.

But it is a world, to consider the reason ye use to prove your purpose withal. For ye say, The church in Christ's and the apostles' time was but an infant, but now she is well stricken in age, therefore she must be otherwise dieted now than she was then. This is not the handsomest comparison that I have heard. For I never heard before now, that Christ and his apostles were called infants: or that ever any man before now took upon him to set them to school. Esay saith, that Christ should be *Pater futuri seculi* ; that is, "the father of the world to come," which is the time of the gospel. And St. Hierom, in your own decrees, calleth the apostles *patres*, that is, not infants, but the fathers of the church. And I believe, though ye would study and labour for it, yet would it be very hard for you, either to find out any good substantial reason wherefore ye with your brethren ought to be called the fathers of God's church, or Christ and his apostles ought to be called babes. O that ye would indifferently compare the one with the other ! ye should find, that as like as ye and your bishops are to the apostles, so like is your church to the apostles' church.

But if I would grant you your comparison, that Christ and his apostles are unto you as children to old fatherly men, yet how could ye make this argument good by all your logic ?

The church is now become old and ancient: *ergo*, the people must pray in a strange language, they know not what.

Or this :

The church is old: *ergo*, the people must receive the sacrament but under one kind.

Or this :

The church is old: *ergo*, the people may not be exhorted to the holy communion, but only content themselves with a private mass.

If these arguments seem to be good in law, yet I assure you they seem to me very weak, either in logic or in divinity: howbeit, of such reasons ye have store enough, as I were able to shew you at large, if need so required. As where ye say:

^a*Quæ sunt potestates, a Deo ordinatæ sunt;* "The powers that be are ordered by God:" *ergo*, the pope is above the emperor.

^a*Spiritualis a nemine judicatur;* "The man that is ruled by God's Spirit is judged of no man:" *ergo*, no man may judge the pope.

^b*Sancti estote, quoniam ego sanctus sum;* "Be you holy, for I am holy, saith the Lord:" *ergo*, no married man may be a priest.

^cChrist said unto Peter, *Solve pro me, et te;* "Pay the tribute money for me and thee:" *ergo*, the pope is head of the church.

^d*Ecclesiasticus* saith, *In medio ecclesiæ aperuit os suum;* "He opened his mouth in the midst of the congregation:" *ergo*, the priest must turn round at the midst of the altar.

^e*Fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem suam;* "God made man to the image and likeness of himself:" *ergo*, there must be images in the church.

^f*Papa juratur in fidem apostolicam;* "The pope is sworn to the apostles' faith:" *ergo*, the church cannot err.

^g*Non est discipulus supra magistrum;* "There is no scholar above his master:" *ergo*, no man may judge the pope.

^h*Papa est dominus omnium beneficiorum;* "The pope is lord of all benefices:" *ergo*, he cannot commit simony though he would.

ⁱ*Domini est terra et plenitudo ejus;* "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof:" *ergo*, the communion cake must be round.

^a Extrav. Comm. de major. et obed. Unam sanctam.

^b Innocentius dist. 82. Proposuit.

^c Roffensis [contra Lutherum art.

25.] ^d Durand. [Rational. lib. 4.]

^e Concil. Nicen. secundum [act. 2.

ap. Mansi xii. 1069.]

^f Concilium Basil. sub Eugenio.

^g Concil. Rom. sub Sylvestro [cap.

3. ap. Mansi ii. 623. The acts of this

council are spurious.]

^h The Canonists.

ⁱ Durand. [lib. 4.]

^k*Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum* ; “ Let all spirits praise the Lord :” *ergo*, ye must have organs in the church.

^l*Lac vobis potum dedi* ; or, *Ignorantia est mater pietatis* : “ I gave you milk to drink ;” or, “ Ignorance is the mother of devotion :” *ergo*, the people must make their prayers in a strange tongue.

Logic was good cheap when these arguments were allowed ; but these, and a great many others as good as these, have been made of your side, as ye know. But judge ye, whether they seem to you to be of such warrant, that upon the sight of them we may safely break the commandments of God, or no. Very loath I was so much to open the weakness of your side ; but forasmuch as ye write, that master Calvin’s and master Bucer’s reasons be such, as none but young folk and children will be moved with them ; your importunity herein hath caused me to do otherwise than I would : therefore out of a great number of like arguments of yours, I have laid forth a few ; and I believe, neither child, nor young body, nor yourself, will be greatly moved with them.

Where ye say, These things may not be broken by any private authority, but only by a general consent ; this is but a dilatory plea to defraud your adversary. Ye know all the princes of Christendom are not so soon brought together : in the meanwhile perhaps ye will say to yourself, as ye know who saith, *Interea fiet aliquid spero*. But forasmuch as ye give such credit to a general consent, I would fain learn at your hand where this custom of yours first began, or by what consent it was ever allowed.

Stephen Gardiner, in his book of the devil’s sophistry, touching the communion under one kind, imagineth that first some good devout body, for reverence he had to the sacrament, thought himself not worthy to receive the cup, and so abstained. And then followed another, and so another, and after another, and so at length it became, as he saith, a general consent.

Thus he imagineth, only upon his own guess ; for there was never any man that so wrote before him. Neither was he able to shew nor whence nor where this custom first began, nor how far it went abroad. But if any one man began it first, and so

^k Eckius.

^l Dr. Cole at Westminster.

another, why did not the priests and bishops then speak against it? Why did they suffer one singular man only upon a singular fancy to break the general order that was given by Christ, and observed by general consent through the whole church? If it had been stayed at the first in one, it had never passed afterward to so many. If it be a wickedness, as ye say, for one man of his own vain fancy to alter the general order of the whole church, then ye see, even by Stephen Gardiner's confession, that your general consent, whereunto ye lean so much, proceeded at the first only of wickedness; and being so, ye remember ye have a rule in your own law; *Quæ a principio male inchoata fuit institutio, temporis tractu non conualescit*; that is, "The thing that was naught at the beginning, cannot be made good by process of time."

O master doctor, let us lay aside all selfwill and contention, and have recourse only unto the truth that God hath revealed to us in his holy word; for thereby shall ye be able to know whether the church do right or no; and thereby shall ye be able to reform her, if she happen to do amiss. For it is possible the church may err; but it is not possible the scriptures may err. And the scriptures of God have authority to reform the church; but I never heard that the church hath authority to reform the scriptures.

Thus Christ reformed the errors of the church in his time, brought in by the Scribes and Pharisees, and said unto them, *Scriptum est*. Thus St. Paul reformed the Corinthians for misusing the holy communion in his time, and told them; *Quod accepi a Domino, hoc tradidi vobis*; "I delivered you that thing that I received of the Lord." Thus the old father Irenæus, to stay the errors of his time, bade the parties have recourse to the most ancient churches from whence religion sprung first. Thus saith Tertullian, to redress the errors of his time; *Hoc contra omnes hæreticos præjudicat; id esse verum, quodcunque primum; id esse adulterum, quodcunque posterius*; "This saying," saith he, "prevaileth against all heretics, that the thing that was first ordained is to be taken for true, and whatsoever was devised afterward is to be taken for false."

Thus saith St. Hierom, of the abuses of his time; *Quæ, absque testimonio scripturarum, quasi tradita ab apostolis asseruntur, percutiuntur malleo verbi Dei*; "The things that are fathered

upon the apostles, and have no testimony of the scriptures, are beaten down with the hammer of God's word."

Thus saith St. Cyprian, to stay the schisms and sects of his time; *Hinc schismata oriuntur, quia caput non quæritur, et ad fontem non reditur, et cælestis Magistri præcepta non observantur*; "Hereof spring schisms and divisions, for that we have no recourse to the first institution, and go not backward to the spring, and keep not the commandments of the heavenly Master."

Thus saith St. Augustine, to reform the errors of his time; *Ne audiatur, Hoc ego dico, hoc tu dicis: sed, Hæc dicit Dominus. ...Ibi quærat ecclesia*: "Let not these words be heard between us, Thus say I, or, thus say ye; but, Thus saith the Lord... And there let us seek for the church of God."

Thus saith St. Cyprian; *Si ad divinæ traditionis caput et originem revertaris, cessat omnis error humanus*; "If ye will return to the head and beginning of God's ordinance, all errors of man will soon give place."

Theodosius the emperor pronounceth, that they only are to be taken for catholic, that follow the doctrine that Peter delivered at the first to the church of Rome, and so examined he the matter by the original.

Wherefore it standeth you now upon, to prove that your private mass, your communion under one kind, your prayers in an unknown tongue, and your supremacy, was delivered at the first by Peter to the church of Rome; or else to confess that these things be not catholic.

To conclude, like as the errors of the clock be revealed by the constant course of the sun, even so the errors of the church are revealed by the everlasting and infallible word of God.

But to say, as some of you have said, The church is the only rule of our faith, and whatsoever God saith in his word, she can never err; is as much as if a man would say, Howsoever the sun goeth, yet the clock must needs go true. For God's truth is an everlasting truth, and hangeth not upon the pleasure or determination of men; but being once true, is true for ever. God open the eyes of our hearts, that we may see it, and rejoice in it, that the truth may deliver us.

Thus much I thought it good to say to your letters, before my departure hence; not for that I knew precisely they were yours, but only because they bear your name. If ye think I

have been somewhat long, specially your answers being so short, ye shall remember, that a little poison requireth oftentimes a great deal of treacle.

Here once again I conclude as before, putting you in remembrance, that thus long I have desired you to bring forth some sufficient authority for proof of your party; and yet hitherto can obtain nothing. Which thing, I must needs now pronounce simply and plainly, because it is true, without "if" or "and," ye do *conscientia imbecillitatis*, because, as ye know, there is nothing to be brought. All these things considered, if I might be so bold with you, I would say friendly to you as St. Augustine saith to St. Hierom, *Arripe severitatem Christianam, ... et cane palinodiam.*

18 May, 1560.

JOHN SARUM.

A R E P L Y
UNTO M. HARDING'S ANSWER:

BY PERUSING WHEREOF, THE DISCREET AND DILIGENT READER
MAY EASILY SEE THE WEAK AND UNSTABLE GROUNDS
OF THE ROMAN RELIGION, WHICH OF LATE
HATH BEEN ACCOUNTED CATHOLIC:

BY JOHN JEWEL,
BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

3 ESDR. iv.

Magna est veritas, et prevalet: Great is the truth, and prevaiileth.

Ex edicto imperatorum Valentin. et Martiani, in Concil. Chalcedon. Actione 3.

*Qui post semel inventam veritatem aliud quærit, mendacium quærit,
non veritatem.*

After the truth is once found, whosoever seeketh further, he seeketh
not for the truth, but for a lie.

[This edition of the Reply in passing through the press has been collated with the original one of 1565, and also with Harding's first edition of The Answer, published in 1564, and with his Rejoinder, 1566. In doubtful cases Whitaker's Latin translation of Jewel's Works has been also consulted.]

UNTO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

PERUSING a certain book lately set forth in the name of M. Harding, and weighing the substance and parcels of the same, good Christian reader, I called to mind these words spoken sometime by Socrates the philosopher, touching his accusers, in his own defence before the judges: “ My lords, in what sort your affections have been stirred with mine accusers’ eloquence, while ye heard them speak, I cannot tell. But well I wot, for mine own part, I myself whom it toucheth most, was almost persuaded to believe, that all they said was true; yea, although it were against myself. So handsomely they can tell their tale; and so likely and so smoothly they convey their matters. Every word they spake, had appearance of truth; and yet in good sooth they have scarcely uttered one word of truth.” Thus then said Socrates to his accusers. Even so may I say now of M. Harding; for both in truth of matter and also in probability of utterance they are much alike. Aristotle, touching the darkness and doubtfulness of natural worldly things, saith thus: *Quædam falsa probabiliora sunt quibusdam veris*; “ Certain falsehoods (by means of good utterance) have sometimes more likelihood of truth than truth itself.” For truth is many times brought in simple and naked, in poor array; but falsehood must needs apparel and attire herself with all her furnitures. Thus, many times we are deceived, and embrace falsehood instead of truth. And this is the misery of the simple; for neither are they able to teach themselves,

Plato in Apologia Socratis.

Hieron.
contra Lucif-
ferian. [iv.
part. 2. 299.
ed. Ben.]

nor have they wherewith to discern their teachers. There was never, neither error so horrible but the simple have received it, nor poison so deadly but the simple have drunken it. In this sort St. Hierom saith, "Infidelity was sometime published among the simple, under the name of faith¹:" and Antichrist shall be adored and honoured instead of Christ.

Touching the state and issue of the matter ; whereas I, upon just occasion offered, and only in regard of the truth, sometime said in great audience, that in any of these cases here moved, our adversaries are not able to allege either any one sufficient clause or sentence out of the scriptures, councils, or ancient fathers, or any certain usage or example of the primitive church ; M. Harding hath here alleged and published, not only one or other, but, as he himself saith, and as it is thought of many, great numbers of such authorities of scriptures, councils, and doctors, both Greek and Latin, and many ancient and evident examples to the contrary. The places are noted ; the words are clear ; it cannot be denied ; and, as it is supposed, all the world is not able to answer it. It seemeth now an undoubted truth, that as well these, as also all other the doctrines and orders of the church of Rome, have been derived directly from Christ himself and his apostles, and have continued the space of fifteen hundred and thirty years at the least. Therefore some have wished my words had been more warily qualified, and uttered with more circumspection. Even this is it, that Aristotle said, "The show of truth beareth often more likelihood than truth itself." There is no way so easy to beguile the simple, as the name and countenance of ancient fathers. The Arian heretics alleged for themselves the ancient father Origen : the Nestorian heretics alleged the council of Nice : the Donatian heretics alleged St. Cyprian : the Pelagian heretics alleged St. Ambrose, St. Hierom, and St. Augustine : Dioscorus the heretic alleged Gregorius, Cyrillus, and Athanasius ; and complained openly in the council, even in like sort and as

¹ ["... nomine unitatis fideique infidelitas scripta est..." Hieron. iv. part. 2. 299.]

justly as M. Harding doth now: *Ego defendo dogmata sanctorum patrum. Ego illorum habeo testimonia, non obiter, nec in transcurso, sed in ipsorum libris posita. Ego cum patribus ejicior.* In Conc. Chalcedon. Action. 1. [vl. 809. Mansi.] “I maintain the doctrine of the holy fathers. I have their witnesses, not uttered by chance, or by the way, but written in their books. I am excommunicate and cast out and banished with the fathers².” If the devil can shew himself as the angel of light; and if false prophets can come in the name of Christ; much more may some others come in the name and under the colour of certain fathers.

But, good Christian reader, for thy better understanding, lest haply thou be deceived, it may please thee to know, that these authorities, alleged here by M. Harding, are neither new, nor strange, nor unknown to any man of mean learning, but have been both often brought in and alleged by others, and also weighed and examined and thoroughly confuted long ago. Indeed M. Harding hath added of himself some beauty of his eloquence and majesty of words; and yet not so much, nor such, but it may easily be answered, although not with like eloquence, whereof in these cases there is no need, yet at least with more truth. I trust, by indifferent conference hereof, thou shalt soon see the ancient fathers, some, that never were, by M. Harding surmised and counterfeited; some untruly alleged; some corruptly translated; some perversely expounded; some unaptly and guilefully applied. Their words sometimes abridged, sometimes enlarged, sometimes altered, sometimes dissembled; fabulous and unknown authorities newly founded; childish arguments fondly concluded; to be short, infinite untruths and known untruths boldly avouched. In consideration hereof St. Augustine crieth out, *O rerum naturæ obscuritas: quantum tegmen est falsitatis!* August. de morib. Manichæ. lib. 2. cap. 16. [1. 729. ed. Ben.] “O the darkness of natural things! what a covert have lies to lurk in!” Therefore Socrates saith, “We may not believe every argument that is shewed us upon the sight, but must open

² [A list of the editions, used in be found in an appendix to the verifying Jewel’s references, will Editor’s preface.]

it, and search it, and look it through." For oftentimes it seemeth otherwise than it is. It seemeth strong without, and is weak within. King Agesilaus, when he understood his enemies, of policy, to cover the smallness and weakness of their bodies, had bombasted and embossed out their coats with great quarters, that they might seem big and mighty men, and that his soldiers therewith were much dismayed, after he had overthrown and slain them in the field, pulled off their coats, and stripped them, and left them naked; and when he had caused his soldiers to behold the poor, lither, slender, wearish bodies, nothing like that they seemed before, then said he unto them, "Lo, these be they, of whom ye stood so much afraid; these be their great bodies, these be their mighty bones." Even so, good reader, if thou stand in fear of these M. Harding's authorities and arguments, and think them terrible and invincible, for that they are embossed and wrought out by art; take them, rip them, open them, search them, weigh them, strip them naked, shake them out, confer them with the places from whence they were taken; consider the causes and the circumstances, what goeth before, what cometh after; mark the story of the time; examine the judgment of other fathers; and thou shalt marvel, wherefore thou stoodest so much afraid, or ever thoughtest them to be invincible.

It were above all things to be desired of God, that his heavenly truth might pass forth without these contrarieties and quarrels of judgments; and many godly wise men are much offended to see it otherwise. But thus it hath been ever from the beginning. Cain was against Abel; Esau against Jacob; the kingdom of darkness was ever against the kingdom of light; the Scribes and Pharisees were grieved with Christ; Celsus, Porphyrius, Julianus, Symmachus, were grieved with the glory of the gospel. Christ himself is the stone of offence, laid to the resurrection and ruin of many. But through these offences and contentions the truth of God breaketh out, and shineth more glorious.

Blessed therefore be the name of God, that hath offered this occasion: for I have no doubt in God, but of this

necessary conflict, through his mercy, there shall issue some sparkle to the glory of his holy name. For as Moses' rod devoured the rods of the sorcerers, even so will the truth of God devour error. Darkness cannot stand before the light. Tertullian saith³, *Scriptura divina hæreticorum fraudes et furta convincit, et detegit*; "The holy scripture discloseth and confoundeth the subtilties and robberies of heretics." And Nehemias saith, "Great is verity, and pre-³ Esdr. iv. 47. vaileth."

But M. Harding threatened beforehand, that mine answer (be it true, be it false) shall soon be answered. Howbeit, if he will not dissemble, but deal plainly, and lay out the whole, and answer the whole, as he seeth I have dealt with him, perhaps it may require him some longer time. But if he dismember my sayings, and cull out my words, and take choice of my sentences, without regard what goeth before, or what cometh after; or if he send us over such pretty pamphlets as he lately printed together and joined with the Turkish news of Malta, I warn him beforehand, I may not vouchsafe to make him answer.

Notwithstanding, before he address himself to his second book, I would counsel him, first, to consider better the oversights and scapes of his former book; and further, to think, that, whatsoever he shall write, it will be examined, and come to trial. And let him remember, it is not sufficient to call us sacramentaries and heretics; or to condemn our books for pelf, and trash, and fardles of lies, before he see them: for these things will now no longer go for arguments. But before all things, let him write no mo untruths, for thereof he hath sent us enough already. Let him no more wrest and rack the scriptures: let him no more neither misallege, nor misconstrue, nor corrupt, nor alter the holy fathers: let him no more imagine councils, and canons, that he never saw: let him no more bring us, neither his Amphilocheus, nor his Abdias, nor his Hip-

³ [This passage is from a work of Novatian's, *De Trinitate*, supposed to be an epitome of some work of Tertullian's, now lost; and on that account falsely attri-

buted to that father. By others it is ascribed to Cyprian. It is published at the end of Priorius's edition of Tertullian, p. 718.]

polytus, nor his Clemens, nor his Leontius, nor any other like childish forgeries; nor his guesses, nor his visions, nor his dreams, nor his fables: let him no more bring one thing for another: and, to be short, let him bring no more contradictions in his own tales, nor be found contrary to himself: otherwise, the more he striveth, the more he bewrayeth his own cause.

Now, good Christian reader, that thou mayest be the better able, both to satisfy thine own conscience in these cases, and also to understand as well what is said, as also what is answered of either party, I have laid forth before thee M. Harding's book, without any diminution, fully and wholly, as he himself gave it out. And to every parcel thereof, according to my poor skill, I have laid mine answer: whether sufficient or insufficient, thou mayest be judge. To thee it is dedicated; and for thy sake it is written. Here must I say unto thee, even as St. Hierom saith to his reader in the like case: *Quæso, lector, ut memor tribunalis Domini, et de judicio tuo te intelligens judicandum, nec mihi, nec adversario (meo) faveas: neve personas loquentium, sed causam consideres*: "I beseech thee, good reader, that, remembering the judgment seat of the Lord, and understanding, that as thou dost judge, so thou shalt be judged, thou favour neither me, nor mine adversary that writeth against me; and that thou regard not the persons, but only the cause."

Adversus
error. Johan.
Hierosoly-
mitani [iv.
part. 2. 311.]

God give thee the spirit of understanding, that thou mayest be able to judge uprightly: God give thee eyes to see, that thou mayest behold the comfortable and glorious face of God's truth; that thou mayest know the good and merciful and perfect will of God; that thou mayest grow into a full perfect man in Christ, and no longer be blown away with every blast of vain doctrine; but mayest be able to know the only, the true, and the living God, and his only begotten Son, Jesus Christ: to whom both with the Holy Ghost be all honour and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

From London, the 6th of August, 1565.

JOHN JEWEL, *Sarisburien.*

AN ANSWER

TO M. HARDING'S PREFACE.

IT misliketh you much, M. Harding, that in so many and sundry cases by me moved, wherein standeth the greatest force of your religion, I should say, You, and others of that part, are utterly void, not only of the scriptures, but also of the old councils and ancient fathers; and that in such an audience I should so precisely and so openly discover the wants and weakness of your side: and therefore, "the greater my heap riseth, the less," say you, "is mine advantage."

Whereunto I may easily reply, The larger is mine offer, the more will your discreet reader mislike the insufficiency of your answer; and the more enlarged is your liberty, the less cause have you to complain.

"Wise men," ye say, "would more have liked greater modesty." Verily, the men that you call wise would have thought it greatest modesty to have dissembled and said nothing. But what may the same wise men think of your modesty, that having so often made so large and so liberal offers, of so many doctors, are not able in the end to shew us one?

Neither "look we so fiercely, nor shake we the sword so terribly," as you report us. This was evermore your and your fellows special and peculiar commendation: who, besides your fierce and cruel looks, and besides the shaking and terror of your sword, have also hewn, and cut, and slain, and filled your hands with the blood of your brethren.

Wherefore ye should not take it in such grief, that, only for distinction's sake, by so civil and courteous a name we call you our 'adversaries.' For, finding you armed with

sword and fire, and embued with our blood, we might well have spared you some other name. That I said ye have no such assurance of the ancient fathers as ye have borne us in hand, and as your friends upon your credit have believed; I said it not, neither of ambition, as you expound it, nor of malice; but forced thereto by your importunity, and with great grief of mind.

Therefore ye did me the greater wrong, to say, "I came vaunting, as Goliath, and throwing forth my glove, like a challenger, and proclaiming defiance to all the world." In these words, M. Harding, wise men may find some want of your modesty. For whoso avoucheth the manifest and known truth, and saith, that you both have been deceived yourselves and also have deceived others, ought not therefore to be called Goliath. And, notwithstanding you have adventured yourself to be the noble David, to conquer this giant, yet, forasmuch as ye have neither David's sling in your hand, nor David's stones in your scrip, and therefore not likely to work great masteries, ye may not look, that the ladies of Israel with their lutes and timbrels will receive you in triumph, or sing before you, "David hath conquered his ten thousands." He rather is Goliath, that setteth his face against the heavens, and his foot in emperors' necks; and openeth his mouth awide to utter blasphemies; that soundeth out these words into all the world, "I cannot err: I have all laws, both spiritual and temporal, in my breast^a: I am above all general councils^b: I may judge all men; but all the world may not judge me, be I never so wicked^c: I am king of kings, and lord of lords: I can do whatsoever Christ himself can do: I am all, and above all: all power is given to me, as well in heaven as in earth^d." Ye know whose words these be, by whom they are spoken, by whom they are defended, and to whom they are applied. This seemeth to be the very express and lively image of Goliath; that Goliath, I say, whom now you see knocked in the forehead, and falling down, not with force of worldly power, but only with that little rough despised stone of God's everlasting and heavenly word. Touching that most worthy and learned

^a In 6o. de Constitu. Licet.

^b Extra De electio. et elect. potest. Significasti.

^c 9. qu. 3. Nemo. Extrav. com. De major. et obed. Unam sanctam. In Glossa.

^d In Concil. Lateran. sub Julio [Leone]. [Ed. Reg. vol. xxxiv. 453.]

father, sometime your master, D. Peter Martyr, whom ye would seem somewhat to commend, not for his doctrine, from which you have so suddenly fallen away, but only for his modesty: it cannot be doubted, but he, being at Poissy in that worthy assembly, in the presence of the king, and of other the princes and nobles of that realm, both did and spake that might stand with the truth of the cause, and also might well become his own person. But being demanded his judgment in these cases, he would have answered even as we do, and would much have marvelled, that any learned man would say the contrary. Not long sithence ye made the pulpits ring, that your mass, and all other your whole doctrine, was assured unto you by Christ and his apostles, and that for the same ye had the undoubted continuance and succession of fifteen hundred years, the consent of all the old councils, doctors, and fathers, and all antiquity, and the universal allowance of all the world. Thus ye doubted not then to say, without fear of controlment of God or man. Many thousands thought, ye dealt simply, and would not deceive them; and therefore were easily led to believe you.

In this case, Christian duty and charity required, that the truth and certainty of your tales should be opened, that the simple might understand ye had deceived them, and that of all that your so large talk, and countenance of antiquity, you were, as you well know, utterly able to avouch nothing. Whereas it so much offended you, that I should so precisely avouch the negative, and require you to prove your affirmative, whereof ye would seem so well assured, it may please you to consider, that St. Gregory, writing against John the bishop of Constantinople, that had intitled himself the universal bishop of the whole world, rested himself likewise upon the negative. His words be these: *Nemo decessorum meorum hoc superbo vocabulo uti consensit*^a—*Nemo Romanorum pontificum hoc singularitatis nomen assumpsit*^b: “None of my predecessors ever consented to use this arrogant name—No bishop of Rome ever took upon him this name of singularity.” St. Augustine, when he had reckoned up all the bishops of

^a Lib. 4. epist. 36. [ii. 771.]
^b [Ep. 32. ii. 749.]

Aug. Epist.
165. [ii. 127.]

Article 3.
div. 15.

Rome before his time, added thereto by a negative, *In hoc ordine successionis, nullus Donatista episcopus invenitur*; "In this order of succession there is found no bishop that was a Donatist." Yet neither St. Augustine nor St. Gregory was ever condemned for Goliath. By the like negative, you, M. Harding, yourself say, although untruly, as ye do many other things besides, "That neither M. Jewel nor any one of his side is able to shew, that the public service of the church in any nation was ever, for the space of six hundred years after Christ, in any other tongue than in Greek or Latin." And yet we may not therefore call you either Goliath or Thersites, or by any other like un-courteous name. You say, I "take presumptuously upon me, to have read all things, and to be ignorant of nothing;" only because I say, you in these cases can allege nothing. And why so? Can no man descry your wants, and disclose your untruths, without presumption? You say, ye have the consent of all doctors, of all ages, and of all times, of your side: shall we therefore say, that you vaunt yourself of your knowledge, or, that you know all things, and are ignorant of nothing? You say, ye "have all the doctors." I say, and true it is, "Ye have not one doctor." The difference of these sayings standeth only in this, that the one is true, the other untrue: that your affirmative cannot be proved; my negative cannot be reproved. But touching vaunt of reading and knowledge, there is no difference.

Howbeit, forasmuch as this negative so much offendeth you of our side, let us hardly turn it of your side: and let us say so, as it may best like you to have us say, That it cannot appear, by any sufficient clause, or sentence, either of the scriptures, or of the old doctors, or of the ancient councils, or by any example of the primitive church, either that the priest then received the holy communion together with the people; or that the sacrament was then ministered unto the people under both kinds; or that the public prayers were ever said in the vulgar or known tongue; or that the whole people thereto said Amen, within the space of six hundred years after Christ. Let us say further, that

Christ himself and all his apostles said private mass, and received the holy sacrament severally alone; that all the ancient fathers ministered the half communion only under one kind; that all the common prayers were every where said in a strange learned tongue, utterly unknown unto the people. This offer is free and liberal; and what can you desire more? But perhaps it shameth you to say so much. For, albeit some of you have often said it, yet the untruth thereof is manifest, and sheweth itself.

Only ye wish, I "had used some greater modesty." And would you, that I should have said, "Ye have one ancient doctor directly and plainly of your side," and so in that place and in that presence, for modesty's sake, to have avouched open untruth, as you and others had done before? O, M. Harding, in these cases a mean way is no way. Accursed is that modesty, that drowneth the truth of God. Chrysostom saith, *Veritatem negat, qui eam non libere prædicat*; "He is a renouncer of the truth, that dareth not freely to say the truth." 11. qu. 3. Nolite.

Ye say, I "have sought up certain small questions of light importance, wherein the ancient doctors have not travelled," as not daring to enter into matters of greater weight. Howbeit, it seemeth overmuch for you, to limit and appoint each man, what he should preach at Paul's Cross. Neither is it much material, whether these matters be great or small: but whether you, by colour of the same, have deceived the people.

But would ye have us now at last believe, that your mass, your transubstantiation, your real presence, your adoration, your sacrificing of the Son of God, and your supremacy of Rome, be so small matters? Ye told us not long sithence, There were no other matters so great as these. And may we think, that your religion is now greater, now smaller; and increaseth, and vadeth; and waxeth, and waneth, as doth the moon? Verily pope Nicolas would have joined your transubstantiation to the creed, and would have made it the thirteenth article of our faith. And pope Boniface the Eighth saith, "That to be subject to the church of Rome, is of the necessity of sal- Extrav. com. De major. et obed. Unam sanctam.

Dist. 22.
Omnes.

vation." And pope Nicolas saith, "Whosoever denieth the authority and preeminence of that see, is an heretic."

Notwithstanding, how great or small these matters be, it forceth not. Indeed, you had learned them in very small time; and, as now, ye avouch them with very small proofs. And how small and light soever you would now have them to appear, yet for the same ye have made no small ado. Nothing ought to be taken for small, where-with so great multitudes of God's people may be deceived.

The matters, wherewith Christ charged the Pharisees, were not so great: yet Christ saith unto them, "Ye strain a gnat, and swallow a camel." St. Paul saith, "A little leaven soureth a whole lump of dough." A hair is small, yet we read it hath choked a big man. Plato saith, "Robbery is no less in a small matter, than in a great." The ciniphes were but small, yet are they reckoned among the great plagues of God.

Gregor. lib. 6.
Epist. 30.
[ii. 881.]

They, that first began to maintain that arrogant presumptuous title of universal bishop, which now the bishop of Rome challengeth wholly to himself, said it was but a small matter. But Gregory saith, *Alia/sunt frivola, et innoxia: alia sunt frivola, et noxia*¹: "Some things are small, and do no hurt; some things are small, and do great hurt."

Ibidem.

And comparing the same with the pride of Antichrist, who should call himself *Deus*, (that is to say, God,) he saith thus: *Si spectes quantitatem vocis, duæ sunt syllabæ; si pondus iniquitatis, est universa pernicies*²; "If ye weigh the quantity of the word, it standeth in two syllables; if the weight of the wickedness, it is an universal destruction."

Though these matters were small, yet the untruths and errors, that thereof have risen, are not small. Remove the same, and your greatest religion will fall to nothing.

To conclude, if these matters be great, they are the more worthy to be considered; if they be small, there is the less hurt in leaving of them, and the more wilfulness in de-

¹ [Leg. "... valde innoxia, alia
"vehementer nociva."]

² ["Si quantitatem sermonis
"attendimus," &c.]

fending of them : verily, the whole world is weary of them. Christ saith, *Qui in modico iniquus est, et in majori iniquus est*; "He that is wicked in the small, is also wicked in the great." Luke xvi. 10.

You say, we "fly and forbear the judgment of the learned, and shake out these things with great admiration only amongst the simple;" as Alexander the king of Macedonia made himself a god, and had much talk of his father Jupiter amongst the barbarians; but amongst the Greeks, that were wise and able to judge, and knew him well enough, he was content to talk of other matters.

This comparison, M. Harding, is odious, and savoureth overmuch of your choler. We hunt not for any admiration or opinion of godhead among the people: we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus.

But thus the Pharisees said of Christ himself; "These rascals are accursed, they have no learning, they know not the law. Amongst them will he be: there he reigneth like a prince: there he seeketh to be made a god." Here might I eftsoons put you in remembrance of him that hath so long abused and mocked the whole world, both princes and subjects, as well learned as unlearned, accounting them all as wild and barbarous; and hath suffered himself openly to be proclaimed and published by the name of God. The words be known, *Dominus deus noster papa*; "Our lord god the pope." And again, *Constat papam a pio principe Constantino...deum appellatum: et deum ab hominibus judicari non posse, manifestum est.* Extrav. Joh. 22. Cum inter. In Glossa. Dist. 96. Satis evidenter.

Alexander stood in some awe and reverence of the wise; but this man despiseth both wise and unwise, learned and unlearned, and all the world.

It was somewhat out of season, for you in this place to intreat of the validity of your canon, and so earnestly to labour to prove it faultless, before any man had begun to touch it, or to prove it faulty³. It is supposed, that some part thereof was devised by Leo, and afterward augmented by Gelasius; and after that, by one whom St. Gregory

³ [This is hardly correct; Jewel canon in his sermon at Paul's himself had found fault with the Cross. See p. 13.]

Gregor. lib. 7.
Epist. 63.
[ii. 940.]

calleth Scholasticus; and after again by Gregorius himself; and that at last, about eight hundred and fifty years after Christ, it was brought to some perfection, and made up by pope Sergius. As now, it is more closely pronounced, and more reverently used, than either the epistle or the gospel.

Durand.
lib. 4. part. 2.
[cap. 42.]

But, whether there be any fault therein, or none, I leave that to you, M. Harding, to be better considered by yourself. Your doctor Durand saith thus: *Cum sacerdos oraverit pro hostia transubstantianda, eamque transubstantiatam Patri obtulerit, orat pro ipsius acceptatione*; "When the priest hath prayed for the transubstantiation of the host, and hath offered the same, being transubstantiate, unto God the Father, afterward he prayeth, that God will favourably accept it."

1 Tim. ii. 5.

The priest a
mediator be-
tween God
and Christ.

St. Paul saith, "Christ is the mediator between God and man." But here by your canon, contrariwise, the priest is made a mediator between God and Christ.

And you yourself, M. Harding, at your mass, and in the highest secrets of your canon, desire God the Father to look favourably upon Jesus Christ his own Son, at your request. Your words be plain and evident; no interpretation or shift is able to salve them. Now if it be meet you should intreat God the Father to be merciful unto Christ his Son, and to behold him favourably for your sake, then may you say there is no fault in all your canon.

You seem to complain, that I leave out prayer for the dead, and invocation of saints: and that thing you amplify largely with many words. And yet I think you would not have us believe, that these points of your religion be greater than your sacrifice, or than your mass.

In a ser-
mon preach-
ed in St.
Mary's
church in
Oxford.
Chrysost.
de Poaniten.
Hom. 4.
[ii. 307.]

Verily, touching the first, I heard once, when you yourself blew down the paper walls, as ye then called them, and utterly quenched all the painted fires of purgatory. For the other, St. Chrysostom saith, *Homines utuntur atriensibus... In Deo nihil est tale. Sine mediatore exorabilis est*: "Men use porters and ushers; but in God there is no such thing. He is easy to be intreated, yea without a

mediator." Again he saith, *Nihil tibi opus est patronis apud Deum... Neque enim tam facile Deus audit, si alii pro nobis orent, quam si ipsi oremus, etsi pleni simus omnibus malis*; "Thou needest no attorney to speak to God: for God doth not so soon hear us, when others pray for us, as when we pray for ourselves; yea, although we be full of all sin." St. Ambrose likewise saith, *Isti se non putant reos, qui honorem nominis Dei deferunt creaturæ, et, relicto Domino, conservos adorant.... Nam et ideo ad reges per tribunos et comites itur: quia homo utique est rex, et nescit quibus debeat rempublicam credere. Ad Deum autem, quem nihil latet (omnium enim merita novit) promerendum, suffragatore non opus est, sed mente devota. Ubicumque enim talis loquutus fuerit ei, respondebit illi*: "These men think they do no ill, giving the honour of God unto a creature; and leaving the Lord, adore their fellow servants.... For therefore we have access to kings by knights and marshals, for that the king is a mortal man, and knoweth not to whom he may commit his kingdom. But God knoweth all men's merits, and there is nothing privy from him. Therefore to obtain his favour, we need no spokesman, but a devout mind. Wheresoever such a one shall speak, God will answer him."

Chrysost.
de profectu
Evangelii.
[iii. 309.]

Ambros. in
I. cap. ad
Roman.
[ii. App. 33.]

Whereas ye untruly say, we lay on load of slanders, to deface the church; you may remember, that there were sometime that charged St. Stephen, St. Paul, and Christ himself in like sort, for that they seemed likewise to speak unreverently against the church. And against the prophet Jeremiah they cried out, even as you do now, "The temple of God; The temple of God."

Jeremiah
vii. 4.

But he defaceth not the church, that defaceth the defacers of the church; and wipeth off the soil of your errors, that her face may shine, and appear more glorious. When Christ mourned over the city and temple of Jerusalem; or when he said, "Ye have made my Father's house a den of thieves:" and when Isaiah said, "O how is this beautiful city," that then was the church of God, "become an harlot!" or when the prophet Jeremiah said, "Who will give abundance of water unto mine eyes, that I may mourn

Isaiah I. 21.

Jer. ix. 1.

⁴ [This commentary is now generally admitted to be spurious.]

day and night for the sins of my people?" we may not think that Christ, Isaiah, and Jeremiah were defacers of the church. He hindereth not health, that sheweth the disease: he despiseth not the church, that setteth Christ before the church. The church is our mother; but Christ saith, "Whoso loveth his father or mother more than me, is not meet to be my disciple." He despiseth not his mother, that lamenteth the captivity of his mother, and delivereth her from the hands of thieves.

Matt. x. 37.

But we "have set up altar against altar;" or rather, as you say, we "have overthrown altars, and all together:" and so have erected a new church, a new gospel, and a new religion of our own. Verily, M. Harding, we have overthrown nothing, but that God's good will was should be overthrown. Christ saith, "Every plant, that my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up." An altar we have, such as Christ, and his apostles, and other holy fathers had, which of the Greeks was called *ιερά τραπέζα*, "the holy table," and of the Latins, *mensa Dominica*, "the table of the Lord;" and was made, not of stone, but of timber; and stood, not at the end of the quire, but in the midst of the people, as many ways it may appear. And other or better altar, than Christ and these holy fathers had, we desire to have none; and specially any such altar as hath been purposely set up against the altar of Christ.

Matt. xv. 13.

Matth.
xxiv. 23.

But you of your side have said, "Here is Christ, and there is Christ:" and so have erected up, not only altar against altar, and church against church, but also Christ against Christ. So Leo seemeth to say of you; *Ecclesie nomine armamini: sed contra ecclesiam dimicatis*: "Ye arm yourselves with the name of the church, and yet ye fight against the church." So saith Nazianzen: "Ye strive for Christ, against Christ himself."

Leo in
epist. ad
Palestinos.
[]

Nazianzenus in
Apologet.
[]

But you seem to set light of mine age, and to disable my knowledge in divinity; as though it were much pertinent unto these matters, either to calculate mine age, or else to examine the order of my study. I may say with Origen, *Gratius ago Deo, quod ignorantiam meam non ignoro*;

“ I thank God that I am not ignorant of mine ignorance.” But whatsoever want either is, or is surmised to be, in me, it ought not to prejudice the truth of God.

And yet I see no great cause, why any man should seek so greatly to disadvantage me in respect of mine age or study. For it is well known that I, although unworthy of that degree, proceeded bachelor in divinity in the university of Oxford one whole year and more before M. Harding. Indeed, I grant, I could not read all the councils and old fathers of the church, both Greeks and Latins, in seven days, as M. Harding could. And yet, so much had I read, that I marvelled M. Harding would ever enterprise so much to abuse the names of the holy fathers.

Anno Do-
mini 1551.
anno Ed-
vardi VI.
quinto.

But knowledge oftentimes is vain, and puffeth up the mind. God make us learned to the kingdom of God, that we may humble all our knowledge to the obedience of faith.

It rejoiceth me much that ye say, ye love me, and in respect of our old friendship and love have thus written to me. Howbeit, our old private friendship needed not so many public witnesses. Ye say, “ Ye will follow the latter part of Chilo’s counsel ;” *Oderis, tanquam amaturus*, “ Hate so, as afterward thou mayest love.”

Between which your two sayings, of hating and loving, I know not how, you include a plain contradiction ; unless ye will say, ye can hate and love in one respect both together. But I take it in the best sense, wherein I doubt not but ye meant it.

Howbeit, touching your friendly advice, I may answer you likewise with another piece of Chilo’s counsel ; *Obsequendum est amico usque ad aras* ; “ A man may follow his friend’s counsel, so it be not either against God or against his conscience.” The people of Alexandria said unto Timotheus, *Etsi non communicamus tecum, tamen amamus te* ; Liberatus. cap. 16. “ Although we communicate not with you, yet we love you notwithstanding.” Ye promise to deal herein without either gall or bitterness ; “ for that,” as you say, “ glickes, nips, and scoffs, bits, cuts and girds,” these be your words, “ become not your stage.” And doubtless, such kind of dealing, as it is most commendable in itself, so it seemeth

most fitting for them that travel in God's cause. Christ saith, "Learn of me, for I am meek and gentle."

Matt. xi. 29.

But whose words then be these, M. Harding? from what spirit have they proceeded? upon what stage were they spoken? these words, I say, wherewith ye seem so much and so often to solace yourself, and to refresh your spirits: "Goliath—Thersites—rash—presumptuous—wicked—unlearned—ignorant—peevish—lucians—scoffers—coggers—foisters—pert—insolent—vaunters—braggers—sectaries—schismatics—heretics—sacramentaries—new masters—new fanglers—false reporters—slanderers of the church—terrible seducers—the enemies of the sacrifice—the enemies of the church—the ministers of the devil—sitters in the chair of pestilence—monsters—heathens—publicans—Turks—infidels—antichrists, and forerunners of Antichrist"?

Terms used commonly by M. Harding through his whole book.

These words be yours, M. Harding, not only for that they be uttered by you, but also, for that they pertain directly and properly unto yourself. With these and other like pearls ye have thoroughly beset your whole book, that it might the more glitter in the eye of your reader. Herewith your stage is fully freight. Some man would think it were *vetus comœdia*. So faithful ye seem to be in keeping your promise. If ye utter such words of pure love and friendship, what then may we look for, if ye once begin to hate? They say, the scorpion embraceth lovingly with his feet, but smiteth his poison with his tail. Thus ye suffer the tempests of your affections sometime to blow you out, and to toss you off from the shore. In a man of professed gravity, reasons had been more convenient than reproaches. Such eloquence might better become some of your younger janizaries, who, as their friends say here, have not yet learned to speak otherwise.

As for these words and these stages, they may not well chase us away from the gospel of Christ. It is not needful for us to hear your good reports; but it is most needful for us to speak the truth.

The advertisement that you allege out of Solomon, "There is a way that unto a man seemeth right, but the end thereof leadeth unto damnation," is common, and

toucheth us both, as well you as me; or rather, somewhat more you than me. Ye were once deceived before, by your own confession; but they that have indifferently weighed the causes and suddenness of your change, have thought ye are as much, or rather much more deceived now.

Mark, I beseech you, M. Harding, what ye were lately, and what ye would now seem to be: what way ye trod then, and what way ye tread now. The difference is no less than is between light and darkness, life and death, heaven and hell. So great a change would require some good time of deliberation.

But if you be thoroughly changed, as you say, and if ye be touched indeed, either with the zeal of God, or with the love of your brethren, be not then ashamed to tell us, what things God hath done for you. Let your reader understand, that you yourself sometime were that man, of whom Solomon speaketh: that you sometime were in a way that seemed right, and yet the end thereof led to damnation: that you sometime bent your whole heart and study to deface the church of God: that you preached so many years together directly contrary to your conscience: that you sometime wittingly and willingly, and of purpose and malice, deceived God's people: that you sometime were the minister of the devil, a Turk, an heathen, an infidel, a forerunner of Antichrist; and that from this rueful state ye were suddenly changed, not by reading or conference of the scriptures or ancient fathers, but only for that ye saw the prince was changed.

Thus must ye deal, M. Harding, if ye deal truly. So will your friends think ye dissemble not now, as you did before, but are moved only of true zeal and pure conscience. Certainly either, as we say, ye are now deceived; or, at the least, as yourself must needs grant, not long sithence ye were deceived. And St. Augustine saith, *Hoc est erroris proprium, ut, quod cuique displicet, id aliis quoque oportere existimet displicere*; ^{Augustin. De Gene. contra Manichæ. [i. 675.]} "This is the very nature of

⁴ ["Est autem hoc erroris proprium, ut quod cuique displicet, hoc etiam Deo displicere arbitretur." This is one amongst many instances in which Jewel trusted too much to his wonderful memory.]

error, that whatsoever misliketh any man, he thinketh all others should likewise dislike the same."

Such is the misery of Adam's children; their heart is evermore inclined unto ill and error. Hereof false prophets oftentimes take occasion to say, "Good is ill, and ill is good: light is darkness, and darkness is light." And oftentimes the people is wilfully led away, and cannot abide to hear sound doctrine; but turn their ears to hear fables.

Therefore Solomon's counsel is wise and good. And for that cause we trust not our own eyes to choose our way: but we call unto God with the prophet David, "O Lord, shew us the way, that we may walk in." We seek unto him that saith, "I am the way, the truth, and the life"—
Psalm cxliii. 8.
John xiv. 6.
John viii. 12. "I am the light of the world: whoso followeth me, walketh not in darkness, but hath the light of life." And we thank God, that with his day-spring from above hath visited us, and directed our feet into the way of peace: into the same way that Christ hath shewed us, and the holy apostles and ancient catholic fathers have trodden before us.

Touching your exhortation to humility, and the denial of my learning, which, I trust, of your part, proceedeth from a meek and humble spirit, I may safely deny that thing that I never avouched. It cannot shame me to say that St. Hierom said; *Dicam illud Socraticum, Hoc tantum scio, quod nihil scio*; "I will say, as Socrates sometime said, This thing only I know, that I know nothing⁵." In these cases, as I seek no praise, so I fear no reproach. Whatsoever want is in me, there be others that can supply it. Howbeit, I never understood, but verity and humility might well stand together.

Where you say, whatsoever skill or knowledge I have or had, I have evermore bent it only to the reproach and slander of the church, it is no great mastery, M. Harding, to speak ill. But I trust, God himself, that judgeth justly, judgeth otherwise. If there be in me, I say not any talent, but only any mite of a talent, my prayer unto God is, and

⁵ ["Saltem Socraticum illud habeo, Scio quod nescio."]

Psalm cxliii.
8.

John xiv. 6.

John viii. 12.

Hieron. in
præfa. in
Abdiam.
[il. 1455.]

ever was, it may be bestowed wholly to the honour and comfort of his church.

And yet may not you, M. Harding, neither set such store by yourself, nor so much abase and discredit others, as though besides you and your fellows there were no man meet to be counted learned. When the Jews, in contempt of all others, boasted themselves to be the only stock and blood of Abraham, St. Paul by an humble kind of presumption doubted not in all respects to compare with them in this wise; "Hebrews they be: and so am I. Israelites they be: and so am I. The seed of Abraham they be: and so am I." Again he saith, "Thus do I, and thus will I do, that in the things whereof they glory, they may be found to be as we are." I will force this comparison no further: such contention is but vain. O M. Harding, this saying is common unto us both; "By the grace of God we are that we are." O that "his grace be not in us in vain!"

For my part, both at your request, and also without your request, I utterly deny my learning. And touching my bishopric, if that in any part happen to grieve you, I deny it too; I deny mine estimation; I deny my name; I deny myself. Only the faith of Christ, and the truth of God, I cannot deny. Or with this faith, or for this faith, I trust I shall end. I cannot withstand the Spirit of God. I cannot say, The consent of all the ancient catholic fathers was an heap of errors, and a link of heresies; although you, M. Harding, could deny all together at an instant, and upon the sudden, yet bear with others that cannot so easily do the same.

Touching Dr. Fisher, I scoffed neither at him nor at any others. Only I laid out the imperfection of certain their arguments: which if they were weak and many ways faulty, the fault was not mine: I made them not. Dr. Fisher's argument was this: "We are sure, there is purgatory: *ergo*, the pope's pardons be good and available." I shall be forced, in perusing your book, to disclose many like infirmities and follies in your arguments, M. Harding. Yet notwithstanding I will not scoff. But happy are you, that may call us "gospellers, new masters, patriarchs," and I

² Cor. xi. 22.

¹ Cor. xv. 10.

Polydor. de Invent. rer. lib. 8. cap. 1.

know not what, and to write what you list, without scoffing. In the end of your foretalk, which is before the shewing of your book, ye think all the world singeth *Sanctus, sanctus*, and receiveth you with *Hosanna*. And therefore ye will every body to come and subscribe. Howbeit, it seemeth this request is very sudden, and out of season. You should first have shewed us, both whereunto we should subscribe, and also your authorities and reasons, wherewith ye would force us to subscribe. But the old learned father Tertullian saith thus of the Valentinian heretics: *Habent artificium, quo prius persuadent, quam doceant* [l. *edoceant*]. *Veritas autem docendo suadet, non suadendo docet*: "These heretics have a kind of cunning and a policy, whereby they persuade us first, and teach us afterward. But the truth persuadeth us by teaching, and not teacheth us by persuading."

Tertull.
adversus
Valentinian.
cap. i.
[p. 250.]

King Agesilaus, the better to embolden his soldiers to the fight, with a certain juice wrote this word, *victory*, in the palm of his hand: and afterward being at his service, as the manner then of the heathens was, he laid his hand so written, closely and secretly upon the heart of the sacrifice, and so printed it with the said word *victory*; and immediately shewed the same unto his captains and soldiers, as if it had been written by the gods. The simple soldiers, not understanding this policy, and thinking the whole matter had indeed been wrought by miracle, grew full of courage, not doubting but their gods, that had written *victory*, would also give them victory.

By like policy, and to like purpose, it seemeth, you, M. Harding, would beguile your reader; and that you lack in strength, would win by policy; and that you want in reasons, would gain in words: that the simple may think you have the victory, because you have written *victory* with your pen.

But you are not yet equal with the credit of Pythagoras. It is not sufficient for your scholars to say, *Ipse dixit*; "M. Harding hath said it." Every man will not think it is so, because you can write it, or print it, or say it is so. As for myself, I will say with St. Hierom: *Cupio discere, et*

discipulum me profiteor, dummodo doceant; "I would fain learn, and make a vow to be their scholar, so they would teach me." First ye should have given us leave to have perused your whole book. And when we had well weighed your untrue allegations, your vain constructions, your new petit doctors, your corruptions, your forgeries, your dreams, your fables, and the huge multitude of your untruths, then hardly ye should have called us to subscribe.

Howbeit, M. Harding, this is no force sufficient to subdue the world. It was not thought, ye had been so weakly appointed. It is not enough for you, thus odiously to upbraid us in your anger, and to call us new masters and heretics. That lesson might have served you long ago, before ye were espied. It behoveth you now to have some stronger arguments, specially fighting against God.

For my part, notwithstanding I were thoroughly persuaded long before, yet am I now some deal the more satisfied by these your travaux. For, touching your want of scriptures, councils, doctors, and examples of the primitive church, I am well and fully confirmed by the slenderness of your proofs.

And I doubt not but some of these that now be about you, being, I trust, not frowardly carried away with wilful malice, but having the fear of God, and a reverent zeal to do the best, although perhaps not knowledge sufficient to judge what is best, after they shall understand some part of your dealing herein, will, by God's grace, begin somewhat to forethink themselves of their journey, and to cast some doubts of your credit. St. Augustine saith: *Juris forensis est, ut qui in precibus mentitus sit, illi ne prosit, quod impetravit*; "The law is this, that whoso hath made a false suggestion, shall lose whatsoever he have gotten by the same."

O M. Harding, credit without truth is no credit. Your work is over weak: it hath no foundation: it cannot stand. Chrysostom telleth you, "6 Such is the nature of error, it

6 [Τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἡ πλάνη, καὶ μηδενὸς ἐνοχλοῦντος, καταρρεῖ... "Talis "est enim conditio erroris, etiam "nullo sibi obsistente consenscit "et defluit." Ed. Froben. Erasm.]

August. in Johan. tract. 7. [iii. part. 2. p. 346.]

Chrysost. de laudibus Pauli hom. 4. [ii. 499.]

vadeth of itself, and will come to ground without resistance." Remember the place ye sometime stood in: remember from whence ye are fallen: remember the causes of your fall. It is no shame to rise again. God is able to restore you. The wise man saith: "There is confusion that bringeth grace and glory." God hath endued you largely with great gifts. Turn the same to the obedience of the faith of Christ. As there is wisdom in seeking the victory, so there is wisdom in giving place. Follow the same counsel ye give others. Deny your own learning: deny your own estimation: deny yourself. "Give the glory unto God."

Eccles. iv.
21.

John ix. 24.

Table of the Articles.

1. That there was any private mass in the world at that time, for the space of six hundred years after Christ.
2. Or that there was then any communion ministered unto the people under one kind.
3. Or that the people had their common prayer in a strange tongue that they understood not.
4. Or that the bishop of Rome was then called an universal bishop, or the head of the universal church.
5. Or that the people was then taught to believe, that Christ's body is really, substantially, corporally, carnally, or naturally in the sacrament.
6. Or that his body is, or may be in a thousand places or mo at one time.
7. Or that the priest did then hold up the sacrament over his head.
8. Or that the people did then fall down and worship it with godly honour.
9. Or that the sacrament was then, or now ought to be, hanged up under a canopy.
10. Or that in the sacrament after the words of consecration, there remain only the accidents and shows, without the substance of bread and wine.
11. Or that the priest then divided the sacrament in three parts, and afterward received himself all alone.
12. Or that whosoever had said, The sacrament is a figure, a pledge, a token, or a remembrance of Christ's body, had therefore been judged for an heretic.
13. Or that it was lawful then to have thirty, twenty, fifteen, ten, or five masses said in one day.
14. Or that images then were set up in the churches, to the intent the people might worship them.

15. Or that the lay people was then forbidden to read the word of God in their own tongue.
16. Or that it was then lawful for the priest to pronounce the words of consecration closely, and in silence to himself.
17. Or that the priest had then authority to offer up Christ unto his Father.
18. Or to communicate and receive the sacrament for another ⁷, as they do.
19. Or to apply the virtue of Christ's death and passion to any man by the mean of the mass.
20. Or that it was then thought a sound doctrine to teach the people that mass *ex opere operato*, that is, even for that it is said and done, is able to remove any part of our sin.
21. Or that then any Christian man called the sacrament his Lord and God.
22. Or that the people was then taught to believe that the body of Christ remaineth in the sacrament, as long as the accidents of the bread remain there without corruption.
23. Or that a mouse or any other worm or beast may eat the body of Christ (for so some of our adversaries have said and taught).
24. Or that when Christ said, *Hoc est corpus meum*, this word *hoc* pointed not the bread, but *individuum vagum*, as some of them say.
25. Or that the accidents or forms or shows of bread and wine, be the sacraments of Christ's body and blood, and not rather the very bread and wine itself.
26. Or that the sacrament is a sign or token of the body of Christ that lieth hidden underneath it.
27. Or that ignorance is the mother and cause of true devotion and obedience.

⁷ [See the opening of the eighteenth article, where Jewel says that the reading should be *for others*.]

OF PRIVATE MASS.

THE FIRST ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

IF any learned man of our adversaries, or if all the learned men that be alive, be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old catholic doctor or father, or out of any old general council, or out of the holy scriptures of God, or any one example of the primitive church, whereby it may clearly and plainly be proved, that there was any private mass in the whole world at that time for the space of six hundred years after Christ, &c. The conclusion is this: As I said before, so say I now again, I am content to yield and to subscribe.

M. HARDING: *First Division.*

Every mass is public, concerning both the oblation and also the communion, and none private. For no man offereth that dreadful sacrifice privately for himself alone, but for the whole church of Christ in common. The communion likewise of the sacrament, is a public feast by Christ through the ministry of the priest in the same, (1) prepared for every faithful person; from partaking whereof none is excluded, that, with due examination having before made himself ready, demandeth the same. And so being common by order of the first institution, and by (2) will of the ministers, it ought to be reputed for common, not private.

The 1st untruth. For there is no such preparation.

That others do so commonly forbear to communicate with the priest, it is through their own default and negligence, not regarding their own salvation. Whereof the godly and careful rulers of faithful people have, sithence the time of the primitive church, always much complained.

The 2nd untruth. There appeareth no such will in the minister.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

There appeareth small hope, that M. Harding will deal

plainly in the rest, that thus maketh his first entry with a cavil. For whereas the matter is known and agreed upon, it is great folly to pick quarrel upon the word. "Every mass," saith he, "is common, and none private." If it be so, then hath he already concluded fully on our side. For if there be no private mass at all, then was there no private mass in the primitive church, which was my first assertion.

Pag. 182. b.

M. Harding maketh common private, and private common.

But M. Harding, as may be gathered by his manner of proofs, is not yet well resolved, neither what is private, nor what is mass. For in the 22nd article of his book, intreating of the accidents of bread and wine, to the intent to avoid the gross absurdities that follow transubstantiation, he saith, "These matters were never taught in open audience, but privately disputed in the schools, and set abroad by learned men in their private writings." There he calleth that thing "private," that is disputed in open audience, in the hearing of five hundred or mo, and is set abroad to the knowledge of the world; and here the thing that is done by the priest and his boy alone in a corner, he calleth "common." Thus he maketh words to sound what him listeth, sometime "common" to be "private," sometime "private" to be "common," at his pleasure.

And as touching mass, sometime he maketh it the sacrifice; sometime the communion; sometime the prayers: and so seemeth not yet well to know upon what ground to stand.

These reasons be answered afterward more at large.

His first reason is this: The sacrifice of the priest is common; therefore the mass is common. Here might be demanded, Who gave the priest authority to make this sacrifice? and, without authority, how can he make it? But if his sacrifice be common, why doth he give it these private titles: This for the living; This for the dead; This for a friend; This for himself?

His second reason is this: It is a feast, and therefore it is common: and thus he salveth one error with another. For if it be a feast, how is it received by one alone? If it be received by one alone, how can it seem to be a feast?

But he saith, "It is prepared for all." Verily it is but small provision to serve so many. The priest himself knoweth this is untrue. He prepareth for himself, and not for others: he speaketh to himself, and not unto the congregation: he receiveth himself alone, and not with his brethren. Therefore in this respect we must needs say, the mass is private, and not common.

The third reason touching the will of the minister, is very uncertain. For neither can the priest, by his willing, alter natures, or make that thing common which is private; nor can any man certainly know, what thing the priest willeth. For what if his will be to work necromancy or sorcery, as it is reported of pope Hildebrand? Or what if his will be to poison somebody, as Henry the emperor was poisoned in the communion bread¹, pope Victor² in the chalice? Or what if his will be to work feigned miracles, as Lyra saith, many are wrought in the open church by the priest to mock the people? Doubtless if the priest's will may be known, either by his words or by his doings, or by his gesture, or by his provision, or by the quantity of his bread and wine, or by his whole usage and practice, it may soon be seen, his will is to make a private banquet, and not a common.

These be very weak foundations to build upon. Of the same M. Harding might rather and far better have gathered the contrary. For if it be the common sacrifice of the whole church, it should be offered by the whole church, as St. Ambrose saith, *Ut multorum oblatio simul celebretur*; "That the oblation of many may be made together*."

Hermannus
Contractus.

Nicolaus
Lyra in 14.
cap. Danielis.
[lv. 1789.]

Ambros.
1 Cor. xi. [ii.
app. 150.]

¹ [Henry VII. of Luxemburg; see Urspergens, and the other authorities cited in Def. of Apol. ch. 6. div. 4. Menzel however (*Geschichte der Deutschen*, v. 134) rather inclines to the opinion that Henry died a natural death, and says, that the report of this crime, which early prevailed, may have originated in the great advantage which Henry's death at that juncture brought to the Guelph party.]

² [This was Victor III; see Platina in Vita. See also Def. of Apol. ch. 6. div. 4.]

[* These commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles, formerly attributed to St. Ambrose, are now universally admitted to be spurious. Cave and others assign them to Hilary the deacon (A. D. 354), but Oudinus gives good reasons for doubting the correctness of this opinion.]

Hier. 1 Cor.
xi. [v. 997.*]

If it be a common feast of the whole church, it should be received commonly of the whole church. And therefore St. Hierom saith, *Dominica cœna omnibus debet esse communis*; "The Lord's supper must be common to all:" and that not for these simple shifts that M. Harding and his fellows have devised. St. Hierom's reason is this; *Quia Dominus omnibus discipulis, qui aderant, œqualiter tradidit sacramenta*; "Because the Lord gave the sacraments equally to all the disciples that were present." These words be plain; "equally," and "to all the disciples." And therefore saith St. Hierom, according to this example, the Lord's supper must be common.

M. HARDING: *Second Division.*

The 3rd un-
truth.

Therefore in this respect we do not acknowledge any private mass, but leave that term to Luther's school, where it was first devised, and so termed by Satan himself, seeking how to withdraw his novice Luther from the love and estimation of that most blessed sacrifice, by reasoning with him against the same in a night vision, as himself recordeth in a little book which he made, *De missa angulari et unctione sacerdotali*.

[Walch. ed.
vol. xix. p.
1486.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This tale against that godly man, doctor Luther, is scornful and slanderous, blazed abroad by Pighius, Hosius, Staphylus the runagate, and such others, only of wilful malice and hatred of the truth, and therefore not worthy to be answered. Doctor Luther sheweth what terrible temptations the devil layeth to trap man withal, taking occasion sometime of well doing, sometime of evil; sometime of truth, sometime of falsehood. And for example, he sheweth that the devil on a time assaulted him, not in visible form, but by dreadful suggestions in his conscience, as it were, thus calling him to remembrance: "These many years thou hast said mass, thou hast shewed up bread and wine to be worshipped as God, and yet now thou knowest

* [These commentaries are spurious; written, not by St. Jerome, but by some Pelagian heretic; some say by Pelagius himself. Oudinus, Bened. Ed. &c. With respect to the passage quoted in the

text, there is a passage in St. Chrysostom exactly similar; in 1 Cor. Homil. 27. (x. 244.) τὸ κυριακὸν δεῖπνον, τούτέστι τὸ δεσποτικόν, ὀφείλει κοινὸν εἶναι.]

it was a creature and not God. Thereof followed idolatry, and thou wert the cause thereof." All these things he saw to be true by the testimony and light of his own conscience, and therefore confessed he had offended, and yielded himself unto God. The devil's purpose was to lead him to despair: but God mercifully delivered him. And this is doctor Luther's whole and only meaning in that place, that no man of himself is able to withstand such assaults and temptations of the enemy, but only by the power and mercy of God. This, good reader, is that "school of Satan;" this is that wonderful tragedy, whereat M. Harding maketh such horrible exclamations. If he think it so heinous a matter for a godly man to be vexed by the devil, perhaps he will also find some fault with Christ, that was carried by the devil into the mount; or with St. Paul, that had the angel of Satan to buffet him; or with a great number of his portuise³ saints, whose legends are full of visions of devils, with other like childish fables. As for Luther, the doctrine, that he taught in his school touching this point, is the very gospel of Christ, and therefore it increaseth and entereth into the hearts of men, and the lies and slanders of the enemies shall never be able to prevail against it.

M. HARDING: *Third Division.*

Yet we deny not but the fathers of some ancient councils^a, and sithence likewise St. Thomas^b, and certain other school doctors, have called it sometimes a private mass, but not after the sense of Luther and his scholars, but only as it is contrary to public and solemn, in consideration of place, time, audience, purpose, rites, and other circumstances. The variety and change of which, being things accidentary, cannot vary or change the substance or essential nature of the mass. M. Jewel, an earnest professor of the new doctrine of Luther, and of the sacramentaries, calleth, as they do, that a private mass, whereat the priest, having no company to communicate with him, receiveth the sacrament alone.

³ [Portuise—portuas—porteous—portos; in Lat. portiforium, (see Jamieson's Scottish Dict.,) a manual of prayers, i. q. Breviary. The

service-book for the whole year was for the sake of portability divided into four parts, corresponding to the four seasons.]

Concil. Va.
en. cap. 4.
Concil. Tri.
urien. Int.
Decretal.
ib. 3. tit. 41.
ap. 2.
De Conse-
rat. dist. 1.
Et hoc. Ex
aug. quod
tildam Greg.
ribuunt.
Greg. ex Re-
st. lib. 2.
d Castorium
ap. 9.
Summe
. parte
uest. 83.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding, by a rhetorical correction upon better advice, putteth himself in remembrance that there is mention made of peculiar and private masses, as he saith, "in certain ancient councils, and in the school doctors." He might have named Stephen Gardiner^a, and Albertus Pighius^b, that wrote the defence of private mass, and he himself acknowledgeth abuses and errors in the same. Yet will he not, I trow, confess that either of them both was the disciple of Satan.

^a In the Bishop's Book.
^b Alb. Pighius in *Logicis Communib. de privata Missa.*

Here M. Harding standeth upon terms and saith, "The mass is called private in respect of place, time, audience, and other circumstances." And even such be their private masses for the most part said in side aisles, alone, without company of people, only with one boy to make answer, so private, that the people of God is thereby deprived and robbed of all comfort. And thus it seemeth Thomas understandeth the private mass: for thus he saith; ⁴*In missis privatis sufficit, si unus sit præsens, scilicet minister, qui populi totius personam gerit*; "In private masses it is sufficient if there be one present, I mean the clerk that standeth instead of the whole people."

Part. 3. quest. 83. art. 5.

Touching the allegations in the margin, the school doctors are all of very late years: the place of St. Augustine is forged, and not St. Augustine's: the place of St. Gregory nothing to purpose, not once naming private mass: the councils, that are called so ancient, were all at the least seven hundred years after Christ, and so without the reach of my compass⁵.

But to agree upon terms, and not to fly the name of mass, although it be very seldom, and for the most part

⁴ ["*In missis tamen privatis sufficit unum habere ministrum, qui gerit personam totius populi catholici, ex cujus persona sacerdoti pluraliter respondet.*"]—*Summ. part. 3. qu. 83. art. 5.*]

⁵ [On referring to the original edition of Harding's Answer, it appears probable that he meant to quote from the Concil. Vasense

(A. D. 523), in the fourth can. of which there is a distinction drawn between the public mass and other masses, (although *private* mass is not named.) Jewel, misled by the unclearness of the type, seems to have read Harding's reference as 2. Concil. Valent. (A. D. 885), and therefore he says, it is "without the reach of my compass."]

never, found in the old catholic writers; that we call the common or public mass, whereas the priest and people receive the holy communion together, which was the ancient order of the apostles and holy fathers in the primitive church. But whereas the priest receiveth the sacrament himself alone, without distribution made unto others, that we call the private mass, yea although the whole parish be present and look upon him. For a thing may be private, although it be done by the public minister, and for the people, and in the midst of all the people. And thus Thomas of Aquine seemeth to take these words private and common. "First," saith he, "the people is prepared to receive by the common prayer of all the people, which is the Lord's prayer: and also by the private prayer, which the priest offereth specially for the people." Here the prayer is called private, notwithstanding it be made by the priest, for the people, and in the midst of the congregation.

Public mass.

Private mass.

3. Part. qu.
83. art. 4. In
explicatione
missæ Ro-
manæ.

M. HARDING: *Fourth Division.*

Against this private mass, as he termeth it, he inveigheth sore in his printed sermon which he preached at Paul's Cross the second Sunday before Easter, in the year of our Lord 1560, as he entitleth it; shunning the accustomed name of Passion Sunday, lest (as it seemeth) by using the term of the catholic church he should seem to favour any thing that is catholic. In which sermon he hath gathered together, as it were, into one heap, all that ever he could find written in derogation of it, in their books by whom it hath been impugned.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Mark, gentle reader, how small occasions this man taketh hold at, contrary to his promise, to serve his intemperate humour of speaking evil. What? thinketh he, that all folk are heretics that name the days otherwise than they be named in his portuise? So may he soon condemn the Greeks, and (the church of Rome only excepted) all other Christians throughout the world, who, as I reckon, never had the name of Passion Sunday in their calendar, or use of speaking. So may he condemn all such as call "Parasceue," Good Friday, or the Italians, that, contrary to the portuise, call the first week in Lent the "carnival."

Dominica
Judica.

Gal. vi. 14.

Indeed the portuise calleth that day not only Passion Sunday, but also the Sunday Judica, and taketh the one name to be as catholic as the other. God be thanked, we are not ashamed of Christ's passion, as having nothing to glory in but only the cross of Christ, and his passion; neither do we refuse your phantasies, because they be catholic, as you surmise, but because they be your own, devised by yourself of late days, many of them contrary to God's holy word, and are not catholic.

1 Cor. xi. 23.

Albertus Pighius de privata Missa.

Invectives I made none, neither do we use the pulpit to that purpose, but soberly and far otherwise than M. Harding seemeth to use his pen. I spake of the abuses of Christ's last supper, having thereto occasion of these words of St. Paul; "The thing that I received of the Lord, the same have I delivered unto you:" who in his time seemeth to find fault with the Corinthians for the same. Neither is the supper of Christ so privileged, but it may be abused, as appeareth by the very confession of our adversaries, who deny not, but that there be abuses and errors crospen into the private mass.

M. HARDING: *Fifth Division.*

The 4th untruth*. For the old fathers never commonly called it so.

Although he pretend enmity against private mass in word, yet in deed whosoever readeth his sermon, and discerneth his spirit, shall easily perceive, that he extendeth his whole wit and cunning utterly to abolish the unbloody and daily sacrifice of the church, (4) commonly called the mass. Which, as the apostles themselves affirm in Clement their scholar and fellow, being unbloody, hath succeeded in place of the bloody sacrifices of the old law, and is by Christ's commandment frequented and offered in remembrance of his passion and death, and to be used all times until his coming. But whatsoever he or all other the forerunners

Pro sacrificio cruento, rationale et incruentum ac mysticum sacrificium instituit, quod in mo

* [Stapleton, in contradiction to this remark of Jewel, asserts that St. Ambrose (Ep. 81.), St. Gregory (Ep. 32. l. 4.), and the following councils, Milev. (can. 12.), 2 Carth. (can. 3.), Arel. (can. 2.), Aurel. (can. 22.), Agath. (can. 21.), Ilerd. (can. 4.), Gerund. (can. 3.), used the word *missa*. But even if all these references were correct, Jewel's statement would not be invalidated, viz. "that the old fa-

thers never commonly used it so." In general it may be remarked, that Stapleton's answer to the first four articles, which is all he attempts, is as insufficient and weak as it is disingenuous. His method is to cavil at these marginal notices, in which Jewel enumerates Harding's untruths, and to pay no attention to Jewel's detailed arguments in the body of the Reply.]

of Antichrist speak or work against it, all that ought not to overthrow the faith of good and true Christian men, having for proof thereof, beside many other places of holy scripture, the figure of Meichisedec that was before the law, the prophecy of Malachi in the law, and lastly and most plainly, the (5) institution of Christ in the New Testament. Which he left to the apostles, the apostles to the church, and the church hath continually kept and used through the whole world until this day.

Touching doctors, they have with one consent in all ages, in all parts of the world, from the apostles' time forward, both with their example, and also testimony of writing, confirmed the same faith. They that have been brought up in learning, and yet through corruption of the time stand doubtful in this point, let them take pains to travail in study, and they shall find by good ancient witness of the priests and deacons of Achaia, that (6) St. Andrew the apostle, touching the substance of the mass, worshipped God every day with the same service as priests now do in celebrating the external sacrifice of the church. They shall find by witness of Abdias, first bishop of Babylon, who was the apostles' scholar, (7) and saw Christ our Saviour in flesh, and was present at the passion and martyrdom of St. Andrew, that St. Matthew the apostle celebrated mass in Ethiopia a little before his martyrdom. They shall find by report of an ancient council general^a, that St. James wrote a liturgy, or a form of the mass. They shall find that Martialis^b, one of the seventy-two disciples of Christ, and bishop of Bourdeaux in France, sent thither by St. Peter, served God in like sort. (8) They shall find in Clement^c the whole order and form of the mass, set forth by the apostles themselves, and the same celebrated by them after our Lord was assumed, before they went to the ordering of bishops, priests, and the seven deacons, according to his institution; and the same right so declared by Cyrillus, bishop of Jerusalem, *In mystagogicis Orationibus*. They shall find the same most plainly treated of, (9) and a form of the mass, much agreeable to that is used in these days, in writing set forth by St. Dionyse, whom St. Paul converted to the faith, of whom it is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, who had conference with St. Peter, Paul, and John the evangelist, and much acquaintance with Timothy.

Thus do I give thee, good Christian reader, but a taste as it were of proofs without allegation of the words, for confirmation of thy faith concerning the blessed mass out of the scriptures, apostles, and apostolic men. (10) I do further refer thee to Justinus, the martyr and philosopher: to Irenæus, the martyr and bishop of Lyons, who lived with the apostles' scholars: to the old bishop and martyr, Hippolytus, that lived in Origen's time, who in his oration, *De Consummatione Mundi*, extant in Greek, maketh Christ thus to say at the general judgment unto bishops: *Venite pontifices, qui pure mihi sacrificium die nocteque*

The 5th untruth. For Christ speaketh not one word of any sacrifice.

The 6th untruth. For St. Andrew said the communion, and not the mass.

The 7th untruth. For this Abdias never saw Christ in the flesh; it is a very legend of lies.

The 8th untruth. For there is no manner token or show of private mass.

The 9th untruth. For it is the very form of the communion, and nothing like the private mass.

Faith confirmed without words. St. Paulsaith, faith cometh by hearing.

The 10th. A burden of untruths.

tem Domini per symbola corporis et sanguinis ipsius celebratur. Clemens, Constitutionum Apostolicarum lib. 6. cap. 23.

Abdias lib. 7. Historiæ apostol.

Concilium Constantiopol. in Crullo, c. 32. Epist. ad Burdegal. Constit. Apostol. lib. 1. c. ult.

in Eccles. Hierarch. cap. 3. Acts xvii.

lib. 4. contra Hæres. cap. 32.

The 11th untruth. For they contain the very order of the communion. The 12th untruth. For it is the very express order of the communion: it is no private mass.

obtulistis, ac pretiosum corpus et sanguinem meum immolastis quotidie: "Come ye bishops, that have purely offered sacrifice to me day and night, and have sacrificed my precious body and blood daily." (11) Finally, I refer them, instead of many, to the two worthy fathers, Basil and Chrysostom, whose masses be left to the posterity at this time extant. (12) Amongst all, Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus is not to be passed over lightly, who at large expoundeth the whole mass used in Jerusalem in his time, the same which now we find in Clement, much like to that of Basil and Chrysostom, and for the canon and other principal parts, to that is now also used in the Latin church.

In mystagogicis Or-
tionibus.

As for the other doctors of the church that followed the apostles and those apostolic men, many in number, excellent in learning, holy of life, to shew what may be brought out of their works, for proof of this matter, that the oblation of the body and blood of Christ in the mass is the sacrifice of the church, and proper to the New Testament, it would require a whole volume; and therefore not being moved by M. Jewel's challenge to speak specially thereof, but as it is private after their meaning, and many good treatises in defence of this sacrifice being set forth already in print; at this present I will say nothing, thinking hereof as Sallust did of Carthago, that great city, that it were better to keep silence than to speak few.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Isaiah xl. 2. God grant unto all his people the spirit of wisdom and
 1 John iv. 1. understanding, that they may be able to discern the spi-
 Matt. vii. 15. rits, whether they be of God or no, that they may take
 heed of false prophets, and give ear to the voice of the
 John x. 3. Prince of pastors, and fly the voice of strangers, and be-
 Matt. xxiii. 24. ware of blind guides, that so often have deceived them.

Forerunners
of Antichrist,
Acts vi. 13.

Matt. xxvi.
65.

Here M. Harding a little overmuch inflameth his choler, and whom he listeth he calleth the enemies of the sacrifice, and the forerunners of Antichrist, and what not? even with the same spirit that the Pharisees sometime said, Stephen had spoken against the holy temple; or, Christ had uttered blasphemy against God. I will not answer heat with heat, but in such kind of eloquence will rather give place.

Ad Constantium Aug. ep.
78. l. 4. [l.
751.]

As touching the matter, M. Harding knoweth that St. Gregory calleth him the forerunner of Antichrist, not that saith, Christ hath made a full sacrifice for sin once for all upon the cross, but that vaunteth himself above his brethren, as did Lucifer, and nameth himself an universal

bishop over the whole church of Christ. Such a one Ad Mauri-
tium Impe-
rat. l. 7. ep.
197. [il. 88r.] St. Gregory calleth the forerunner of Antichrist.

And whereas he calleth us at his pleasure the enemies of the holy sacrifice, woe were unto us, if we had not that sacrifice. We know, that Christ is that Lamb of God, John i. 29. that hath taken away the sins of the world, and that there Acts iv. 12. is no name or sacrifice under heaven, whereby we can be saved, but only the name and sacrifice of Jesus Christ. And because we know that this sacrifice is sufficient, therefore we fly to no sacrifice made by man.

“The sacrifice,” saith M. Harding, “commonly called the mass.” Commonly
called the
mass. But why sheweth he not, of whom it is so called? Verily, neither the Hebrews in their tongue, nor the Greeks in their tongue, nor Christ, nor his apostles, nor Tertullian, nor St. Cyprian, nor Origen, nor Lactantius, nor St. Hierom, nor St. Augustine, in any books undoubtedly known for theirs, nor his own doctors, Clement, Abdias, Hippolytus, ever used the name of mass. Therefore it is marvel that he would say the sacrifice is so commonly called the mass. If it might have pleased him to say, that he himself and his fellows so call it, he had done right.

But here is brought in a whole troop of doctors in a rank: Melchisedec, Malachias, Clemens the apostles’ fellow, the deacons of Asia; Abdias the apostles’ disciple, and bishop of Babylon, that saw Christ in the flesh; St. Andrew, St. James, Martialis, Dionysius, who had conference with Peter, Paul, and John; Irenæus, Justinus Martyr, Hippolytus Martyr, Basil, Chrysostom, Cyril of Jerusalem, and all the rest of the doctors in all ages, and in all parts of the world. And who would not be afraid to see such an army come against him? Howbeit, gentle reader, be of good cheer. All this is but a *camisado*⁵: these be but visards; they be no faces. They are brought in like mummers for a show, and say nothing. That M. Harding lacked in weight, he would needs make up in tale; and so useth this only as a flourish before the fight: and as a stream blown up with wind and weather carrieth

⁵ [*Camisado*, a night attack, in (Ital. *Camisa*) outwards, to be seen which the soldiers wore their shirts by each other; also the dress itself.]

For confir-
mation of
faith.

Gen. xiv. 18.

Mal. i. 11.

Matt. xxvi.

[Luke xxii.
19.]

with it much froth and filth by the very rage and drift of the water; even so M. Harding in this place, flowing and wandering over the banks with *copia verborum*, by the violence and force of his talk carrieth a great deal of error and untruth along before him. Notwithstanding, thus hath he given thee, good Christian reader, as he saith, a taste of his proofs without allegation of any words for confirmation of thy faith concerning the mass. Miserable is that faith, that in so weighty matters can be confirmed with bare names by hearing nothing. I marvel that M. Harding ever durst either to allege such authorities, as he knoweth the most hereof be, or thus openly to mock the world. For briefly to touch Melchisedec, Malachias, and the institution of Christ, what weight can there appear in these reasons? Melchisedec brought forth bread and wine to banquet Abraham and his army, being weary of the chase: or, Malachias prophesied that all the nations of the world should be turned unto God, and should offer unto him a pure sacrifice: or, Christ ordained his last supper amongst his disciples, and bade them do the same in his remembrance: *ergo*, there was private mass in the church. Who ever made any such arguments in any school? What? will M. Harding make folk believe, that Melchisedec, Malachias, or Christ, said private mass? or doth he think that these reasons must be taken because he speaketh the word?

But he will say, Melchisedec and Malachias signified the sacrifice of the new testament. We deny it not. But did they signify a sacrifice done by one man alone, in a strange language, the people looking on him, and no man knowing what he meaneth? Why may we not think rather, they signified the sacrifice of the holy communion, whereas the whole people doth lift up their hands and hearts unto heaven, and pray, and sacrifice together, rejoicing in the cross of Christ, and so celebrating the Lord's death until he come? For the sacrifice that is prophesied by Malachi, as it is expounded by Tertullian, St. Hierom, and other holy fathers, is the sacrifice of prayer, and contrite heart, as hereafter in the seventeenth article it shall further appear.

Touching the witnesses here alleged, first I marvel that M. Harding would ever bring them forth, but much more that he would thus set them out, with such circumstances of commendation, as that they saw Christ in the flesh, or that they were the apostles' fellows. For he knoweth well, that many of them are little worthy of such credit, as partly being ever doubted of, and suspected to be written, not by them whose names they bear, but by heretics, to whom M. Harding seemeth now to fly for aid: partly also obscure, unknown, unacquainted, not read, not seen, not heard of in the world before this time. But most of all I marvel that he would ever hazard his cause on these witnesses, who, as he himself very well knoweth, will speak against him. And therefore he hath here cunningly suppressed their words, and hath only made a muster of their names, but would suffer them to say nothing.

And that thou, good reader, mayest have a taste hereof, and see the faithfulness of these men's dealing, let us first consider Clemens, who, as it is reported here, was the apostles' fellow. The title of the book seemeth to be *De Apostolicis Traditionibus*⁶; that is, Of orders taken and devised by the apostles of Christ, for the better government of the church. A worthy book, no doubt, and in all ages to be had in great price, if men had been persuaded, it had been written indeed by Clement. But St. Hierom,^{Hier. de Ecclesiast. Scriptorib. [iv. 107.]} by the report of Eusebius, maketh mention only of one epistle of Clemens, that he thought worthy to be received, which epistle notwithstanding is not now to be found⁷. One

⁶ [The title commonly given is *Constitutiones Apostolicæ*, first published, Gr. and Lat., at Venice, 1563 (see Richard. Analys. Concil., and Cave), by Turrianus, who (as Oudinus, i. 29, informs us) shamefully perverted and mutilated them, to serve Romish purposes. Cotelierius considers the work to be both spurious and interpolated. Crabbe (Concil. vol. i. p. 27. ed. 1551) published merely a short abridgment of it, preceded by an account of its having been found by Capellius in Candia.

With respect to Jewel's conjecture below, that this book is identical with the *Itinerarium Petri*, condemned by Gelasius (dist. 15. Una sancta), even if the true reading in that decree be *octo*, and not *decem*, there is no foundation to support it. Jewel however is not singular in his opinion: see Cotelierii Patr. Apostol. i. 196.]

⁷ [It is hardly necessary to mention, that the genuine Epist. ad Corinth. has been since discovered at the end of the Codex Alex., and published by Patr. Ju-

Books counterfeited in St. Clement's name.

other epistle of Clement's he speaketh of, but he saith it was never allowed by the church. And further, St. Hierom saith: "Certain other books there are reported to be abroad in the name of Clement; as the Disputation of Peter and Appion; which books were never in use amongst our fathers, neither contain they pure and apostolical doctrine." Thus much St. Hierom.

Petr. Crabb. in 1. tom. Concil. [p. 27.]

Now whence then cometh M. Harding's Clement? It was found very lately in the Isle of Candia, by one Carolus Capellius, a Venetian, written in Greek, and in these countries never heard of nor seen before.

Here the reader, be he never so simple, yet must he think thus much with himself: Clemens was bishop of Rome, as it was thought, next after St. Peter: and were the bishop of Rome's books, and such books, so strange, so holy, and of such weight, kept in Candia, so far off from Italy, in an island in the sea, and not in Rome? written in Greek⁸, and not in Latin? And could such a worthy work, devised by all the apostles, and set forth by the apostles' fellow, be laid up in secrecy for the space of a thousand five hundred years and more, and no man miss it? Thus much the reader may soon consider with himself, be he never so simple.

But what if this book were never written by St. Clement? What if it were written by no honest man? What if it were written by an heretic? Verily it was a common practice in old times, to set wicked books abroad under the names and titles of the apostles, and other godly fathers. Leo, sometime bishop of Rome, writeth thus: *Apocryphæ scripturæ, quæ sub nominibus apostolorum mul-*

Leon. 1. cap. 15. [Epist. 93. al. 15. ad Turribium, vol. 1. 456.]

nius, 1634. With regard to the 2nd Epist. ad Corinth., see the defence of its genuineness by Cotelerius (who accuses Jerome of careless translation of Eusebius). Oudinus also admits the genuineness of both epistles. Walch (in Bibl. Patr. p. 278) inclines to the generally received opinion of the spuriousness of the 2nd Epistle. The words at the end of the quotation from St. Jerome (from

"which books" to "doctrine") are not St. Jerome's, but are quoted by Jewel from Eusebius.]

⁸ [Jewel's argument, from the language being Greek, does not seem very forcible, when we remember that the now acknowledged genuine 1st Epist. ad Cor. is extant in that language, as it naturally might be, being addressed to Greeks.]

tarum habent seminarium falsitatum, non solum interdicendæ, sed etiam penitus auferendæ atque ignibus tradendæ [l. concremandæ] sunt: “ Secret scriptures, which, bearing the names of the apostles, contain a nursery and occasion of much falsehood, are not only to be forbidden, but also utterly to be taken away, and to be committed to the fire.” By this we see, that the apostles’ names were borrowed sometimes to avouch heresies and wicked doctrine.

As touching Clemens, Gelasius writeth thus, and, for that he was bishop of the same see, it is the more likely he should know the truth: *Pauca quæ ad memoriam venerunt, et catholicis vitanda sunt, decrevimus esse subdenda. Inprimis Ariminensem synodum a Constantino Cæsare Constantini filio congregatam mediante Tauro præfecto, ex tunc, et in æternum, confitemur esse damnatam. Item Itinerarium nomine Petri apostoli, quod appellatur sancti Clementis, libri octo [al. decem] apocryphi:* “ We have thought good,” saith Gelasius, “ to note certain books which are come to knowledge, and ought to be avoided of catholic people. First, the council holden at Ariminum, gathered by Constantinus the emperor, the son of Constantinus, by mean of Taurus the lieutenant, from thenceforth, and for ever, we judge worthy to be condemned. Likewise the Journal of Peter the apostle, bearing the name of Clement, eight books are secret (unlawful) writings.” Thus we see divers books of Clement condemned by name, and but one epistle only allowed for good; and this volume, here alleged by M. Harding, containing eight books, as it is noted by Peter Crab, fully agreeing in number of books with the other condemned by Gelasius. To be short, cardinal Bessarion alleging parcel of the same book of Clement, that hath been hidden so long, writeth thus of it: *Licet hæc Clementis verba inter apocryphas scripturas commemorari soleant, placet tamen eis in præsentiarum tanquam veris assentiamus:* “ Albeit the words of Clement be accounted amongst secret (unlawful) writings, yet for once we are content to receive them, as if they were true.” Thus M. Harding’s Clement is disallowed by Eusebius and by St. Hierom, mistrusted by Bessarion, condemned by Gela-

Dist. 15. Sancta Romana.

Petr. Crabb. 1. tom. Concil.

Bessar. de Sacrament. Eucharistie.

sus, kept forthcoming in close prison for the space of a thousand and five hundred years: yet must we now, without refusal, stoop unto him, and take him as the apostles' fellow.

Abdias.

One other of these witnesses is Abdias⁹, and he is brought in with all his titles: the bishop of Babylon, planted there by the apostles: one that was conversant with Christ, and heard him preach, and saw him in the flesh; and was present at the martyrdom of St. Andrew: with all other circumstances that may gather credit among the simple. Of this Abdias somewhat must be spoken, and so much the more, for that his name is so glorious. He was sought out, and found, and set abroad of very late years, under the name of Abdias, by one Wolphgangus Lazius, a man that taketh great pains to force men to believe it is the very selfsame Abdias that he maketh himself to be; and therefore he saith, he was one of the seventy-two disciples, ordered bishop by the apostles, and that St. Luke the evangelist, writing the Acts of the Apostles, borrowed many whole stories, word by word, out of him. Then was St. Luke very unthankful, that never once made mention of his author.

But whosoever, or whatsoever this Abdias were, his own words do so bewray him, that a blind man may see it was not he. He maketh many shameless lies, that he was present with Christ, and at the most part of the apostles' doings: and yet were the apostles then, according to Christ's commandment, gone into the whole world, some into Italy, some into Asia Minor, some into Scythia, some into India, some into Ethiopia, and were many thousand miles asunder. In his fable of Iphigenia, he saith that the people took her brother Beor, being then christened by St. Matthew, and made him king, and that he reigned afterward in Ethiopia the space of sixty-three years: and further maketh mention of Egesippus, that

Mark xvi.

Abdias in Vita
Matthæi.

⁹ [Bellarmine, Oudinus, Cave, &c. unite in condemning this as a gross imposture. W. Lazius, a physician and historian ("vir non "indoctus," says Cave), found the

pretended MS. in a cave in Carinthia, and published it at Basle 1551. Cave says that Abdias' works "vix inter legendas ligneas "locum habere merentur."]

lived above one hundred and threescore years after Christ. If Abdias were alive all this while, he might be likened to Johannes de Temporibus, who, as the French story recordeth, lived in France above three hundred years¹⁰. A liar must be circumspect, and mindful what he say. If he saw Christ in the flesh, it is not likely he ever saw Egesippus, that was so long after Christ: if he saw Egesippus, it is not likely he ever saw Christ. Thus if he report truth in the one, he lieth in the other: and so, whether he lie, or say truth, he cannot be Abdias.

Touching the substance of his book, it is nothing else, for the more part of it, but a vain peevish tale, laid out with falsehood, wicked doctrine, and curious conference and talk with devils: things far unmeet for that gravity and majesty of the apostles of Christ, as it may soon appear unto the reader.

It may be gathered by St. Augustine in sundry places, that some part of this book was written by certain heretics, named the Manichees, and avouched by them as the very true story of the apostles. For he reporteth the fables of St. Thomas, of St. Matthew, of St. Andrew, of the lion that slew the man that had stricken St. Thomas, of the dog that brought the same man's hand unto the table, of Maximilla, wife unto Egis, and other like tales, even in such order as they be set forth by this Abdias.

Against one Adimantus he writeth thus: They (that is, the Manichees) read secret scriptures, which they themselves say are pure and perfect; in which scriptures it is written that St. Thomas cursed a man, and that afterward a lion slew him, &c. And in another place he saith: *Attendite qualia sint quæ scribuntur de Maximilla, uxore Egetis: illam noluisse viro debitum reddere: donasse et supposuisse Eucliam ancillam, et alias similes fabulas:* "Behold what things they be that be written of Maximilla, wife unto Egis; that she (being once christened)

Gaguinus.
[Hist. Franc.
lib. 6. c. 3.]
Paul. Æmil.
[fol. cvii. ed.
Paris. 1539.]

August. contra Faustum,
l. 11. et l. 22.
c. 79. [viii.
409.]

August. contra Adimantum,
c. 16.
[17.]
[viii. 137.]

Aug. [Euodii] de Fid.
contr. Manicheos, c. 38.
[viii. App.
33.]

¹⁰ ["Sub idem tempus obiit Johannes de Stampis, quem per errorem a Temporibus multi vocitant ob diuturnam vitam. Plus

"trecentis sexaginta vixisse annis eum faciunt," &c. Paul. Æmil. Veronens.]

would no more yield duty unto her husband: but set Euclia her maid in her own place, and other like fables¹¹.”

All these, and such like tales, thus disallowed by St. Augustine, are reported by M. Harding's Abdias in great sooth. I thought it not amiss to speak hereof the more at large, for that I saw a book so full of tales, so lately found out, without any good show of credit, to be fathered upon the apostles' disciple, and sent into the world with such a countenance. St. Augustine seemeth in divers places to have given his judgment of the same. Writing against the adversary of the law and prophets, he hath these words: “He hath brought forth witnesses out of secret scriptures, under the names of the apostles, John and Andrew; which writings, if they had been theirs, they had been received of the church.” The like judgment hereof seemeth to be given by Gelasius, who also saith, that such writings, according to an ancient custom, and by a singular provision, were not read in the church of Rome, for that they were thought to be written by heretics.

Thus is this Abdias a book, as it is apparent, full of manifest lies, and, as it may be supposed by St. Augustine and Gelasius, written and favoured by heretics, and refused of the church: upon such a one, good reader, M. Harding will have thee to stay thy faith.

As for the rest of these new witnesses, although I mind to take no great exception against them, yet M. Harding knoweth there is scarcely one of them, but may be doubted of.

Martialis. Martial¹² was lately found in France, in the city of Lemovica, in an arch of stone under the ground, so corrupt and defaced, that in many places it could not be read, and was never seen in the world at any time before.

Dionysius. Dionysius¹³, although he be an ancient writer, as it may

¹¹ [This treatise, *De Fide contra Manichæos*, is now known to have been written, not by St. Augustine, but by his contemporary and correspondent Euodius, bishop of Uzalis (fl. A. D. 420): see Oudin. i. p. 1002.]

¹² [Oudinus, i. 67, proves at some length, that this supposed work of Martial is a gross imposture. He also mentions the circumstance of the MS. being found in a cave (at Limoges).]

¹³ [Cave places these works, un-

August. contra advers. Leg. et Prophet. l. 1. c. 20. [viii. 570.]

Dist. 15. Sancta Romana.

many ways well appear, yet it is judged by Erasmus, John Colet, and others many, grave and learned men, that it cannot be Areopagita, St. Paul's disciple, that is mentioned in the Acts.

St. James's Liturgy¹⁴ hath a special prayer for them that live in monasteries; and yet it was very rather¹⁵ to have monasteries built in all St. James's time.

Chrysostom's Liturgy prayeth for pope Nicolas by these words: *Nicolai sanctissimi et universalis papæ longa sint tempora*: "We pray God send Nicolas, that most holy and universal pope, a long time to live." But pope Nicolas, the first of that name, was the second pope after pope Joan the woman, in the year of our Lord eight hundred fifty and seven, almost five hundred years after Chrysostom was dead. And likewise in the same liturgy there is a prayer for the empire and victory of the emperor Alexius. And the first emperor of that name was in the year of our Lord

der the name of Pseudo-Areopagita, about A. D. 362; some assign a later date. Their spuriousness is now generally admitted, although Bellarmine and other Romanists (of whom Walch, *Bibl. Patrist.*, gives an account) maintain that "they are undoubtedly genuine."

¹⁴ [Nothing can be more unsatisfactory than the editions of these liturgies. Cave says that no two editions agree. Mr. Palmer is of opinion that St. James's Liturgy, in its principal features, may have existed in the apostles' time, and that the substance of St. Chrysostom's may be as old as the fourth century; but he adds, that the expressions cannot be relied upon as a sure guide to the sentiments of the early ages. The edition used by Jewel, that by Claudius de Sanctes, appears to have been printed both at Paris and at Antwerp in the same year, 1560. The edition of Antwerp ap. Plantinum (of which there are two copies in the Bodleian) gives only the Latin text of the three liturgies, St. James's, St. Basil's,

and St. Chrysostom's. The Paris edition, ap. Morel. (of which there is a copy in Ch. Ch. library, and another in the Bodl., which belonged to Jos. Scaliger, and is enriched by MS. notes in his hand), contains separately both the Greek and Latin. Both editions have a preface by "Cl. de Sanctes Lutet. theologum;" and likewise commentaries on the Ritual by Dionys. Pseudo-Areopagit., Justin Martyr, Gregor. Nyesen., Joan. Damasc., Nicol. Methonensis, Samona, Germanus, Cabasilas, Maximus, Bessarion, and Proclus; all of whom, except the last, are quoted later by Jewel. As to Jewel's implied assertion, that St. James has not even the name of mass, this is true only of the Greek edition, as the title of the Latin is "Divina Missa S^{cu} Jacobi."

¹⁵ [Rathe=early. For the etymology and cognate meanings, see Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*. He seems to have supposed that in the above sense it is only found as an adverb; whereas here and elsewhere Jewel uses it as an adjective.]

Erasm. contra Parisienses.

Liturgia Jacobi.

Liturgia Chrysostomi, edita a Claudio de Sanctes.

a thousand and fourscore, after the decease of Chrysostom seven hundred years. Now it were very much for M. Harding to say, Chrysostom prayed for men by name seven hundred years before they were born. I trow that were prophesying, and not praying.

Thou seest, Christian reader, what doctors here be brought, as M. Harding saith, to ground thy faith and salvation upon. If he could have brought any better, I trow he would have spared these. But such doctrine, such doctors. These doubtful authorities, I trust, will set men's consciences out of doubt.

Now, notwithstanding it be something troublesome, yet shall it not be from the purpose, for trial of these men's faithful dealing, to examine some of M. Harding's own witnesses, and to hear what they will depose. All these, as it is said, avouch the sacrifice, otherwise called the mass: and not only these, but also all others, of all ages and times, and that, in a manner, in the selfsame order and form that now is used.

Fol. 11 a.
lin. 1.

Here M. Harding much abuseth both his own learning, and also the trust and credit that many have in him. For he knoweth well, that the apostles had neither the form, nor the order, nor the name of mass.

Dumb wit-
nesses.

Howbeit, if all these bear witness to the mass, why speak they not? why come they forth so dumb? What? have they naught to say in this behalf; or is their word not worth the hearing? Or are they so old that they cannot speak? Or must we needs believe M. Harding without evidence?

M. Harding
allegeth
witnesses
against him-
self.

But what if neither Clement the apostles' fellow, nor Abdias, nor St. James, nor Basil, nor Chrysostom, nor any other of all these here alleged, speak one word of private mass? What if they have not so much as the name of mass? What if they testify plainly against M. Harding's mass? What if they testify fully and roundly with the holy communion? It were great shame for M. Harding to fly from his own witnesses, and very much for me to stand to be tried by them that are brought in such a throng to depose against me.

And to begin first with St. James, the order of his liturgy, which M. Harding calleth mass, standeth thus¹⁴: *Sacerdos ait, Nullus eorum qui orare non possunt, nobiscum ingrediatur... Diaconus ait, Cum timore, et fide, et dilectione, accedite: Populus respondet, Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini... Deinde impertit clero: Cum autem attollunt diaconi discos et calices, ad impertiendum populo, diaconus ait, Domine benedic*: which words may be turned thus; "The priest saith, Let not one of them that may not pray, enter in with us... The deacon saith, With reverence, and faith, and love, approach ye near. The people answereth, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord... After this he ministereth unto the clergy. But when the deacons take up the dishes and cups, to minister unto the people, the deacon saith, Lord bless." Here, by the order of St. James's mass, the people answereth the priest in their own tongue: provision is made for the whole congregation in dishes and cups: they be called to receive the communion; and they do receive all together. Now let M. Harding be judge, whether St. James bear record to the private mass, or to the communion.

Liturgia Jacobi. [Ed. Du Sainctes, 1560, p. 9.]

[p. 27.]

Dishes and cups.

Abdias, although he report many untrue tales, yet he reporteth not one word of private mass, but much to the contrary. Writing the life of St. Thomas, and shewing in what sort he ministered the holy communion, he saith thus: *... Eucharistiam divisit his quos supra memoravimus (id est, populo): "He divided the sacrament unto the people, of whom we spake before."* And again, in the life of St. Matthew, who, as M. Harding beareth us in hand, without all question, said mass in Ethiopia, he writeth thus: *Cumque respondissent, Amen, et mysteria Domini celebrata essent, et missam suscepisset omnis ecclesia...: "When they had answered, Amen, and the mysteries of the Lord*

Abdias in Vita S. Tho. Apost. [p. 114.]

Abdias in Vita S. Mat. Apost. [p. 91.]

¹⁴ [Liturg. Jacob. Græc. ed. Paris. p. 11. Ο ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ. Μή τις τῶν κατηχομένων, μή τις τῶν ἀμυήτων, μή τις τῶν μὴ δυναμένων ἡμῖν συνδεσθῆναι. ἀλλήλους ἐπίγνωτε. τὰς θύρας. ὀρθοὶ πάντες. —p. 36. Ο ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΣ. Μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης

προσέλθετε. Ο ΛΑΟΣ. Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου. —p. 36. (a little before) Εἶτα ΜΕΤΑΔΙΔΩΣΙ Τῷ ΚΛΗΡῶ. ὅτε δὲ ἐπαίρουσιν οἱ διάκονοι τοὺς δίσκους καὶ τοὺς κρατήρας εἰς τὸ μεταδοῦναι τῷ λαῷ, λέγει ὁ διάκονος αἴρων τὸν πρῶτον δίσκον. Κύριε εὐλόγησον.]

had been celebrate, and the whole church had received the communion....” Where the whole church answereth the priest, and receiveth the communion together, I reckon M. Harding will hardly call that a private mass.

Justinus Martyr, another of M. Harding’s witnesses, in his second Apology unto the emperor Antoninus, declaring the innocency of the Christian people, that then lived under great persecution, and shewing the manner of their assemblies, writeth thus: “ Before the end of our prayers we kiss each of us one another. Then is there brought unto him that is the chief of the brethren, bread, and a cup of wine and water mingled together; which having received, he praiseth God, and giveth thanks a good space: and that done, the whole people confirmeth his prayer, saying, Amen. After that, they that among us be called deacons, give unto every of them, that be present, part of the bread, and likewise of the wine and water that are consecrate with thanksgiving, and carry the same home unto them, that happen to be absent.” Here is a full communion, and no private mass.

Justin. Martyr. in 2. Apol. [Ben. ed. Apol. 1. p. 52.]

ἐπευφημεῖ.

Dionysius, another of the witnesses, and, as M. Harding saith, the apostles’ scholar, openeth the whole order of the ministration in his time, writing namely and purposely of that matter. “ The priest,” saith he, “ beginneth the holy psalmody, and the whole body of the church singeth with him. Then followeth in order the reading of the holy scriptures, which is done by the ministers. After that the *catechumeni*” (that is, they that are newly come unto the religion of Christ, and are not yet baptized), “ and *energumeni*” (that is, such as are molested with evil spirits), “ and such others as are enjoined to penance, are commanded forth. And so there remain such as are meet to have the sight and communion of the holy things.”

Dionys. Eccles. Hierar. cap. 3. [pp. 132, 133. ed. Paris. 1562.]

τὰς δωρεὰς τῶν θεουργιῶν ὑποδείξας. [p. 134.]

It followeth: “ And shewing forth the gifts of the holy sacraments, he goeth to the communion himself, and likewise exhorteth others.” And a little after that: “ The priest, uncovering the bread, that came covered, and in one cake or loaf, and dividing the same into many portions, and likewise dividing the unity of the cup unto all, mys-

συμβολικῶς. [p. 157.]

tically, and by way of a sacrament, he fulfilleth and divideth unity.”

It followeth again: “Then the minister receiving himself, and distributing the holy communion unto others, in the end concludeth with holy thanksgiving, together with all the whole holy company of the church.” I believe M. Harding himself will say, here is yet but bare witness for his private mass.

In the liturgy of St. Basil, which is also brought for a witness in this matter, the priest prayeth thus: “All we receiving of one bread, and of one cup, &c.” It followeth: “The priest divideth the holy bread into four parts; the quire singeth the communion, and so they communicate all ¹⁵.”

Another witness is Chrysostom: his liturgy, or, as M. Harding delighteth to speak, his mass, is thus ordered: “After that the priest hath communicate with the ministers, then the great door is set open; the priest sheweth forth the cup unto the people saying, “With the fear of God, and faith, and love, approach ye near.” The deacon saith: “Come ye near in peace:” the people answereth; “...In the name of the Lord.” Again, “The deacons receive the communion; afterward the mysteries be carried unto a place, where the people must communicate ¹⁶.”

¹⁵ [In the Lat. ed. (De Sainctes) of St. Basil's liturgy, which contains the important prayer (p. 44), “Nos autem omnes de uno pane et calice,” &c. and (at p. 49) the no less important rubric, “Et cantant cantores communionem, et sic communicant omnes,” there seems to be no mention of breaking the bread into four parts; but in the Greek edition (de Sainctes), which varies in many other respects from the Latin, there is, at p. 67, a rubric directing that all things be said and done *έν τῇ ζέσει καὶ έν τῷ μελισμῷ, κ. τ. λ.* according to the form prescribed in St. Chrysostom's liturgy; and in that liturgy (p. 103) the priest is directed to divide the bread into four parts. Jewel mentions it as a proof that

it was intended that *all* should communicate. See, however, Art. 11.]

¹⁶ [It would seem as if in this expression, Jewel had confounded Chrysostom's liturgy with St. James's. The *substance* however of what he says is correct. . . καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς τὴν θύραν, καὶ ἰψῶν τὸ ἅγιον ποτήριον, δείκνυσιν αὐτὸ τῷ λαῷ, λέγων, Μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ καὶ ἀγάπης προσέλθετε—ὁ χορός. Ἄμην, ἀμην, ἀμην. εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος έν ὀνόματι Κυρίου. (De Sainctes, p. 106.) The Latin (p. 73) by no means corresponds here, “diaconus reportat super altare calicem et operit, et dicit, Cum timore Dei accedite,” but immediately afterwards occur these words, “et sic feruntur ad locum

Ignat. ad
Philadelph.
[Epis. inter-
pol. Russel.
ed. ii. 125.]

Ignatius, another witness, writing unto the people of Philadelphia, hath these words: *Unus panis pro omnibus fractus est, et unus calix omnibus dividebatur*: "One bread was broken for all, and one cup was divided unto all¹⁷."

What needeth it me to discourse further of the rest? By these few, I doubt not, it may soon appear, how faithfully these men allege the catholic fathers, only amazing the reader with naked names. Here we see, such as cannot communicate, are commanded forth: the whole church prayeth, singeth, and receiveth the holy sacraments all together. Such masses they be that the old catholic fathers can witness of. And of other mass they know none. M. Harding himself confesseth that in the primitive church the people received the communion every day.

Yet notwithstanding, for his private mass he allegeth the names of doctors of the primitive church. And so, like a crafty apothecary, in his marks or papers he hath the mass; but in his boxes he hath the communion.

But he will say, he alleged all these doctors by way of digression, to another purpose, to prove the sacrifice. First, there is very small proof in such witnesses as say nothing; and besides that, it is a simple kind of rhetoric, to use so large digressions from the matter, before ye once enter into the matter. And as touching the sacrifice, if you have any at all, you have it only of the institution of Christ: otherwise you have none. But we are sure, we have Christ's institution. Wherefore it followeth, we have the sacrifice that Christ appointed.

Hippolytus
Martyr.

Touching Hippolytus, the bishop and martyr, that, as M. Harding saith, lived in Origen's time, and is now extant in Greek, it is a very little book, of small price, and as small credit, lately set abroad in print, about seven years past; before never acquainted in the world¹⁸. Such be

"mysteria ubi populus debet communicare." Jewel's statement therefore is made up of the Latin and the Greek.]

¹⁷ [... εἰς καὶ ἄρτος τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐθρόφθη, καὶ ἐν ποτήριον τοῖς ὅλοις διενεμήθη.]

¹⁸ [Dupin, Cave, Oudinus, &c. concur in rejecting this work as spurious. See Oudin. i. 224. The book, De Consummatione Mundi, was first published (Gr. and Lat.) at Paris, 1557. Some MSS. omit the γὰρ.]

M. Harding's ancient authorities for his mass. It appeareth, it was some simple man that wrote the book, both for the phrases of speech in the Greek tongue, which commonly are very childish, and also for the truth and weight of the matter. He beginneth the first sentence of his book with *Enim*, which a very child would scarcely do. He hath many vain guesses of the birth and life of Antichrist: he saith, and soothly avoucheth, that Antichrist shall be the devil, and no man, and shall only bear the shape of a man; yet St. Paul calleth antichrist, "The man of sin." Besides this, he hath a further phantasy, that Antichrist shall subdue the kings of Egypt, Africa, and Ethiopia, and that he shall build up again the temple of Jerusalem: and that St. John, that wrote the books of Apocalypse, or Revelations, shall come again with Elias and Enoch, to reprove Antichrist. And all this saith he, without either warrant of the scriptures or authority of the church. And writing that book, namely upon the prophet Daniel, he allegeth the Apocalypse of St. John, in the stead of Daniel, which is a token either of great ignorance, or of marvellous oblivion. Moreover he saith, that the souls of men were from the beginning, which is an heresy, with other dreams and phantasies many mo. This is M. Harding's catholic doctor. Concerning the place of him here alleged, *Venite pontifices, qui pure mihi sacrificium die nocteque obtulistis, ac pretiosum corpus et sanguinem meum immolastis quotidie*¹⁹; if he will precisely build upon the words, then must all other priests stand back, and have no place in heaven, but bishops only. For although they offer up, as M. Harding saith, the daily sacrifice, yet it is well known, according to the nature and use of the word, they are priests only, and not bishops. If he will make reckoning of this word, *quotidie*, "daily," then where shall the bishop of Rome and his cardinals stand, that scarcely have leisure to sacrifice once through the whole year? And if it be Christ himself that they offer up unto the Father, as they say, how is the same Christ offered up unto Christ

ἐπειδὴ γὰρ.

2 Thess. ii. 3.
Revelabitur
homo pec-
cati.

¹⁹ [Δεῦτε οἱ ἱεράρχαι οἱ λειτουργήσαντές μοι ἀνόμως ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, καὶ τὸ τίμιον σῶμα καὶ αἷμά μου καθ' ἐκάστην θύοντες, p. 56.]

himself? How is Christ both the thing that is offered, and also the party unto whom it is offered? But there is no inconvenience to a man in his dream. And if it be the mass that Hippolytus here speaketh of, how is it offered both day and night? For Hostiensis saith, It is not lawful by the canons, to say mass in the night season, saving only the night of Christ's nativity.

Hostien. in
summa, de
Celeb. Mis-
sarum. [225.
B.] [De con-
sec. dist. 1.
Nocte.]

But the meaning of Hippolytus seemeth to be this, that all faithful people in this respect be priests and bishops, like as St. Peter also calleth them, and that every of them, by faith, maketh unto God a pure sacrifice, and both day and night, as it were, reneweth and applieth unto himself that one and everlasting sacrifice of Christ's precious body, once offered for all upon the cross. Thus are the words of Hippolytus plain, and without cavil, and thus shall Christ's calling be very comfortable.

1 Pet. ii. 9.

M. HARDING: *Sixth Division.*

Now this presupposed, that the mass standeth upon good and sufficient grounds for the stay of all true Christian men's belief: let us come to our special purpose, and say somewhat of private mass, as our adversaries call it.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

The grounds he here speaketh of, be his doctors, such as he hath already brought forth, laid up in great secrecy, and hidden from all the world, by the space of one thousand years, and more, and now of late found out by chance: some in islands in the sea; some in arches under the ground; some so defaced with mould and canker, that it was hard to guess their meaning; some full of impudent lies and fables, one parcel not agreeing with another; some devised and written by heretics, and ever mistrusted and condemned of the church: yet every of these, as M. Harding well knoweth, fully reporting the holy communion, and manifestly testifying against private mass. These be M. Harding's greatest grounds. Now judge thou, gentle reader, what worthy building may stand upon the same. Doubtless this beginning is very simple.

M. HARDING: *Seventh Division.*

The chief cause why they storm so much at private mass, is,

for that the priest receiveth the sacrament alone: which thing they express with great villainy of words. Now in case the people might be stirred to such devotion, as to dispose themselves worthily to receive their housell every day with the priest, as they did in the primitive church, when they looked hourly to be caught, and done to death in the persecution of paynims, that they departed not hence *sine viatico*, without their voyage provision: what should these men have to say? In this case perhaps they would find other defaults in the mass, but against it in this respect only, that it is private, they should have nothing to say at all. So the right of their cause dependeth of the misdoing of the people, which if they would amend, these folk should be driven either to recant, or to hold their peace. To other defaults of the mass, by them untruly surmised, answer shall be made hereafter. Now touching this:

Private mass proceeded first of the negligence and misdoing of the people.

Where no fault is committed, there no blame is to be imputed.

That oftentimes the priest at mass hath no compartners to receive the sacrament with him, it proceedeth of lack of devotion of the people's part, not of envy or malice of his part.

Lack of devotion cause of private mass.

The feast is common: (13) all be invited: they may come that list: they shall be received that be disposed and proved: none is thrust away that thus cometh: it may be obruded to none violently, ne offered to none rashly. Well, none cometh. This is not a sufficient cause, why the faithful and godly priest, inflamed with the love of God, feeling himself hungry and thirsty after that heavenly food and drink, should be kept from it, and imbarred from celebrating the memory of our Lord's death, according to his commandment; from his duty of giving of thanks for that great benefit; from taking the cup of salvation, and calling upon the name of God: for these things be done in the mass.

The 13th untruth. For they invite no man.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

God be thanked, both our life, and manner of teaching, notwithstanding these slanderous reports, is void of villainy. Or if there had been any defect in us, this man, of his courtesy, should not have supplied it with another villainy.

Here M. Harding granteth, that the people in the primitive church received the holy communion every day, and so consequently unawares he confesseth, that in the primitive church was no private mass; which, as he saith, came in afterward by the negligence and undevotion of the people. It is great pity that so good a thing, as it is supposed, should have no better beginning. One special

M. Harding confesseth, that in the primitive church there was no private mass.

principle of these men's doctrine, is, to imbar the people from reading and understanding of the scriptures, and to suffer them to know nothing; for that, as some of them have said, they be dogs and swine, and therefore should not precious stones be laid before them. Yet now must their negligence be the rule of Christ's religion. This is laid as the ground and foundation of the whole cause, and therefore it ought the better to be considered.

M. Hard. art.
15. div. 7.
fol. 155 b.

Eckius, Pigghius, Hosius, and others, have often cried out amain in their books and pulpits, "Where was your religion, before Luther first began to preach?" So may we likewise say, And where was your private mass, which is the crown of your kingdom, before your people first began to grow negligent, and to want devotion? Some have said, the church is governed by the pope; some, by the general councils; some, by the Holy Ghost. M. Harding saith better, it is not amiss, that the church be governed by the negligence and undevotion of the people.

"Charity," say they, "is cold, and the people is careless." But therefore hath God appointed pastors and ministers to oversee and control the people, and not to suffer them to perish in their negligence. Were it a matter of tithes, or other payments, the people should be called upon, and not suffered in anywise to be negligent: neither should their negligence stand for excuse. How much less should it be suffered, when the case toucheth God! The bishops and fathers, in the second council holden at Bracara, in Spain, decreed thus: "If any man resort unto the church, and hear the scriptures, and for negligence or wantonness withdraw himself from the communion of the sacrament, and in the reverend mysteries do break the rule of discipline; we decree, that such a one be put out of the catholic church, until he have done penance, and shewed the fruits of his repentance, that, having obtained pardon, he may be received again to the holy communion²⁰."

[Mansi, ix.
859.]
Conc. Brac.
2. cap. 84.
Pro luxuria
sua.

²⁰ [The canons of the so called second council of Bracara (named by Mansi the third concil. Brac.), were compiled by Martin, bishop of that see (A. D. 572), from an-

cient Greek councils: it seems uncertain whether they were formally sanctioned by a council. The 84th Can. (ap. Mansi, can. 83) here correctly translated, is copied

Thus the godly fathers in old time did not flatter and favour the people's negligence in this case, as M. Harding and his fellows do; but exhorted, warned, reprov'd, rebuked them, called them malapert, and impudent, that would be present, and not receive; and excommunicated them for their negligence. But these men contrariwise turn away their faces from their brethren, and suppress their voice, and will not be heard, and speak nothing, but in an unknown tongue, and find no fault with the people, but rather make them believe, that they receive for them, and apply Christ's death unto them by their mass, and that the very hearing thereof is sufficient for them, and meritorious: and thus, as much as in them lieth, they increase the negligence of the people, and discourage them from the holy communion.

Chrys. in Epist. ad Ephes. Hom. 3. [xl. 23.]

The people is taught nothing, they understand nothing, they hear nothing, and, saving only a few childish and unseemly gestures, they see nothing, neither comfort, nor memory of Christ, nor benefit of his passion. And this is the cause of their negligence: therefore they stand thus back, and withdraw themselves.

The cause of the people's negligence.

Howbeit, what needeth M. Harding thus to charge the people with negligence and undevotion? The pope himself, and his cardinals, do scarcely communicate once in the year, but are as negligent and as undevout therein, as the most part of the people.

The pope and his cardinals as negligent as the people.

"The feast," saith M. Harding, "is common: all are invited: they shall be received that be disposed and proved." If this feast be common, it must needs be common to very few; for the provision is very little to serve many. That all be called in the Latin mass, it is a great and manifest untruth. For neither the priest, nor the deacon, either by word, or by gesture, calleth them: nor have they any preparation for them, if they were called. Yet are these men

(not quite verbatim) from the first part of Canon 2. of the council of Antioch (A. D. 341). It may be seen in Greek, ap. Bruns, Bibl. Eccl. vol. i. pt. 1. p. 81. It seems singular that Jewel should not

have referred to the original canon, rather than to a copy in a later and less authoritative council: but he probably took it from Gratian de Consec. dist. 2. Si quis intrat.]

not ashamed to say, "They shall be received that be disposed and proved."

Preparation
of the mind,
before the
communion.

Every man ought humbly to prepare and dispose his heart, before he presume to hear or receive any thing that toucheth God. For God is spirit, and we are flesh: God in heaven, and we in earth. Pythagoras, being but an heathen, was wont to say, *Non loquendum de Deo sine lumine*; "We ought not to speak of God without light," that is, without premeditation and good advisement, who it is, of whom we speak. And the pagans, in their sacrifices, were wont to remember their priest with these words, *Hoc age*: the meaning whereof was, "Dispose thy mind: it is

Eccles. xviii.
23.

God unto whom thou speakest." The wise man saith, "Before thou pray, prepare thine heart, and be not as a man that tempteth God." Likewise in old times, they that were called *catechumeni*, were warned aforehand to prepare their hearts, that they might worthily receive bap-

Clem. Epist.
3.
[Mansi i.
132.]

tism, as it is decreed under the name of Clement, whose words be these: "Let him prepare himself in all things, that, after three months ended, upon the holy day he may be baptized²¹." St. Augustine also exhorteth the *cate-*

Aug. Tract.
10, et 11. in
Johan. [iii.
pt. 2. 374.]

chumeni, likewise to dispose their minds against the time of their baptism. Thus ought every man to examine and prepare himself, before he hear God's word: before he presume to open his mouth to pray unto God: before he receive the sacrament of baptism: and namely, before he come to the holy communion. And therefore the priest giveth warning unto the people with these words, "Lift up your hearts;" which words, as St. Augustine saith, were commonly used in the holy mysteries.

August. de
Dono Perse-
verantie,
lib. 2. cap. 13.
[x. 839.]

But I think M. Harding here by these words, "prepare" and "dispose," meaneth privy confession, which many have used, as a rack of men's consciences, to the maintenance of their tyranny. Peter Lombard saith, Without it there is no way to heaven²². Innocentius III. command-

Senten. lib.
4. dist. 17.

²¹ [Not genuine. See p. 169.]

²² ["Ex his aliisque pluribus
"indubitanter ostenditur, oportere
"Deo primum, et deinde sacer-

"doti offerri confessionem, nec
"aliter posse perveniri ad ingres-
"sum paradisi, si assit facultas."
Peter Lomb.]

eth²³, that whosoever is not confessed, neither be suffered to come into the church being alive, nor to be buried when he is dead. Hugo writeth thus: "I am bold to say, whosoever cometh to the communion unconfessed, be he never so repentant and sorry for his sins, certainly he receiveth unto his judgment²⁴." So violent the late writers have been in exacting things of their own devices. Otherwise the old fathers, notwithstanding sometime they speak of confession, yet they require it with more modesty, and many of them require no such thing at all.

Chrysostom saith^a: "Let the court (where thou yieldest thyself guilty) be without witness: let God alone see thee²⁵." And again^b: "If thou be ashamed to shew thy sins to any man, then utter them every day in thy heart. I say not, Go, confess thy sins unto thy fellow servant, that may upbraid thee with them; but confess them unto God, that is able to cure them²⁶." And again, thus he imagineth God to speak unto a sinner: *Mihi soli dic peccatum tuum privatim, ut sanem ulcus*: "Open thy sin privately to me alone, that I may heal thy wound²⁷." And Theodoros, sometime archbishop of Canterbury, saith: *Græci, et totus oriens confitetur soli Deo*: "The Greeks, and all they of the east, confess themselves only to God²⁸." Thus

Innocent. 3. in Concil. Lateran. cap. 21. [xxii. 1009.]
Hugo, de Potestate Ecclesie.

a Chrysost. de Penitentia.
b Ἀμάρτυρον ἔστω τὸ δικαστήριον.
b Chrysost. in Psal. l. hom. 2. [v. 589.]

Chrysostom. de Lazar. hom. 4. [i. 758.]
De Penitentia, dist. 1. Quidam Deo.

²³ [Some doubt has been thrown on the canons of this council, but their genuineness has been corroborated by the fact that they are in very old MSS. extant in Greek, as well as in Latin; copies of them in that language having been taken in consequence of the patriarchs of Constantinople and of Jerusalem being present personally, and those of Antioch and Alexandria by deputy. See Mansi, xxii. 1009, 1010.]

²⁴ [The editor has not been able to discover any work by Hugo (whether De Sancto Caro or De Sancto Victore) which bears this name: he has therefore printed the reference in Italics.]

²⁵ ["Absque teste sit hoc iudicium. Solus te Deus confitem videret." De Penit. et Con-

fession. Ed. Paris. 1558. tom. v. 771; also Ed. Savil. v. 512.]

²⁶ [Ἀλλ' αἰσχύνῃ εἰπεῖν, διότι ἡμαρτες, λέγε αὐτὰ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ σου. (Jewel appears to have read ψυχῇ: Lombard, "in animo tuo"). Καὶ τί; μὴ γὰρ λέγω, εἰπέ τῷ συνδούλῳ τῷ οὐνειδίζουτί σε; εἰπέ τῷ Θεῷ τῷ θεραπεύοντι αὐτά. In the Ben. ed. this sermon is placed *inter spuria*, and apparently with reason. Saviile maintains its genuineness, but doubtingly.]

²⁷ [.. οὐκ ἀναγκάζω, φησὶν (sc. ὁ Θεός), εἰς μέσον ἐλθεῖν σε θέατρον, καὶ μάρτυρας περιστῆσαι πολλούς. Ἐμοὶ τὸ ἀμάρτημα εἰπέ μόνῳ κατ' ἴδιαν, ἵνα θεραπεύσω τὸ ἔλκος. Ben. i. 758.]

²⁸ [Jewel has given this quotation very inaccurately, in all pro-

much I thought good to touch hereof, lest it should be thought there is none other way for a man to prove and dispose himself, but only by auricular confession. The meaning of these words of St. Paul, "Let a man examine himself," standeth in two points, in faith and repentance. Faith containeth the truth of our belief; repentance concerneth the amendment of our life: which kind of examining endureth all our life long. But to say, or think, we are all examined, and disposed, one only day in the year, and that of custom, not of holiness, and not one day before, nor one day after, it is childish, it is superstitious, it is Jewish, it is no persuasion meet for the people of God. If Chrysostom were alive, he would cry out, *O presumptionem! O consuetudinem!* "O what presumption! O what a custom is this²⁹!" and St. Ambrose would say, "If thou be not worthy every day to receive, then art thou not worthy once in the year³⁰."

Chrys. ad
pop. Antioch.
hom. 61. [xi.
23.]
Ambros. de
Sacram. lib.
5. cap. 4. [ii.
378.]

But grant it, that charity and devotion is fainted in the people: may we yet think, that the same resteth whole and sound in the clergy? or that the devotion of the priests aboundeth more now, than it did in the primitive church? For then the priest ministered the holy communion but once in a day, unless the multitude of the communicants had been so great, that it required double ministration. But now the priest may say two, three, or more masses in one day, yea although he have no man to receive with him. I would it were not as the prophet saith: *Qualis populus, talis sacerdos*: "As the people is, such is the

Leo Epist.
81. [al. ii. c.
2. l. p. 437.]

Isa. xxiv. 2.

bability misled (as is the case in other instances) by his commonplace book, having noted the fact and the authority (corroborated perhaps by some other author not specified) without transcribing the exact words—"Quidam Deo sollemnmodo confiteri debere peccata dicunt, ut Græci. . ."

²⁹ [There are only twenty-one genuine Homil. ad Popul. Antiochen.; all beyond that number are only extant in Latin, and now acknowledged to be spurious, mere centos of the genuine works

of Chrysostom, and therefore not to be found in the Bened. ed. nor in Saville. The passage quoted in the text is from Homil. 3. in Epist. ad Ephes. cap. 1. (tom. xi. 23.) Ὁ τῆς συνθηκῆς, ὡ τῆς προλήψεως, εἰκὴ θυσία καθημερινῆ, κ. τ. λ.]

³⁰ [It is now generally admitted, that the work De Sacramentis is not by St. Ambrose. Even the Benedict. editors confess this, although they have printed it amongst the genuine works of that father.]

priest." Verily Bonifacius, talking of the change of the holy cups, which in the old times had been treen, and in his time were made of gold: "Then," said he, "we had treen cups and golden priests; but now we have golden cups, and treen priests³¹." St. Bernard complaineth thus of the state of the clergy in his time: "O Lord, wickedness hath proceeded from the elder judges, thy vicars, which seem to rule thy people. We cannot now say, As the people is, so is the priest; for the very people is not so (wicked) as is the priest." And the same St. Bernard, in the synod holden at Rheims, in France, in the presence of the pope spake these words: *Nunc non habemus mercenarios pro pastoribus: nec lupos pro mercenariis: sed pro lupis habemus diabolos*: "Now have we not hirelings (to rule the flock) instead of shepherds; nor wolves instead of hirelings: but instead of wolves we have devils³²."

De Con. dist.
I. Vasa.

Bernardus de
Conversione
Pauli. [iii.
962.]

Bernardus in
Concilio Re-
mensi.

Johannes Vitalis, a cardinal of Rome, likewise complaineth: "And of the priests of this age," saith he, "the prophet Isaiah hath written thus: The pastors themselves are void of understanding, they have all followed their own way, every one even from the highest to the lowest." Wherefore if want of devotion and looseness of life may breed negligence in the people, why may not the like want, and as great looseness, breed the like negligence in the priests? And if negligence be excuse sufficient, to warrant the people to communicate but once in the year, why may not the same negligence cause the priests to say mass but once in the year? For it is not the love of God, as you surmise, neither the hunger or thirst of heavenly food,

Johan. Vita-
lis Cardina-
lis, in Spe-
culo. [p. 241.
D.]

Isa. lvi. 11.

³¹ [...] "Bonifacius, martyr et episcopus, interrogatus, si liceret in vasculis ligneis sacramenta conficere, respondit: Quondam sacerdotes aurei ligneis calicibus utebantur; nunc e contrario lignei sacerdotes aureis utuntur calicibus." So it stands in the earlier editions of the Decretum, and in the Roman (the standard). It is remarkable, that in the edition of 1573, and perhaps in some others, this cutting sarcasm disappears, and the sentence stands

as follows: ... "respondit: Quondam sacerdotes non aureis sed ligneis calicibus utebantur." The last valuable edition (Richter's, Leipzig, 1839) has restored the genuine answer. The whole passage came originally from the eighteenth Can. of Concil. Tribur., and will be found in Mansi, xviii. 142.]

³² [This oration, ascribed to Bernard, is not considered genuine, nor has the editor succeeded in finding the words quoted by Jewel.]

that maketh the priest say mass, but order of foundation, custom, hire or wages for his labour.

Now let us view the weight of M. Harding's reasons: "The people is negligent and undevout; *ergo*, the priest may say mass alone." This argument is very weak. But the next that is gathered of the same is much weaker: "The people is negligent now; *ergo*, there was private mass in the primitive church." For this only was my denial: and this hath M. Harding taken in hand to prove. It is called *petitio principii*, whereas one weak thing is proved by another, as weak as it. So might M. Harding say, The people will not hear the word of God; *ergo*, the priest may go into the pulpit, and preach alone. "For Christ's supper," as St. Augustine saith, "is a sermon, and the priest therein preacheth and uttereth the death of the Lord³³."

August. de
Trinit. lib. 3.
cap. 4. [viii.
798.]

Again, if only the negligence of the people have enforced private mass, how then came it into colleges, monasteries, cathedral churches, yea, even into the very holy church of Rome, whereas be such numbers of clerks, vicars, monks, priests, and prebendaries, that the emperor Justinian was fain to stay the increase of them, all idle, all in study and contemplation, all void from worldly cares, all confessed, all in clean life, all prepared? Wherefore have they private mass? Yea wherefore have they so many masses severally, at divers altars, and many of them at one time? Wherefore do not they communicate together, as it appeareth they did in the primitive church? Doubtless this groweth not of the negligence of the people.

Authen. Col.
lat. prima, Ut
determinatus
sit numerus
Clericor.

As for the people, they are not so negligent nor undevout as M. Harding here chargeth them. They are God's people, glad to be instructed and desirous to follow, and, wheresoever the gospel is received, ready to give testimony thereof, and to increase the same by the holy communion of Christ's body and blood, in great companies, and whole congregations all together.

But what ill luck is this, that they, whom M. Harding so

³³ ["Si Paulus . . . potuit tamen
"significando prædicare Dominum
"Jesum Christum aliter per lin-
"quam suam, aliter per epistolam,

"aliter per sacramentum corporis
"et sanguinis ejus. . . quid mirum,"
&c.]

often condemneth for heretics, can be so devout; and he and his catholics thus remain without devotion? Let the people be taught: let them hear the holy ministration in their own tongue, that they may understand the holy mysteries, and feel comfort and sweetness in the same: let them see examples of diligence in the clergy: then will they be no longer negligent. Then should M. Harding perforce give over his private mass, as seeing that the whole right of his cause hangeth only of the negligence and mis-doing of the people.

M. HARDING: *Eighth Division.*

But the enemies of this holy sacrifice say, that this is against the institution of Christ. God forbid, the institution of Christ should not be kept.

But it is a world to see, how they cry out for the institution of Christ, by whom it is most wickedly broken. For whereas in Christ's institution concerning this sacrament, three things are contained, which he himself did, and by his commandment gave authority to the church to do the same, the consecration, the oblation, and the participation; wherein consisteth the substance of the mass; they, having quite abrogated the other two, (14) and not so much as once naming them in their books of service, now have left to the people nothing but a bare communion, and that after their own sort; with what face can they so busily cry for Christ's institution, by whom in the chief points the same is violated?

The 14th untruth. The sacrifice is specially named in the communion book. And in the mass itself consecration is not named.

Of consecration and oblation although much might be said here against them, I will at this time say nothing. Concerning participation, the number of communicants together in one place that they jangle so much of as a thing so necessary, that without it the mass is to be reputed unlawful, (15) is no part of Christ's institution. For Christ ordained the sacrament after consecration and oblation done, to be received and eaten. And for that end he said, *Accipite, manducate, bibite*; "Take, eat, drink:" herein consisteth his institution.

The 15th untruth. For St. Basil thinketh the number is part of Christ's institution; *Exercitationis ad pietatem Sermone* 4.

Now as for the number of communicants, how many should receive together in one place, and in what place, what time, sitting at table (as some would have it), standing or kneeling, fasting, or after other meats; and whether they should receive it in their hands or with their mouths, and other the like orders, manners, and circumstances; all these things pertain to the ceremony of eating, the observation whereof dependeth of the church's ordinance, and not of Christ's institution. And therefore St. Augustine, writing to Januarius, saith: *Salvator... non præcepit, quo deinceps ordine sumeretur, ut apostolis, per quos dispositurus erat ecclesiam, servaret hunc locum*: "Our Saviour gave not

a The apostles used and ordained the communion of a number, and never any private receiving of the priest alone. The 16th untruth. Christ appointed a number, although no certain fixed number.

commandment in what order it should be received, meaning to reserve that matter^a unto the apostles, by whom he would direct and dispose his church.

Wherefore the receiving of the sacrament being the institution of Christ, and the manner, number, and other rites of receiving, (16) not fixed nor determined by the same, but ordered by the church's disposition; whether many or few, or but one in one place receive; for that respect, the ministration of the priest is not made unlawful.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

It liketh M. Harding to call us wicked, and the enemies of the sacrifice; and to say, we jangle of the institution of Christ, and yet ourselves break Christ's institution. I must here protest in the name of many: We are not enemies of the sacrifice and cross of Christ, but of the errors, abuses, and sacrilege of the mass, which now are maintained to the open derogation of the sacrifice and cross of Christ.

As touching Christ's institution, forget not, good Christian reader, that M. Harding confesseth, there are three things therein contained, which, as he saith, Christ himself did, and by his commandment gave authority to his church to do: the consecration, the oblation, and the participation. Here he leaveth quite out the annunciation of Christ's death, thinking perhaps, it is no matter essential of Christ's institution. Of these three, he saith, we have broken two, the consecration and oblation; and so have only a bare communion.

But whereby may it appear to M. Harding, that we have thus broken Christ's institution? Is it because we communicate together with the people? or because we minister the sacrament under both kinds? or because we shew forth the death of Christ? or because we do that Christ did, and commanded us to do?

Concerning consecration, he doth great wrong to charge us with the breach thereof, before he himself and others of his side be better resolved wherein standeth consecration. For Scotus and Innocentius Tertius, and certain others say, that this word *Benedixit*, "He blessed," worketh consecration. The common opinion is, that it is wrought by these words, "This is my body." Some think that Christ spake

1 Cor. xi. 26. Ye shall shew forth the Lord's death.

Consecration.

Tho. et Bonaven. in 4. sent. [Dist. 8. p. 2. qu. 1. art. 1.]

these words twice, first secretly to himself, and afterward openly, that the apostles might understand him. Cardinal Bessarion, bishop of Tusculum, writeth thus: "The Latin church following Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory.... thinketh that consecration standeth in these words, This is my body: but the Greek church thinketh the consecration is not wrought by these words, but by the prayer of the priest, which followeth afterward; and that according to St. James, St. Chrysostom, and St. Basil." By these it appeareth, that they themselves of that side are not yet fully agreed upon their own consecration.

Bessar. de Sacramento Eucharistiae. [p. 1.]

Howbeit, by whatsoever words consecration is made, it standeth not in the abolishing of natures, as M. Harding teacheth; nor in precise and close pronouncing of certain appointed words; but in the converting of the natural elements into a godly use; as we see in the water of baptism. For Christ said not, "Say ye this, or by these words go and transubstantiate or change natures:" but thus he said, "Do this in my remembrance." And so, "The bread that we break, is the communication of Christ's body:" and "as often as we eat of that bread, we do declare and publish the Lord's death." This is well noted and opened by St. Augustine: "Put the words of God," saith he, "unto the element, and it is made a sacrament...For what power is there so great of the water (in baptism), that it toucheth the body and washeth the heart, saving by the working of the word? not because it is spoken, but because it is believed:...and this is the word of faith, which we preach³³." "The word of faith, which we preach," saith St. Augustine, not the word which we whisper in secret, is the word of consecration.

In the tenth article.

1 Cor. x. 16.
1 Cor. xi. 26.

Aug. in Joh. Tract. 80. [iii. pt. 2. 703.]

With what honest countenance then can M. Harding say, that we have no consecration? We pronounce the same words of consecration that Christ pronounced: we do the same that Christ bade us do: we proclaim the death

³³ "Accedat verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum. . . .
" [Unde ista tanta virtus aquæ ut
" corpus tangat et cor abluat, nisi

" faciente verbo, non quia dicitur,
" sed quia creditur? . . . et hoc est
" verbum fidei quod prædicamus."]

of the Lord : we speak openly in a known tongue, and the people understandeth us : we consecrate for the congregation, and not only for ourselves : we have the element : we join God's word unto it ; and so it is made a sacrament. Yet saith M. Harding we have no consecration. And can he think, that a priest of his side doth consecrate, that whispereth his words closely, and that in a strange tongue, in such sort as no man heareth or understandeth him : that oftentimes himself knoweth not neither the words of Christ, nor the sense of the words : nor the use, nor the end of the sacrament : that exhorteth no man : that speaketh to no man : that if he do consecrate, doth consecrate only for himself, and not for others : that doth neither that Christ did, nor that Christ commanded to be done ? If we consecrate not, can he think that such a one doth consecrate ?

And whereas he saith further, that we have no manner of oblation in our communion, he should not himself speak manifest untruth, having taken upon him, as he saith, to reform falsehood. For he knoweth we offer up unto God in the holy communion ourselves, our souls, our bodies, and alms for the poor : praises and thanksgiving unto God the Father for our redemption : and prayer from a contrite heart, which, as the old catholic fathers say, is the sacrifice of the New Testament. To conclude, we offer up as much as Christ commanded us to offer. Indeed we offer not up Christ's body to be a propitiatory sacrifice for us unto his Father : for that sacrifice is once wrought for all upon the cross, and there is none other sacrifice left to be offered for sin.

But, saith M. Harding, we make no mention of any sacrifice in all our ministration : therefore we break Christ's institution. This reason impeacheth Christ himself as well as us ; for Christ himself in his whole ministration spake not one word of any sacrifice, no more than we do. Therefore by M. Harding's logic, Christ himself brake his own institution.

Hereof he concludeth, that we have nothing but a bare communion ; which conclusion is as true as the premises. God's name be blessed, we have a holy communion, to the

Tertul. contra Marcionem, lib. 4. [p. 414.]
Et adversus Judæos. [p. 188.]
Eusebius de Demonstratione, lib. 1. [p. 39.]
Heb. x. 18.

great comfort of the godly. But in M. Harding's mass there is neither communion, nor any other consolation at all; but only a number of light and bare gestures and ceremonies, far unmeet for so grave a purpose. But what should move this man thus scornfully to jest at the holy ministrations, and to call Christ's ordinance, "a bare communion"? Others call it the mystical supper: others the holy distribution. Bare or naked, no man, I trow, durst ever to call it, but M. Harding. One of his own doctors comparing consecration and communion together, saith thus: *Communio sacra major est in effectu sanctitatis, quam consecratio*: "The holy communion in effect of holiness is more than consecration." And again: *Consecratio est propter communionem. Ergo, communio majus est consecratione*: "Consecration is for communion. Therefore is communion greater than consecration³⁴."

M. Harding jesteth at the ordinance of Christ.

Alexander de Hales, 4. q. 35. mem. 2.

Ibid. solu. 2.

A little before M. Harding said, in Christ's institution three things are contained; Consecration, Oblation, Participation. Immediately after, as a man that had suddenly forgotten himself, he saith, "The number of the communicants together in one place, that they jangle so much of as a thing so necessary, is no part of Christ's institution." It is no marvel though he can so ill agree with the old catholic doctors, that falleth thus out so suddenly with himself. For if participation be not necessary, how is it a part of Christ's institution? If it be a part of Christ's institution, how is it not necessary? He would fain convey Christ's institution, and his mass, both under one colour. But they are contraries, the one of them bewrayeth the other. As for the priest, he taketh no part of the sacrament with others, which is the nature and meaning of this word "participation," but receiveth all alone. Thus it appeareth by M. Harding's own confession, that private mass having no participation of the priest with others, and therefore no participation at all, is no part of Christ's institution.

M. Harding hath forgotten himself.

I grant, certain circumstances, as fasting, sitting, stand-

³⁴ [The reference in the margin to Alexander de Hales is evidently wrong, but the editor has failed in his endeavours to correct it.]

ing, kneeling and other like ceremonies about the holy ministrations, are left to the discretion of the church. But this is a very simple argument: "Certain circumstances may be altered; *ergo*, the priest may receive alone." Christ himself hath already determined the case. For albeit he have appointed no certain number of communicants, yet hath he by special words appointed a number; for these very words, "Take ye: Eat ye: Drink ye all: Divide ye among yourselves: Do ye this in my remembrance: Ye shall set forth the Lord's death;" these very words, I say, cannot be taken of one singular man, but necessarily import a number.

Matt. xxvi.
26, 27: Luke
xxii. 17, 19:
1 Cor. xi. 26.

Aug. epist.
118. ad Janu-
arium.
[il. 127.]

Yet saith M. Harding, St. Augustine's words be plain: *Salvator...non præcepit, quo deinceps ordine sumeretur: ut apostolis, per quos dispositurus erat ecclesiam, servaret hunc locum*: "Christ gave no commandment, in what order it should be received: to the intent he might leave that matter to his apostles, by whom he would dispose his church." Therefore saith M. Harding, "The number of communicants is at liberty, and the priest may receive alone."

St. Augustine in that place speaketh not one word of any number, but only of the time of receiving, whether it might seem convenient to minister the communion after supper, as Christ did to his disciples, and some used then to do, as appeareth by the words that follow: *Nam si hoc ille monuisset, ut post cibos alios semper acciperetur, credo quod eum morem nemo variasset*: "For if Christ had commanded that the sacrament should ever be received after other meats, I believe no man would have changed that order." It is wrong dealing to bring one thing for another: to allege number instead of time: and of St. Augustine's words to conclude that St. Augustine never meant. For that St. Augustine requireth a number of communicants, it appeareth by that immediately in the same place, he allegeth the words of St. Paul: *Quapropter fratres, cum convenitis ad manducandum, invicem expectate*: "Wherefore brethren, when ye meet together to eat (the communion), wait one for another." Which words M. Harding thought best cunningly to dissemble. In other places St.

Aug. in ead-
em epist. ad
Januarium,
118.

1 Cor. xi. 33.
Invicem ex-
pect.

Augustine^a, like as also St. Hierom^b and others, witnesseth that the whole people daily received together, and generally intreating of the holy communion, he speaketh evermore of a number, and never of one alone.

Now whereas M. Harding saith, "Christ left such matters to the determination of the church," and to that purpose seemeth to allege, as others do, these words of St. Paul^c: *Cætera cum venero disponam*: "Touching the rest, I will take order when I come;" this kind of doctrine unto the old fathers seemed very dangerous: for St. Augustine saith: *Omnes insipientissimi hæretici, qui se Christianos vocari volunt, audacias figmentorum suorum.....hac occasione evangelicæ sententiæ colorare conantur, ubi Dominus ait, Adhuc multa habeo vobis dicere, sed ea non potestis portare modo*: "The most peevish heretics that be, that would fain be called Christians, do colour the bold enterprises of their phantasies, by occasion of this saying of the gospel, whereas the Lord saith, Yet have I many things to say unto you, but ye are not able now to bear them."

But if the church have determined this matter for private mass, as M. Harding saith: in what council, at what time within six hundred years after Christ, and in what place was it determined? who was witness of the doing? who was president? who was present? This is it that the reader would fain learn. And M. Harding thinketh it best to prove it by silence. Howbeit it is already confessed, that private mass came in, not by Christ, or by any of his apostles, or by the authority of the church, but only by the undevotion and negligence of the people.

It is wonderful to see how handsome constructions these men make of these words of St. Paul: "Touching the rest I will take order when I come." For upon these words they build their private mass, even in such form as it is now used in. As if St. Paul should say thus: "At my coming I will take order, that ye shall have mass in a strange tongue: that ye shall receive alone: that ye shall not look and wait one for another, notwithstanding any my former commandment: that ye shall not need to meet together: that one shall receive for all the rest: and so at

^a Aug. de Serm. Dom. in monte l. 2. [iii. pt. 2. 210.]
In Johan. Tract. 26. [iii. pt. 2. 500.]

^b Hieron. ad Lucinum. [iv. pt. 2. 579.] Idem in Apolog. adversus Jo. vinian. [iv. pt. 2. 239.]
^c 1 Cor. xi. 34.

Aug. in Johan. Tract. 97. [iii. 738.]

my coming I will undo, whatsoever hitherto I have ordained."

M. Harding's
argument.

I may not now dissemble the value of M. Harding's argument: "Christ," saith he, "ordained the sacrament, after consecration and oblation done, to be received and eaten; ergo, the number of communicants together is no part of Christ's institution."

What, thought M. Harding that none but children and fools should read his book? For how loosely hang these parts together! The sacrament must be received after consecration; ergo, the number of communicants is not necessary. There is not one piece hereof that either is true in itself, or agreeth with other.

Matt. xxvi.
26.
Luke xxii. 19.
1 Cor. xi. 24.

For touching consecration, if he will precisely follow the words of the evangelists, which wrote the story, "Christ first took the bread, and blessed it: and brake it: and gave it, and said, Take ye: eat ye:" and afterward, this being said and done³⁴, he added the words of consecration, "This is my body." Thus the evangelists witness, contrary to M. Harding, that the receiving was first, and the consecration afterward.

M. Harding
concludeth
against him-
self.

Concerning the force of M. Harding's argument, it concludeth directly against himself. For if Christ instituted the sacrament to the intent it should be first consecrate, and then received of a company, it must needs follow, that receiving with company is part of Christ's institution: as it is also avouched by cardinal Bessarion, the bishop of Tusculum. His words be these: *Hoc ipse ordo rerum poscebat: primo consecrare, deinde frangere, postea distribuere: quod nos in præsentia facimus*: "This the very natural course of things required: first to consecrate, then to break, and after to distribute: which thing we also do at this day³⁵." And Gabriel Biel: *Consecratio ad usum, qui est manducatio, tanquam ad finem quodammodo proxi-*

Bessar. de
Sacrament.
Eucharistie.
[p. 187.]

Biel. lect. 36.
[Vol. 83. F.]

³⁴ [Jewel's reasoning upon this point appears as questionable as it is unnecessary to his argument; the most obvious meaning of the texts referred to is surely that the words "This is my body," were

said simultaneously with the act of giving and receiving.]

³⁵ [Bessarion's treatise on the Eucharist will be found at the end of Cl. de Saintes' edition of the Liturgies.]

mum ordinatur : quia Christus accepit panem, benedixit, et dedit discipulis, ut manducarent : “Consecration is ordained for a use, which is the eating, as it were for an end. For Christ, after he had taken the bread, blessed it, and gave it to his disciples to eat.”

And again : *Consecratio non est semper [l. simpliciter] finis consecrationis, sed potius usus fidelium. Ad hoc enim consecratur corpus et sanguis Christi, ut fideles illis utantur manducando :* “Consecration is not the end of consecration, but rather the use of the faithful. For to that end is the body and blood of Christ consecrate, that the faithful may use them in eating.” Thus M. Harding frameth arguments against himself.

Biel. lect. 38.
[Fol. 90. H.]

M. HARDING : *Ninth Division.*

But if they allege against us the example of Christ, saying that he received not it alone, but did communicate with his twelve apostles, and that we ought to follow the same : I answer, that we are bound to follow this example, *quoad substantiam, non quoad externam ceremoniam ;* “for the substance, not for the outward ceremony,” to the which pertaineth the number and other rites, as is aforesaid. Christ’s example importeth necessity of receiving only : (17) the other rites, as number, place, time, &c. be of congruence and order. (18) In which things the church hath taken order, willing and charging that all shall communicate that be worthy and disposed. And so it were to be wished as oftentimes as the priest doth celebrate this high sacrifice, that there were some, who, worthily disposed, might receive their rites with him, and be partakers sacramentally of the body and blood of Christ with him. But in case such do lack, as we have seen that lack commonly in our time, yet therefore the continual and daily sacrifice ought not to be intermitted. For sith this is done in the remembrance of Christ’s oblation once made on the cross for the redemption of all mankind, therefore it ought daily to be celebrated throughout the whole church of Christ, for the better keeping of that great benefit in remembrance : and that, though none receive with the priest. And it is sufficient in that case, if they that be present be partakers of those holy mysteries spiritually, and communicate with him in prayer and thanksgiving, in faith and devotion, having their mind and will to communicate with him also sacramentally when time shall serve.

M. Harding refuseth Christ’s example.

The 17th untruth. For number is not only of congruence, but also of institution.
The 18th untruth. The church of Rome hath taken no such order.

A weak reason. This is only M. Hard. gloss.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here is great pain taken, to prove that Christian men in the ministration of Christ’s supper are not bound to follow the example of Christ ; all learning also shewed to beguile

Hilar. ad
Constant.
August. [p.
1227.]

the simple with a vain distinction of *substantia* and *accidens*. St. Hilary, writing of the lewd dealing of the Arians, used in racking of the scriptures, saith thus of them; *Aut ita scribuntur fides, ut volunt: aut ita ut volunt, intelliguntur*: "Their faiths must either be so written as they will; or else they must be construed and taken as they will³⁶."

The question that lieth between us standeth not in this point, Whether we ought to do every thing that Christ did; but, Whether we ought to do that thing that Christ both did himself, and also commanded us to do, and was afterward practised by the apostles and holy fathers, that had the spirit of understanding and knew Christ's meaning, and was never broken until the negligence and undevotion of the people, as M. Harding confesseth, brought in the contrary.

Matt. xxvi.
26.
Luke xxii. 19.

Christ said not, Do this in Jerusalem, or in this parlour, or after supper, or at this table, or being so many together, or standing, or sitting; but he said thus, "Do ye this:" that is, Take ye bread: bless it: break it: give it "in my remembrance." This is not a ceremonial accident; but the very end, purpose, and substance of Christ's institution. And therefore St. Paul saith; "The bread that we break is the participation of the Lord's body: and all we are one bread and one body, as many as are partakers of one bread."

1 Cor. x. 16,
17.

Yet saith M. Harding, "We are bound to follow Christ's example in things that be of the substance of the sacrament, not in things that be of order and congruence." Here unawares he seemeth to confess that his mass, whatsoever substance it bear, yet is void both of good order and also of congruence. But what wicked wilfulness may this

³⁶ [... "Periculosum nobis admodum atque etiam miserabile est, tot nunc fides existere quot voluntates, et tot nobis doctrinas esse quot mores, et tot causas blasphemiarum pullulare quot vitia sunt, dum aut fides ita scribuntur ut volumus, aut ita ut nolumus intelliguntur," (ita MSS. edd. vero, ut volumus). St.

Hilary alludes, it is true, to the Arian and rationalistic spirit of his age; but he is writing of the multiplication and variation of *creeds*, rather than *directly* of "the racking of the scriptures." In the next paragraph, for instance, he speaks of the alternate reception and non-reception of the Nicene word *ὁμοούσιος*.]

be? To minister the sacraments of Christ, as Christ himself did, and commanded to be done, is called an accident ceremonial, that may well be changed. But for the priest to speak in a strange unknown tongue; to turn his face from the people; to minister unto himself alone; and to use an infinite sort of childish ceremonies, which neither Christ nor his apostles ever either used or thought of; all these are holden for things substantial, and of importance, and be defended as necessary, and may not be changed. Such power have these men to change accident into substance, and substance into accident, when they list.

“The church,” saith M. Harding, “hath charged and ordered, that no man that is worthy and disposed, shall be refused.” O miserable is that church, whereas no man, no not so much as one, is well disposed! Here in few words he condemneth the whole church of Rome, even the whole college of cardinals; amongst whom, as he saith, there is not one well disposed and worthy; and therefore they all withdraw themselves from the communion. But Chrysostom saith: “If thou be not worthy to receive the communion, then art thou not worthy to be present at the prayers³⁷.” Therefore M. Harding should drive his unworthy people from the church, and not suffer them to hear his mass.

Chrysostom.
ad Popul.
Antiochen.
Homil. 61.
[xi. 23.]

They imagine that any man, be he never so great a sinner, may pray to God, and have free access to the throne of Majesty: only they think a sinner may not receive the holy communion. But it is written: “Let him depart from his wickedness, whosoever calleth upon the name of the Lord.” Whosoever is a member of Christ, and may boldly call God his Father, may also be bold to receive the communion.

Heb. iv. 16.
2 Tim. ii. 19.

If M. Harding wish indeed that the people would prepare themselves, and communicate with the priest, as he

³⁷ [See note ²⁹ at p. 188. The real reference should here also be to Homil. 3. in Epist. ad Ephes. (from which the spurious 61st

Homily borrowed the words). . οὐκ εἶ τῆς θυσίας ἅγιος, οὐδὲ τῆς μεταλήψεως; οὐκ οὖν οὐδὲ τῆς εὐχῆς.]

pretendeth, why doth he not exhort and move the people? why doth he not provide for them? why doth he rather defend his sole receiving contrary to his own wishing, and contrary to the example of Christ, as he himself confesseth? Doubtless there are many godly men among the people, and oftentimes more virtuously disposed a great deal than the priest. Neither is it of their unworthiness, that they abstain so often; nor of their worthiness, that they receive once in the year; but only of custom.

“But if the people be slack, yet must the priest do the daily service,” saith M. Harding; that is, he must offer up Christ unto his Father for the sins of the world. Herein appeareth the wanton folly of this people. That they may do, and are commanded to do, they will not do: but that they cannot do, that they will needs do. The matter being so weighty, and not yet thoroughly believed, it had been good for M. Harding to have made proof thereof by the authority of St. Augustine, St. Hierom, or some other old catholic doctor, within the compass of six hundred years; but he bringeth forth only an article or decree of his own making. “Sith this is done,” saith he, “in the remembrance of Christ’s oblation once made on the cross for the redemption of mankind, therefore it ought daily to be celebrated throughout the whole church.”

Daily sacrifice.
Daily bread.

Lest any error grow hereof, it is to be noted, that these words, “daily sacrifice,” and “daily bread,” are sometimes used in the holy fathers, and both applied unto the body of Christ: but far otherwise, and to other purpose, than M. Harding meaneth, as it shall soon appear. The old fathers call that the daily sacrifice that Christ made once for all upon the cross: for that, as Christ is a priest for ever, so doth the same his sacrifice last for ever: not that it is daily and really renewed by any mortal creature, but that the power and virtue thereof is infinite in itself, and shall never be consumed. So saith St. Augustine: *Tibi hodie Christus est, tibi quotidie resurgit*³⁸: “To thee this day is Christ: and to thee daily he riseth again.” So likewise

De Verb.
Dom. in E-
van. secun-
dum Lucam.
Serm. 28.
[v. App. 153.]

³⁸ [The Benedict. have shewn prayer is not St. Augustine’s, but that this sermon on the Lord’s a mere transcript of Ambros. lib. 5.]

saith St. Hierom: *Quotidie nobis Agnus occiditur, et pascha quotidie celebratur*³⁹: "Unto us every day the Lamb is slain: to us every day the Easter feast is kept." And in like sort writeth Germanus, a later writer: *Panis quotidianus est Christus, qui est, et ante fuit, et manet in sæcula*⁴⁰: "Our daily bread is Christ, which is now, and was before, and endureth for ever." Thus in Christ's behalf is that most precious sacrifice everlasting.

Likewise the same one sacrifice is everlasting, not only in itself, for that the virtue thereof is daily effectual in us, and endureth for ever, but also of our behalf, in that we do daily offer up unto God our sacrifices of praises and thanksgiving for that so merciful and wonderful work of our redemption. And this kind of daily sacrifice, beside a great number of other old doctors, the godly father Irenæus hath taught us to make. His words be these: *...Sic et nos quotidie offerre vult munus ad altare frequenter sine intermissione. Est ergo altare in cælis. Illuc enim preces et oblationes nostræ dirigitur*⁴¹: "Even so hath God willed us daily to offer up our sacrifice at the altar without ceasing. Therefore our altar is in heaven: for thither our prayers and oblations are directed." Thus is that sacrifice once offered upon the cross rightly called our daily sacrifice, in like phrase of speech, as is this of Tertullian: *Nos sabbatum non septeno quoque die celebramus, sed omni die*⁴²: "We keep the sabbath, not every seventh day, but every day." But M. Harding's phantasy, that is, that the minis-

Hieron. in 1. ad Corinth. cap. 5. [v. 983.]

Germanus in Eccles. re- rum Theoria. [p. 175. Gr. ed.]

Irenæus lib. 4. cap. 34. [251, 252.]

Tertull. ad- versus Ju- deos. [p. 186.]

c. 4. de Sacramentis, and that, it will be remembered, is spurious. See note ³⁰ at p. 188.]

³⁹ [These commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles ad. Heliodor., were not written by St. Jerome, but by some Pelagian. See the Bened. and Cave.]

⁴⁰ [The Theoria of Germanus is annexed, in Greek and Latin, to Cl. de Sainctes' edition of the Liturgies.]

⁴¹ [Both the Benedict. and the Froben. Erasmusian (probably the edition used by Jewel) edd. of Ire-

næus read as follows: *...sic et ideo nos quoque offerre vult,*" &c. Where did Jewel find the reading *quotidie*? Possibly in some MS., for there is evidence of his quoting occasionally from MSS. instead of printed books.]

⁴² [The passage intended seems to be this: "Unde nos intelligimus magis sabbatizare nos ab omni opere servili semper debere, et non tantum septimo quoque die, sed per omne tempus." Tertullian, p. 186.]

Articul. 2.
divis. 23. fol.
44. b.

a Sexta Syn.
(Const.) c. 52.
[Quin-Sext.
Mans. xi.
968.]

b Concil. Lao-
dic. can. 49.
[li. 572.]

c Ambro. in
1. ad Timoth.
cap. 3. [ii.
App. 295.]
Nonquotidie.

tration of the sacraments is the daily sacrifice, includeth a manifest untruth. For afterward he granteth himself, that upon Good Friday there is no such oblation made, and that (as he saith) by the order of the apostles. And again he knoweth, that the Grecians in the Lent time never used to consecrate, but only upon Saturdays and Sundays, as it appeareth by the sixth council (holden at Constantinople^a), and by the council of Laodicea^b. And of the use of the Latin church therein in his time, St. Ambrose^c writeth thus⁴³: *Omni hebdomada offerendum est, etiamsi non quotidie peregrinis, incolis tamen vel bis in hebdomada*: "Every week we must celebrate the oblation, although not every day unto strangers, yet for the inhabitants, yea sometimes twice in the week." I trow M. Harding will not say, that the thing that is one day left undone, or that is only done upon the Saturdays and Sundays, or, as St. Ambrose saith, twice in the week, is notwithstanding done every day.

Yet it is well to be thought, that both St. Ambrose, and other learned bishops in the Latin church, and the fathers in the council of Constantinople and Laodicea for the Greek church, understood what was the daily sacrifice.

Verily that sacrifice, that Christ once made upon his cross, endureth for Good Friday, and all days in the Lent, and every day in the year, and for ever: and therefore is justly called our daily sacrifice.

M. HARDING'S REASONS.

"Christ's death must be kept in remembrance; *ergo*, the priest is bound to say daily mass, yea although there be no man to receive with him." Alas, how holdeth this poor argument? or how may we make it good? Is there none other mean to remember Christ's death, but only by saying private mass? or is not every one of the people bound to remember the same, as deeply, and as often as the priest? It is a very simple sequel, only upon remembrance of Christ's death to found the mass. Doubtless the mass, as it is now used, utterly drowneth and defaceth all manner remembrance of the death of Christ.

⁴³ [These commentaries are spurious. See the note at p. 159.]

But to put a little more weight to this silly reason, whereas M. Harding saith, "The priest ought daily to sacrifice, yea although there be no man to receive with him;" I will say further in his behalf: If this sacrifice be so necessary, as it is supposed, then is the priest bound to sacrifice every day, yea although he himself receive not. For the sacrifice and the receiving are sundry things, as it is also noted in a late council holden at Toledo in Spain: *De Con. dist. 2. Relatum est.* *Quidam sacerdotes uno die plurima offerunt sacrificia, . . . et in omnibus se oblationibus a communione suspendunt*⁴⁴: "Certain priests there be, that every day offer many sacrifices, . . . and yet in every sacrifice withhold themselves from the communion." Thus hath M. Harding found his daily sacrifice, and lost his private mass.

ANOTHER REASON.

"The receiving with company is no substantial part of Christ's institution; *ergo*, we are not bound therein to follow Christ's example." First, this antecedent is false, as it is already proved. And if it were no part of the substance of Christ's institution, yet are we nevertheless bound to his example, because he hath commanded us so to do.

If Christ's example have no more weight of our side, let us turn the same to M. Harding's side, and see how handsomely it will conclude: "Christ ministered the communion to his disciples all together; *ergo*, the priest may receive alone."

Consider, good reader, what credit these men deserve to have, that are thus fain to shun and fly the example of Christ. St. Paul, to rectify the Corinthians, thought no way better, than to call them back to Christ's example. For thus he saith: "That I received of the Lord, the same have I delivered unto you." Likewise saith St. Hierom⁴⁵: *Hieron. in 1 Cor. xi.* *Dominica cæna omnibus debet esse communis: quia ille omnibus discipulis suis qui aderant, æqualiter tradidit sacramenta*: "The Lord's supper must be common to all." And

⁴⁴ [This is from the 5th canon of the 12th council of Toledo (A. D. 681.); Mansi xi. 1033.] ⁴⁵ [See p. 160, note. This work is not St. Jerome's.]

that he proveth by Christ's example, "Because Christ gave the sacraments equally to all his disciples that were present."

But whose example followeth M. Harding, when he saith his private mass? When did either Christ, or any of his disciples, or any one of the old catholic doctors, minister in that sort? If he follow none of these, let him not blame others, if they refuse to follow him.

M. HARDING: *Tenth Division.*

M. Jewel, and many other of that side, think to have an argument against private mass of the word *communio*, as though the sacrament were called a communion in consideration of many receivers together. And therefore in his sermon oftentimes he maketh an opposition between private mass, and the communion, and alleging divers places where mention is of a communion, inferreth of each of them an argument against private mass. But this argument is weak, and utterly unlearned, as that which proceedeth of ignorance. (19) For it is not so called because many, or, as M. Jewel teacheth, the whole congregation communicateth together in one place; but because of the effect of the sacrament, for that by the same we are joined to God, and many, that be divers, be united together, and made one mystical body of Christ, which is the church, of which body, by virtue and effect of this holy sacrament, all the faithful be members one of another, and Christ is the head. Thus divers ancient doctors do expound it: and specially Dionysius Areopagita⁴⁵, where speaking of this sacrament, he saith: *Dignissimum hoc sacramentum, sua praestantia reliquis sacramentis longe antecellit, atque ea causa illud merito singulariter communio appellatur. Nam quamvis unumquodque sacramentum id agat, ut nostras vitas in plura divisas in unicum illum statum, quo Deo jungitur, colligat, attamen huic sacramento communionis vocabulum praecipue ac peculiariter congruit*: "This most worthy sacrament is of such excellency, that it passeth all other sacraments; and for that cause it is alonely called the communion. For albeit every sacrament be such as gathereth our lives, that be divided asunder many ways, into that one state, whereby we are joined to God, yet the name of communion is fit and convenient for this sacrament specially and peculiarly, more than for any other." By which words, and by the whole place of that holy father, we understand that this sacrament is specially called the communion, for the special effect it worketh in us, which is to join us nearly to God, so as we be in him, and he in us; and all we that believe in him, one body in Christ. And for this indeed we do not communicate alone.

The 19th untruth. For of communicating together, it was called *communio*.

Eccles. Hierarc. cap. 3. [p. 130.]

⁴⁵ [Dionysius Pseudo-Areopagita. See p. 174, note 13.]

For inasmuch as the whole church of God is but one house, as St. Cyprian saith⁴⁶, *Una est domus ecclesiae, in qua Agnus editur*; "There is one house of the church, wherein the Lamb is eaten:" and St. Paul saith to Timothy, that this house of God is the church of the living God: whosoever doth eat this Lamb worthily, doth communicate with all Christian men, of all places and countries, that be in this house, and do the like. And therefore St. Hierom, a priest, shewing himself loath to contend in writing with St. Augustine, a bishop, calleth him a bishop of his communion. His words be these: *Non enim convenit, ut ab adolescentia usque ad hanc aetatem in monasteriolo cum sanctis fratribus labore desudans, aliquid contra episcopum communionis meae scribere audeam, et eum episcopum, quem ante ceppi amare, quam nosse*: "It is not meet," saith he, "that I, occupied in labour from my youth until this age, in a poor monastery with holy brethren, should be so bold, as to write any thing against a bishop of my communion, yea and that bishop, whom I began to love ere that I knew him." Thus we see, that St. Hierom and St. Augustine were of one (20) communion, and did communicate together, though they were far asunder: the one at Bethlehem in Palestine, the other at Hippo in Africa. Thus there may be a communion, though the communicants be not together in one place.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Whereas of the nature of this word *communio*, which is most commonly used in all the old fathers, I took occasion to say that the priest ought to communicate with the people, for that otherwise it cannot justly be called a communion, M. Harding maketh answer, as a man well brooking his own learning, "That this reason is weak and unlearned, as proceeding altogether of ignorance." Here to leave all contention of learning, and only to have regard unto the truth, if the very nature of this word, *communio*, import not a thing to be common, as it is supposed, much less may it, as I judge, import a thing to be private.

It is named *communio*, saith M. Harding, of the effect that it worketh in us, because by the same we are joined unto God, not because many communicate together in one place. And for proof hereof, he allegeth the authority of Dionysius: wherein he doth great wrong to that good old

The 20th untruth, rising of the ambiguity or doubtful taking of this word, *communio*.

⁴⁶ [The treatises *De Cæna Domini*, &c. (falsely ascribed to St. Cyprian) are now known to have been written by Arnoldus Carnotensis (fl. A. D. 1162). See Cave, Fell, and the Bened. ed.]

De Cæna Dom. [App. p. cxv.]
1 Tim. III.

Inter Epistolas Augustini, epist. 14.
[ii. 163.]

[Hieronym. opp. iv. part. 2. 612.]

father, alleging his authority for the mass, that never spake word of the mass.

It is granted of all, without contradiction, that one end of all sacraments is to join us unto God, as Dionysius saith here of the holy communion, and Paul likewise of the sacrament of baptism: "Ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus: for as many of you as are baptized in Christ, have put on Christ." And Chrysostom saith, "That by baptism we are made bone of Christ's bones, and flesh of Christ's flesh⁴⁷."

Gal. iii. 26,
27.

Chrysostom.
in Epist. ad
Ephes. Ho-
mil. 20. [xi.
147.]

Another end is to join us all together. And so likewise writeth St. Paul of baptism: *Nos omnes in unum corpus baptizati sumus*: "All we are baptized into one body."

1 Cor. xii. 13.

ContraFaust.
Manich. lib.
19. cap. 11.
[viii. 319.]

And therefore saith St. Augustine: *In nullum nomen religionis, seu verum, seu falsum, coagulari homines possunt, nisi aliquo signaculorum, vel sacramentorum visibilium, consortio colligentur*: "Men cannot be brought into any name of religion, be it true or false, unless they be joined together with the band of visible signs or sacraments."

And notwithstanding Dionysius speaketh plainly of both these ends, yet it pleaseth M. Harding in his allegation only to name the one, and to conceal the other, and by the affirmation of the one, untruly to conclude the denial of the other. And as touching the latter of these two ends, the same Dionysius, in the same chapter that M. Harding here allegeth, writeth thus: *Sancta illa unius et ejusdem panis et poculi communis et pacifica distributio, unitatem illis divinam, tanquam una enutritis, præscribit*: "That holy, common, and peaceable distribution of one bread, and one cup, preacheth unto them a heavenly unity, as being men fed together⁴⁸." And Pachymeres, the Greek paraphrast, expounding the same place, hath these words:

Dionys. Ec-
cles. Hierar.
c. 3. [i. 135.]
ὁμοτροπίαν,
αὐτοῖς ἔν-
θειον ὡς ὁ-
μοτρόφοις
νομοθεεῖ.

Pachymeres
Paraphras-
tes. [ii. 137.]

Τὸ γὰρ ὁμοδαίτον καὶ ὁμότροπον ἔτι εἰς μνήμην ἄγει τοῦ κυριακοῦ δεῖπνον: "For that common diet and consent further

⁴⁷ [. . . πῶς οὖν ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐ-
τοῦ ἔσμεν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων αὐτοῦ;
. . . ὅπερ δηλοῦν βούλεται τοῦτό
ἔστιν, ὅτι. . . ἡμεῖς γεννώμεθα ἐν τῷ
λουτρῷ. Chrysostom.]

⁴⁸ [ἡ δὲ θειοτάτῃ τοῦ ἐνὸς καὶ
ταύτου καὶ ἄρτου καὶ ποτηρίου κοινῇ
καὶ εἰρηναία μετὰδοσις ὁμοτροπίαν
αὐτοῖς ἔνθειον ὡς ὁμοτρόφοις νομο-
θεεῖ. . . Dionys. Pseudo-Areop.]

bringeth us into the remembrance of the Lord's supper." Whatsoever M. Harding have said, I reckon it will hereby appear unto the indifferent reader, that these words do sufficiently declare both the common receiving of the sacrament, and also the knitting and joining of many together.

Now let us examine this reason: The communion hath his name of the effect, for that it joineth us unto God: *ergo*, saith M. Harding, it signifieth not the communicating of many together. Surely this argument is very weak: I will not say, It is unlearned, or proceedeth of ignorance. He should need a new logic, that would assay to make it good.

Nay, it may much better be replied: What effect can this sacrament have, or whom can it join to God, but only such as do receive it? Or, What effect can the sacrament of baptism work, but only in them that receive baptism? Without all question, the effect, that Dionysius meant, standeth not in this, that one man saith a private mass, and receiveth the sacrament alone: but in this, that the people prayeth, and receiveth the holy communion together, and thereby doth openly testify, that they be all one in Christ Jesus, and all one amongst themselves. And therefore Chrysostom saith⁴⁹: *Propterea in mysteriis alter alterum amplectimur, ut unum multi fiamus*: "For that cause in the time of the mysteries we embrace one another, that being many, we may become one."

Chrysostom.
ad Popul.
Antioch. Ho-
mil. 61. [leg.
51.]

Howbeit, in plain speech, it is not the receiving of the sacrament that worketh our joining with God⁵⁰. For whosoever is not joined to God before he receive the sacraments, he eateth and drinketh his own judgment. The sacraments be seals and witnesses, and not properly the causes of this conjunction. Otherwise our children that depart this life before they receive the communion, and all the godly fathers of the old testament, should have no conjunction with God. Wherefore St. Augustine saith:

Rom. iv. 11.

Aug. in Serm.
ad Infantes.
Beda 1 Cor. x.
[Beda. Opp.
vi. 480.]

⁴⁹ [See p. 188, note 29.]

⁵⁰ [The next sentence shews that Jewel meant to assert, that "the receiving of the sacrament does not *originate* our joining with God." He could not have in-

tended to deny, that the holy eucharist is a *means* of continuing and increasing that union. See his meaning more fully developed, infra p. 225.]

“No man may anywise doubt, but every faithful creature is then made partaker of Christ’s body and blood, when in baptism he is made the member of Christ: and that he is not put off from the fellowship of that bread and that cup, although, before either he eat that bread, or drink of that cup, he depart this world, being in the unity of Christ’s body. For he is not deprived from the partaking and benefit of the sacrament, so long as he findeth in himself that thing that the sacrament signifieth⁵⁰.” Likewise St. Cyprian: *Nos ipsi corpus Christi effecti, et sacramento, et re sacramenti, capiti nostro conjungimur et unimur*: “We ourselves being made the body of Christ, both by the mean of the sacrament, and also by the thing itself of the sacrament, or represented by the sacrament, are joined and united unto our head.”

[Pseudo-]
Cypr. de Coe-
na Domini.
[App. cxviii.]

[Pseudo-]
Cypr. de Coe-
na Domini.
[app. cxv.]
Inter Episto-
las Aug. E-
pist. 14. [li.
163.]

But St. Cyprian saith: “The whole church is but one house, in which the Lamb is eaten.” And St. Hierom, notwithstanding he dwelt in Bethlehem, so many miles off from St. Augustine, being then at Hippo in Africa, yet he calleth him a bishop of his communion: *ergo*, saith M. Harding, “the priest that saith mass alone in Rome, communicateth together with another priest that saith mass alone in India.” Here St. Cyprian and St. Hierom are violently drawn in, and forced to witness the thing that they never knew: and so M. Harding, as his manner is, concludeth a falsehood.

The holy communion was so often and so generally frequented amongst all Christians in the primitive church in all their assemblies and congregations, that at length the very company and fellowship of them was called *communio*, taking name of that action that was most solemnly used among them at their meetings. And therefore to give somewhat more credit to M. Harding’s words, St. Augustine saith: *Mulier illa est communionis nostræ*: “That woman is of our communion.” Likewise again: *Donatus non nisi in sua communione baptismum esse credit*: “Do-

Aug. in Epist.
ad Euseblum.
2. [li. 67.]
Aug. Retract.
lib. 1. cap. 21.
[i. 32.]

⁵⁰ [The sermon, of which this fragment was quoted by Bede, appears to be no longer extant; at

least the editor has not succeeded in finding it entire amongst St. Augustine’s published works.]

natus thinketh there is no baptism, but only in his communion⁵¹." And St. Hierom, writing unto Damasus bishop of Rome, hath these words: *Ego nullum primum, nisi Christum sequens, beatitudini tuæ, id est, cathedræ Petri, communionem consocior*: "I following no chief, but only Christ, am joined by communion to thy holiness, that is to say, to Peter's chair." In these places, this word *communio* signifieth not the ministration of sacraments, but a side, a part, or a fellowship, or consent in articles of religion. And in this sense St. Hierom called St. Augustine a bishop of his communion; that is, of his faith, of his mind, of his doctrine, of his religion.

Here may be noted by the way, that St. Hierom saith not, St. Augustine is a bishop of my mass, but of my communion. For M. Harding knoweth, that neither of them both ever said private mass, and therefore could not communicate the one with the other in saying mass.

But for clearer answer to the words of St. Hierom, the communion or fellowship of the church standeth in sundry respects. For we communicate together, either in consent of mind, as it is written of the apostles, "They had all one heart, and one mind;" or in knowledge of God, as Christ prayeth for his apostles unto his Father, "That they may be one, as thou and I be one;" and St. Paul to the Philippians, "I thank my God alway,...that ye are come to the communion of the gospel;" or in one Christ, as Paul saith, "There is now no bondman: there is now no freeman: but all are one in Christ Jesus." To be short, we communicate in spirit, in prayers, in love: we are all washed with one blood: we are all fed with one body: we have all one hope of our vocation: and all together with one heart and one voice, be we never so far asunder, do glorify God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

And this is that only house wherein the Lamb is eaten, grounded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets. In this house we dwell, M. Harding: here we walk together with consent: here we eat that Lamb of God, being

⁵¹ ["...In qua epistola ille (sc. "ejus communionem baptismam Christi Donatista) agit, ut non nisi in "sti esse credatur."]

all brothers, and members of one body, and all one in Christ Jesus. God restore you once again into the same house, that you may open the eyes of your heart, and see from whence you are fallen.

Apocalyp. ii.
5.

Where you say, two divers priests saying mass may communicate together, notwithstanding they be in sundry countries; it may soon be granted. For they communicate together in wickedness, in breaking of God's commandment, and in deceiving of the people: even in like sort as the wicked children communicate in wickedness with their wicked fathers: as Christ seemeth to say to the Pharisees: "At your hands shall be sought for all the just blood that hath been spilt, from the blood of Abel the just, unto the blood of Zacharie. Fill ye up the measure of your fathers."

Matt. xxiii.
35.
Luke xi. 50.

Now these things noted, we may the better take the view of M. Harding's arguments.

1. "The whole church," saith he, "through the world is but one house: *ergo*, the priest may say private mass."

2. "The faithful, that be far asunder, do communicate together in consent of mind: *ergo*, they do communicate in receiving the sacraments."

3. "St. Augustine and St. Hierom did communicate in faith and doctrine: *ergo*, they did communicate together in saying mass."

If St. Paul might have had some conference with M. Harding, and have found out these reasons, he would never have found such fault with the Corinthians, neither would he have written thus unto them: *Invicem expectate*: "Wait ye all, one for another." Which words even Hugo Cardinalis expoundeth thus: *Ut una sit mensa: non habeat quilibet mensam suam*: "Let there be one table for all: and let not every man have his sundry table."

Hugo Car-
dinalis.

But who can better expound St. Hierom's words than St. Hierom himself? Thus he writeth unto Theophilus against John, bishop of Jerusalem: *Quod scribit, nos tecum pergere Romam, et ecclesie communicare ei, a qua videmur communione separati, non necesse est ire tam longe: et hic in Palæstina eodem modo ei jungimur. Et ne hoc quod*

Hieron. ad-
versus Jo-
han. Hiero-
solymitan.
[iv. part. 2.
339.]

procul sit: in viculo Bethlehem presbyteris ejus, quantum in nobis est, communione sociamur: “Whereas he writeth that I am going with thee to Rome, to communicate with the church there, from which we be divided by communion, it is nothing needful to go so far. For being here in Palestine, we are joined to the same church in like manner. And let him not make matter, that it is so far off; for being here in the little town of Bethlehem, as much as in us lieth, we join in communion with the priests of Rome.” He saith, “as much as in us lieth,” whereby he excepteth only the use of the sacraments together. For otherwise they had communicated thoroughly in all things, and these words, “as much as in us lieth,” should not have needed. As much as in us lieth.

The error of these M. Harding’s reasons is called *fallacia æquivocationis*, that is, a falsehood in reasoning, rising by the crafty handling of one word that hath two or more significations, whereby one thing is laid forth in show, and another is concluded. This word *communio*, being one, importeth two things, consent in religion, and the ministration of the holy mysteries: the one is spiritual, the other corporal; the one requireth circumstance of place, the other requireth no place. Therefore to say, St. Hierom and St. Augustine, being so far asunder, did communicate in religion, *ergo*, they did communicate in breaking and receiving the sacrament, hath no more order in sequel, than if M. Harding would reason thus; St. Hierom and St. Augustine did communicate in spirit; *ergo*, they did also communicate in body: or thus; Their spirits were together; *ergo*, their bodies were together. So might he as well say, The spirit of Elizæus was with Giezi his man upon the way; *ergo*, the body of Elizæus was with Giezi upon the way: or, The spirit of Paul was with the Corinthians; *ergo*, his body was with the Corinthians. 2 Kings v. 26. 1 Cor. v. 5.

By this argument M. Harding might very directly have concluded against himself: The whole church of God is but one house, and all the members of the same do communicate together in faith and spirit: hereof we may find the major: Every particular church ought to be a resemblance of the whole church; and this particular communion ought

to be a resemblance of that general communion : that general communion is common to all, and every member receiveth his part : *ergo*, the particular communion ought to be ministered commonly unto all, and every member to receive his part.

Or thus : The ministration of the holy communion representeth the conjunction and fellowship that we have in faith : and as St. Cyprian saith, " That Christian men are joined together with unseparable charity, the Lord's sacraments do declare⁵²." But Christian people being assembled in one church, do communicate in faith all together : *ergo*, being so assembled, they ought to communicate in sacraments all together.

But M. Harding, of the nature of this word *communio*, seemeth to fashion out far other arguments :

It is called *communio*, saith he ; *ergo*, it may be private.

It is called *communio* ; *ergo*, it may be received of one alone.

It is called *communio* ; *ergo*, the priest may receive it without communicants. O, M. Harding, weigh your arguments better, before you send them thus abroad. You shall less offend God and your own conscience : you shall less deceive your brethren : and children shall take less occasion to wonder at you.

Now to add a little more hereunto touching the nature of this word *communio*, wherein you so uncourteously charge all others with ignorance, and lack of learning, as it pleaseth you to do throughout your whole book, I think it not amiss to shew you what certain writers, both old and new, have thought and written in that behalf. I need not here to allege the words that St. Paul useth touching the holy communion : " We are all one bread, all one body, as many as do communicate of one bread." Neither that St. Hierom saith, " The Lord's supper must be common⁵³." Neither that Chrysostom, " The thing that is the Lord's, they make private... ; but the Lord's things are not this

Cyprian, ad
Magnum.
[l. 253.]

1 Cor. x. 17.

Hieron.
1 Cor. xl.
[v. 997.]
Chrys. 1 Cor.
Homil. 27.
[x. 244.]

⁵² ["Denique unanimitatem
"Christianam firma sibi atque
"inseparabili caritate connexam
"etiam ipsa dominica sacrificia
"declarant."]
⁵³ [Spurious ; see p. 160, note.]

servant's, or that servant's, but common to all⁵⁴." Neither that St. Augustine saith, *Hunc cibum et potum, societatem vult intelligi corporis, et membrorum suorum*: "He would have us to understand, that this meat and drink is the fellowship of his body, and of his members." Neither that Chrysostom saith, *Quidnam appello communicationem? Idem ipsum corpus sumus. Quidnam significat panis? Corpus Christi. Quid fiunt qui accipiunt? Corpus Christi*. "What call I the communication, or communion? We are all one self same body. What signifieth the bread? The body of Christ. And what are they made that receive it? The body of Christ⁵⁵." Although these fathers by these words do manifestly declare, that the holy mysteries in their time were divided commonly to the whole people; yet will I take no advantage thereof, for that M. Harding will reply, They come not precisely to the nature of this word *communio*.

Aug. in Jo-
han. Tract.
26. [lib. part.
2. 500.]

Chrys. 1 Cor.
Homil. 24.
[x. 213.]
Significat.

Therefore I will note one or two others, and such as M. Harding cannot deny but they speak directly to the matter. Pachymeres, a Greek writer, the paraphrast upon Dionysius, hath these words: *Ταύτην δὲ καὶ κοινωνίαν λέγει, διὰ τὸ τότε κοινωνεῖν τοὺς ἁγίους πάντας τῶν μυστηρίων*: "Therefore," saith he, "hath this father (Dionysius) called it the communion, for that then all they, that were worthy, did communicate of the holy mysteries." Thus Pachymeres, a man of late years, wrote upon the same book of Dionysius: and we may safely think he understood his author's mind as well as M. Harding. He saith, *communio* is so called, of that we do communicate together: but M. Harding thinketh otherwise, and constantly saith, it is not so.

Pachymeres
in Dionys.
cap. 3. [p.
134.]
Κοινωνία.
Dicitur com-
munio, quia
omnes com-
municant.

Haimo, writing upon St. Paul's epistles, saith thus: *Cum* Haimo in
1 ad Cor. x.
[124.]

⁵⁴ [Τὸ γὰρ κυριακὸν ἰδιωτικὸν ποι-
οῦσι . . τὸ κυριακὸν δείπνον, τουτέστι
τὸ δεσποτικὸν ὀφείλει κοινὸν εἶναι,
τὰ γὰρ τοῦ δεσπότητος οὐχὶ τοῦδε μὲν
ἔστι τοῦ οἰκέτου, τοῦδε δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν,
ἀλλὰ κοινῇ πάντων. Chrysost. 1 Cor.
Hom. 27.]

⁵⁵ [Τί γὰρ λέγω κοινωνίαν, φη-
σίν; αὐτὸ ἐσμεν ἐκεῖνο τὸ σῶμα.
τί γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ ἄρτος; σῶμα Χρι-
στοῦ· τί δὲ γίνονται οἱ μεταλαμ-
βάνοντες; σῶμα Χριστοῦ. In the
Greek therefore there is nothing to
correspond to the word *significat*.]

communicant ex illo : “The cup is called the communication, which is as much as participation, because all do communicate of it.”

Hugo Cardinalis in Speculo Ecclesie.

Hugo Cardinalis saith thus : *Post hoc dicatur communio, quæ appellatur, ut omnes communicemus* : “Afterward let the communion be said, which is so called, that we should all communicate.” And he saith further : *Vel dicitur communio, quia in primitiva ecclesia populus communicabat quolibet die* : “Otherwise,” saith he, “it is called the communion, for that the people in the primitive church did communicate every day⁵⁶.”

De Missa publica pro roganda.

Gerardus Lorichius : *Dicitur communio, quia concorditer de uno pane et uno calice multi participamus : et communio participationem et communicationem significat* : “It is called *communio*, because we do communicate together agreeably of one bread and one cup ; and this word *communio* is as much as participation, or receiving of parts⁵⁶.”

Micrologus de Ecclesie observationibus apud Cassand. de Liturgiis, cap. 22. [cap. 26. p. 59.]

Micrologus saith : *Non potest proprie dici communio, nisi plures de eodem sacrificio participant* : “It cannot justly be called a *communion*, unless many do receive together of one sacrifice.” If M. Harding will not believe us, yet I hope he will believe some of these. They be all his own. It were much for him to say, they be all ignorant and unlearned, and not one of them understood what he wrote. Certainly their age will give it them, they are no Lutherans. St. Basil reporteth an ecclesiastical decree, or canon, that at the receiving of the holy communion, which he calleth *mysticum pascha*, there ought to be twelve persons at the least, and never under.

Basil. Exercit. ad Pietat. Ser. 4. [li. 320.]

M. HARDING : Eleventh Division.

What if four or five of sundry houses, in a sickness time, being at the point of death, in a parish, require to have their rites ere they depart ? The priest, after that he hath received the sacrament in the church, taketh his natural sustenance, and dineth, and then being called upon, carrieth the rest a mile or two to the sick, in each house none being disposed to receive with the sick ;

⁵⁶ [These references, as not having been verified, are printed in italics. The works are not found in the libraries to which the editor has hitherto had access.]

he doth that he is required. (21) Doth he not in this case communicate with them? And do not they communicate one with another, rather having a will to communicate together in one place also, if opportunity served? Else if this might not be accounted as a lawful and good communion, and therefore not to be used, the one of these great inconveniences should wittingly be committed: (22) that either they should be denied that necessary victual of life at their departing hence, which were a cruel injury, and a thing contrary to the examples and godly ordinances of the primitive church: or the priest, rather for company's sake than of devotion, should receive that holy meat after that he had served his stomach with common meats; which likewise is against the ancient decrees of the church. Even so the priest, that receiveth alone at mass, doth communicate with all them that do the like in other places and countries.

The 21st untruth. M. Harding saith, The priest doth communicate, and not communicate both together: which is a contradiction in nature.

The 22nd untruth. This order was taken, not for every sick party, but for persons excommunicate.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

He that seeth no mark, must shoot by aim. What, saith M. Harding, if four or five men of sundry houses within one parish be at the point of death, and require their rites, and the priest have dined? Hereupon he thinketh may be grounded an argument invincible for his mass. But what if the priest were fasting? Should he then say four masses to serve all four? And what if no man happen to be sick? Then hath M. Harding lost a good argument. Alas, must he leave all the old doctors and holy fathers, and beg at death's door, to get somewhat to help his mass? In this case, saith M. Harding, either the priest must communicate after he hath dined, which is against the canons; or the sick man must receive alone, which is proof sufficient for the mass; or else he must pass without that necessary victual, which were a cruel injury, and a thing contrary to the primitive church. To answer these points, if the priest, notwithstanding his dinner, communicate with the sick, then hath M. Harding yet found no private mass. And it appeareth by St. Augustine, and certain old canons⁵⁷, that in the primitive church both the priest and people sometimes communicated together after supper.

Aug. ad Januarium, Ep. 118. [ii. 126.] Conc. Carthag. 3. can. 6. [leg. 29. iii. 885.]

And why is this provision thought so necessary? Or

⁵⁷ [Concil. Carth. 3. can. 29. "bus celebrentur, excepto uno (African. can. 8.) "Ut sacramenta "die anniversario, quo cœna Do- "altaris non nisi a jejunis homini- "mini celebratur. . ."]

why is it counted so cruel an injury, if the sick man pass without it? Shall no man be saved that so departeth? Indeed that were a cruel injury. Infinite numbers of children, and others, depart this life in God's mercy, without that victual. In the primitive church this order was thought expedient, not for the sick, for they in their health received^a daily, and in their sickness had the sacrament ordinarily sent^b home unto them; but for persons excommunicate, and enjoined to penance, who upon great and notorious crimes could not be suffered to communicate with the rest of the faithful, sometimes during their whole life, but only when they should depart the world. This extremity was used for terror of others, and such reconciliation was thought necessary at the end for solace of the party, that he should not utterly be swallowed up in despair, but might perceive he was received again amongst the faithful, and so depart comfortably, as the member of Christ. And therefore it was decreed by the council of Carthage, "That if any man after such reconciliation, had recovered his health again, he should nevertheless not be received to the communion of the church, but only be admitted to the common prayers." Thus far forth, and in this case, this provision was counted necessary in the end.

^a Aug. de Sermon. Domini in Monte, cap. 12. [iii. part. 2. 210.]

^b Just. Martyr. Apologia 2. [al. 1. p. 83.]

Concil. Carthag. 6. can. 13. [iv. 412.]

Howbeit, I confess, sometimes it was otherwise used, and at last grew to such superstition, that it was thrust into men's mouths after they were dead, as we may see by the council of Carthage forbidding the same. But if the people would now communicate every day, as they did then, or at least oftener than they do now, then should not this matter seem so necessary at the end as it is here pretended: and so had M. Harding lost another argument.

Concil. Carthag. 3. can. 6. [iii. 881.]

But let us grant M. Harding his whole request: let his priest come and minister to the sick. What maketh all this for his private mass? The members of these arguments hang together like a sick man's dream, not one piece like another. For if here be a mass, which of the two is it that saith this mass? is it the sick man, or the priest? The priest hath dined, and therefore may not: the sick man is no priest, and therefore cannot. Here would

M. Harding fain find a mass, but he can find no man to say his mass: and so hath hitherto found no mass at all. And thinketh he to prove his mass by that thing that is no mass?

Again, grant we this action of the priest not only to be a private mass, but also, the necessity of the sick considered, to be lawful: yet could not this precedent make it lawful to be done openly in the church, whereas is no such case of necessity. The circumstances of place, of time, of cause, of end, of manner of doing be not like. In case of necessity a dispensation was granted to the priests of Norway to consecrate the mystical cup without wine: for that wine being brought into that country, by mean of the extreme cold, cannot last. Yet was it never thought lawful for all other priests in all churches generally to do the same.

Volaterr.
[Geograph.]
l. 7. [p. 210.]

M. HARDING: *Twelfth Division.*

Now if either the priest or every other Christian man or woman, might at no time receive this blessed sacrament, but with mo together in one place, then for the enjoying of this great and necessary benefit, we were bound to condition of a place. And so the church, delivered from all bondage by Christ, and set at liberty, should yet for all that be in servitude and subjection under those outward things which St. Paul calleth *infirma et egena elementa*, "weak and beggarly ceremonies" after the English Bible's translation. Then when St. Paul, blaming the Galatians, saith, "Ye observe days, and months, and times;" for this bondage he might likewise blame us and say, Ye observe places. But St. Paul would not we should return again unto these which he calleth elements, for that were Jewish. And to the Colossians he saith, "We be dead with Christ from the elements of this world." Now if we except those things which be necessarily required to this sacrament by Christ's institution, either declared by written scriptures, or taught by the Holy Ghost, (23) as bread and wine mingled with water for the matter, the due words of consecration for the form, and the priest rightly ordered having intention to do as the church doth, for the ministry; all these elements and all outward things be subject unto us, and serve us, being members of Christ's church. In consideration whereof, St. Paul saith to the Corinthians, *Omnia enim vestra sunt*, &c.: "All things are yours, whether it be Paul, either Apollo, either Cephas; whether it be the world, either life, either death, whether they be present things or things to come, all are yours, and ye Christ's, and Christ is God's."

Gal. iv. 9.
Even so
St. Paul call-
eth them;
πρωχάστοι-
χεία.

The 23rd un-
truth. The
mingling of
wine and
water to-
gether is nei-
ther catholic
nor neces-
sary. Scotus.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

“If it be lawful neither for the priest nor for any other Christian man or woman to receive alone; then,” saith M. Harding, “we must needs condition of a place to receive together.” Here these words, “every other Christian man or woman,” that he hath taken in by the way, are an overplus, and quite from the purpose. For the question is moved, not of “any other man or woman,” but of the mass, and only of the priest that saith the mass. Now, to condition of a place, saith M. Harding, were as bad as to observe months and days, which thing St. Paul utterly forbiddeth: it were a very Jewish ceremony: it were an element of this world, and so a miserable servitude of the church. But from such bondage Christ hath delivered us.

Gal. iv. 9.

I know not well whether M. Harding scoff and dally herein for his pleasure, or speak soothly as he thinketh. If he dally, it becometh not the matter; if he speak soothly and as he thinketh, then he hath not well advised himself, neither from what servitude Christ by his blood hath delivered us, nor of what liberty St. Paul speaketh. Certain it is, Christ hath not delivered us from honest civil policies, without which no state, neither ecclesiastical nor civil, can be maintained; but from the curse of the law wherein we rested under sin, and from the ceremonies and ordinances given by Moses, which for that they were weak, according to the imperfection of that time, therefore St. Paul calleth them “the elements of this world.”

Gal. iii. 13.

Beggarily
ceremonies.πρωχὰ.
Egena.Hieron. ad
Galat. cap. 4.
[iv. 270.]

Here M. Harding seemeth by the way to touch the English translation of the Bible, which calleth such elements “beggarily ceremonies,” himself being not able to translate it better. And yet if he were well apposed, I think he would hardly yield any great difference between the Greek word πρωχὰ and the Latin word *egenæ*, and this English word “beggarily.” Which word, if it seem too homely, yet St. Hierom in his exposition is as homely, calling it *vilem intelligentiam traditionum*⁵⁸. And yet the

⁵⁸ [“Alias autem infirma et egenæ, et secundum literam vilem na elementa, Judæorum traditio- “intelligentiam confirmabimus.”]

prophets abase it further. Jeremiah calleth such ceremonies so abused, and others devised by men, chaff, swill, dross, and dreams; Isaiah, filth; Zechariah, curses; Ezekiel, man's dung, and other like.

From this servitude, saith Paul, God hath delivered you. Gal. iv. 5. Now are ye free, and no more bond: now are ye the children and heirs of God. From this liberty the Galatians were fallen away to the servile observation of circumcisions, washings, and other ceremonies of the law. Therefore of this liberty and of this bondage St. Paul speaketh, and of none other.

To condition of a place, saith M. Harding, were mere Jewish: for as St. Paul saith to the Galatians, "Ye observe months and days," so might he say unto you, Ye observe places. Thus he saith, as though he himself had no choice of place to say his mass in. He moveth talk of place, whereof we had no question: but the number of communicants, whereof St. Paul so plainly speaketh, he thought best to salve with silence. If these men account all utter things to be worldly elements, then must they take away the bread and wine in the holy ministration; the water in baptism; the words of the gospel; the whole ministry, and all kind of civil policy. All these be utter creatures, given to us by God to be used freely, without servile observation or subjection of conscience: for God hath appointed these things for us, not us for them.

But will our adversaries now at last defend the liberty of the church, or complain of bondage? O good reader, they deal not simply: they dissemble: they mean it not. They have defiled the Lord's sacraments with a multitude of superstitious and childish ceremonies, and have annexed unto the same a deep charge of God's high displeasure, and burden of conscience. They teach the people of God in this sort: O touch not this! O taste not this! They burden the people's consciences with choice of meats. They restrain lawful matrimony, the restraint whereof is a yoke intolerable, and a snare of men's lives, and as St. Paul calleth it, the doctrine of devils. They hear St. Augustine complain, that by mean of such traditions, which he calleth

M. Harding
shifteth
number into
place.

Colos. ii. 21.

1 Cor. vii. 9.
35.

1 Tim. iv. 1.
Aug. ad Ja-
nuarium
epist. 118.
[ii. 142.]

men's presumptions, the church of Christ was in worse case in his time, than ever was the synagogue of the Jews⁵⁹. They hear others of late years likewise complain much of the same. Yet would they never, nor yet will they, yield, that any one of all their vain ceremonies be released, no not now, having had, as they call it, a general council for that purpose. And can these men stand forth to complain of bondage? Or will they restore us the liberty of the church?

Bernardus
Clarevalleus.
Gerson Can-
cellari. Pa-
risiens.

M. Harding's
liberty.

Howbeit M. Harding hath well disclosed himself herein, that this liberty is nothing else, but to do what him listeth: and his bondage nothing else, but to be subject unto God. For he addeth immediately, that the mingling and blending of water and wine together, and the intention of the priest, are things necessarily required to the consecration of this sacrament. Of the first hereof, the superstition only excepted, no man maketh any great account. Indeed St. Cyprian, and certain old fathers speak of it, and force it much: and Justinus Martyr calleth it *ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος*; "the cup of water and mixture." But neither Christ, nor any of his disciples, ever gave commandment of it: neither was it at any time in the church universally received or accounted necessary. For Scotus and Innocentius witness, that the Greek church in their time used it not. Wherefore it cannot be judged catholic. And touching the necessity thereof, Scotus saith in plain words: *Huius vino apponere aquam non est simpliciter necessarium de necessitate sacramenti*. Here we see, these doctors agree not. M. Harding saith, "This mixture is necessary to the sacrament:" Scotus saith, "It is not necessary."

Cypr. [Cæcil.] contr.
Aquarios.
[p. 104.]
Justin. in
Apolog. 2.
[al. 1. p. 82.]

Joh. Scotus
in 4. Senten.
dist. 11.
quest. 6.
Innocentius
de Officio
Miss. part. 3.
cap. 4.

The mingling
of wine and
water is not
necessary.

Now to reveal the secrets of M. Harding's mysteries touching the same: that one drop, or two, must be poured on the ground; how much thereof must be put to the wine, that there may be made a convenient mixture; what becometh afterward of the same water; whether it be turned into a thin phlegm, or into Christ's blood by mean

⁵⁹ [August. ad Januar. ". . . ut to-
"lerabilior sit conditio Judæorum,
"qui etiamsi tempus libertatis non

"agnoverunt, legalibus tamen sar-
"cinis, non humanis præsumptio-
"nibus subjiciuntur."]

of mixture, or into a sacrament of ablution, to wash the rest away: it would require longer talk, and not necessary at this present. Neither would I now have moved one word hereof, saving that this man thus vaunteth himself to be the restorer of Christian liberty.

Whereas he saith, "The priest must have intention to do that the church doth;" unless he be well assured of the church's doing herein, he cannot be sure of his own intention; and so must he say mass with intention to do, he knoweth not what. Now it appeareth, that the church is not yet resolved upon one intention. For the intention of the church of Rome is to work the transubstantiation of bread and wine: the Greek church had never that intention, as it is plain by the council of Florence. The intention of the church of Rome is to consecrate with Christ's words: the intention of the Greek church is to consecrate with prayers. And whether of these churches shall the priest follow with his intention? This is the very dun-geon of uncertainty. The heart of man is unsearchable. If we stay upon the intention of a mortal man, we may stand in doubt of our own baptism⁶⁰.

Christ hath delivered us from the elements of this world; *ergo*, the priest may say private mass. We are forbidden to observe months and days; *ergo*, the priest may receive alone.

Thus he reasoneth, as if St. Paul's words were written that he might thereby prove what himself listeth. Indeed, the bread, the wine, the water, and the priest himself are worldly creatures, and therefore subject unto Christian liberty no less than place or time. Yet may not M. Harding therefore have the communion ministered without either priest, or bread, or wine: neither baptism ministered without water. Christ hath delivered us from the subjection and superstitious using of the creatures, but not from the creatures themselves: otherwise by the same form of reason M. Harding might as well have concluded thus: Apollo, Paul, Peter, life, and things to come, are worldly creatures; for so saith St. Paul, even as M. Harding hath alleged: "All things are yours, whether it be

The inten-
tion of the
priests.

Concil. Flo-
rent. ses-
sione ultima.
Bessarion de
Sacramento
Eucharistie.
[sub init.]

M. Harding's
arguments.

1 Cor. iii. 21,
22.

⁶⁰ [See Laud's Conference with Fisher, sect. 33. num. 12.]

Paul, or Apollo, or Peter, or the world, or life, or things to come: but Christ hath delivered us from worldly creatures:” *ergo*, Christ hath delivered us from Paul, Apollo, Peter, from the world, from life, and from things to come. Such arguments M. Harding hath brought to prove his mass.

M. HARDING: *Thirteenth Division.*

Again, whereas the ancient and great learned bishop Cyrillus teacheth plainly and at large the marvellous uniting and joining together of us with Christ, and of ourselves into one body by this sacrament: seeing that all so united and made one body, be not for all that brought together into one place, for they be dispersed abroad in all the world; thereof we may well conclude, that to this effect the being together of communicants in one place is not of necessity. His words be these, much agreeable to Dionysius Areopagita aforementioned: *Ut igitur inter nos et Deum singulos uniret, quamvis corpore simul et anima distemus, modum tamen adinvenit, consilio Patris et sapientiæ suæ convenientem. Suo enim corpore credentes per communionem mysticam benedicens, et secum, et inter nos, unum nos corpus efficit. Quis enim eos, qui unius sancti corporis unione in uno Christo uniti sunt, ab hac naturali unione alienos putabit? Nam si omnes unum panem manducamus, unum omnes corpus efficimur: dividi enim atque sejungi Christus non patitur: “That Christ might unite every one of us within ourselves, and with God, although we be distant both in body and also in soul, yet he hath devised a mean covenable to the counsel of the Father, and to his own wisdom. For in that he blesseth them that believe with his own body through the mystical communion, he maketh us one body both with himself, and also between ourselves. For who will think them not to be of this natural union, which, with the union of that one holy body, be united in one Christ? For if we eat all of one bread, then are we made all one body: for Christ may not be divided nor done asunder.”*

In Joan. lib.
11. cap. 26.
[cap. 11. iv.
998.]

Thus we see, after this ancient father’s learning grounded upon the scriptures, that all the faithful, blessed with the body of Christ, through the mystical communion be made one body with Christ, and one body between themselves. Which good blessing of Christ is of more virtue, and also of more necessity, than that it may be made frustrate by condition of place, specially whereas is no wilful breach, nor contempt of most seemly and covenable order.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

As I can easily yield in part that these two fathers, Cyrillus and Dionysius, agree together, as it is here avouched; so if M. Harding can prove that this same Cyrillus ever said

private mass, or in any of all his works once used the name of mass, I will as gladly yield unto the whole. But if Cyrillus never spake word of the mass, how is he here brought in to prove the mass? Howbeit these men know, it is an easy matter to mock the ignorant with the glorious name of catholic fathers.

Cyrillus saith, that as many as believe in Christ, whether they be far or near, Jews or Gentiles, free or bond, they are all one body in Christ Jesus. This thing neither is denied, nor in any point toucheth the private mass. We confess, that Christ by the sacrament of regeneration, as Chrysostom saith, hath made us flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones⁶⁰, that we are the members, and he is the head. We confess also that all the faithful are one body, all endued with one spirit. And be that distance never so great, yet are we one another's members.

Chrys. In
Epist. ad
Ephes. hom.
20. [xi. 147.]

This marvellous conjunction and incorporation is first begun and wrought by faith, as saith Paulinus unto St. Augustine: *Per fidem nostram incorporamur* [i. *adcorporamur*] *in Christo Jesu Domino nostro*: "By our faith we are incorporate or made one body with Jesus Christ our Lord." Afterward the same incorporation is assured unto us, and increased in our baptism: so saith St. Augustine; *Ad hoc baptisma valet, ut baptizati Christo incorporentur, et membra ejus efficiantur* [i. *habeantur*]: "To this availeth baptism, that men being baptized, may be incorporate into Christ, and made his members⁶¹." And for that we are very unperfect of ourselves, and therefore must daily proceed forward, that we may grow into a perfect man in Christ, therefore hath God appointed, that the same incorporation should be often renewed and confirmed in us by the use of the holy mysteries. Wherein must be considered, that the said holy mysteries do not begin, but rather continue and confirm, this incorporation. First of all, we ourselves must be the body of Christ; and afterward we must receive the sacrament of Christ's body; as it is well

Paulinus et
Therasia ad
Aug. epist.
31. [ii. 36.]

Aug. de Bap-
tismo Par-
vulorum.
[De pecc.
merit. et
remiss.] De
Con. dist. 4.
Ad hoc.

⁶⁰ [See this passage printed at p. 208, note 47.]

⁶¹ [Gratian appears to have con-

densed this passage from August. de Pecc. Merit. et Remiss. i. c. 26.]

Aug. in Ser-
fantas.
[Aug. Opp.
v. 1104] Ci-
mone ad In-
tatur a Beda
in 1 Cor. x.
[vi. 480.]

noted by St. Augustine: *Corpus Christi si vis intelligere, apostolum audi dicentem fidelibus, Vos estis corpus Christi, et membra; mysterium vestrum in mensa Domini positum est; mysterium Domini accipitis. Ad id, quod estis, respondetis, Amen. Audis, Corpus Christi, et respondes, Amen. Esto membrum corporis Christi, ut verum sit Amen tuum*: "If thou wilt understand the body of Christ, hear what St. Paul saith to the faithful: Ye are the body and the members of Christ; your mystery is set on the Lord's table; ye receive the mystery of the Lord. To that thing that ye are, ye answer, Amen. Thou hearest, The body of Christ, and sayest, Amen. Be thou a member of Christ's body, that thy Amen may be true."

Cypr. de
Cœna Domi-
ni. [App. p.
cxli.]
De Con. dist.
2. Ut quid.
(August.)
Cyrillus con-
tra objectio-
nes Theodo-
reti. [Ed.
Basil. iv.
215.]

Neither may we think that Christ's body must grossly and bodily be received into our bodies. St. Cyprian saith: "It is meat not for the belly but for the mind⁶¹." And St. Augustine saith: *Crede, et manducasti*: "Believe in Christ, and thou hast eaten." And Cyrillus, that is here alleged, writeth thus against the objections of Theodoretus: "We do not maintain the eating of a man unreverently, drawing the minds of the faithful unto gross and profane imaginations: neither do we submit these things unto man's phantasy, that be received only by pure and tried faith⁶²." Therefore saith Athanasius: "It is spiritual meat, and spiritually is digested in us⁶³."

Athanasius
in illa verba,
Si quis dix-
erit verbum.
[i. 710.]

Thus is Christ set forth unto us in that most holy supper, not to be received with the mouth; for that, as Cyrillus saith, "were a gross and profane imagination;" but to be embraced with a pure and a single faith; and, as Athanasius saith, to be eaten as spiritual food, and spiritually to be digested into all his members. Thus are we all one body, and one spirit in Christ, for that Christ is in all us, and all we in him. And because the holy ministration

⁶¹ [Spurious; see p. 207, note 46.]

⁶² [This is a loose translation from the Latin edit. (Basle, 1546), which in this part differs much from the Greek. The words, which are probably intended, are printed infra, p. 243, note 78.]

⁶³ [The reference to Athanasius seems to be that noted in the margin. That which was formerly published as a separate treatise, is in the MSS. found incorporated with the fourth Epistle to Serapion.]

representeth the same unto our eyes, therefore St. Augustine calleth it the mystery of unity. Thus doth the holy communion knit and join us together, be we in number never so many, and in distance never so far asunder. For therein we profess that we are all servants in one house, and resort all to one table, and feed all of one spiritual food, which is the flesh and blood of the Lamb of God. Which thing Paulinus seemeth very well and in plain manner to open unto St. Augustine by these words: *Non mirum, si et absentes adsumus nobis, et ignoti nosmet novimus, cum unius corporis membra simus, unum habeamus caput, una perfundamur gratia, uno pane vivamus, una incedamus via, eadem habitemus domo*: “It is no marvel though we both being absent, are nevertheless present together; and being unacquainted, yet know one another; seeing we be the members of one body, and have one head, and are poured over with one grace, and live by one bread, and walk one way, and dwell in one house.” I thought it good to accompany Cyrillus with these other ancient fathers, for the better understanding of his meaning.

(Augustinus,)
de Con. dist.
2. Quia pas-
sus.

Paulinus,
Epist. ad Au-
gust. 33. [ii.
54.]

Hereof M. Harding seemeth to reason thus: By the communion all faithful are joined both unto God, and also between themselves: *ergo*, the priest may say private mass. Little thought that good father, that his words should ever be thus used, or so violently forced to such conclusions. But let us drive this argument a little further, that the inconvenience and the error may the better appear.

Only the priests in their private masses receive the communion: *ergo*, for that action and time only the priests are made one body of Christ. And then further, That body of Christ is the whole church: *ergo*, the priests by their private masses are made the whole church.

But that thou mayest plainly see, Christian reader, wherein M. Harding was thus deceived, thou must understand that Cyrillus taketh his reason, as far as it toucheth the communion of the sacrament, as we use to say in schools, *ab effectis*, and not *a causis*. But M. Harding turneth it quite contrary; as if it were taken *a causis*, and not *ab effectis*. And that Cyrillus so reasoneth, it is soon

Rom. iv. 11.
Signaculum.

seen. For the receiving of the sacrament is not the efficient cause that we are made one body in Christ, but a token and testimony, or as St. Paul saith, the seal and confirmation of that effect. For Judas received the sacrament as well as Peter did; yet was not Judas a member of Christ's body, as Peter was. And many infants and others faithful and godly be very members of that body; and yet by occasion of death, or otherwise, never receive the sacrament of Christ's body.

And notwithstanding M. Harding hath thus altered his author's meaning, yet shall he very hardly thereof in good order conclude his mass. But he may of the same very well and directly conclude the communion. For if the communion, in that it is received of many, be a testimony and a declaration that all faithful are one body in Christ, as Cyrillus meaneth, then ought the same communion to be received together of many; otherwise it is no such testimony or declaration as is supposed. The antecedent, or first proposition hereof, is proved by sundry old fathers. St. Cyprian saith: "With what love and concord all faithful Christians are joined together, the Lord's sacrifice doth declare." And Anselmus, a man of latter years: *Frangimus... et dividimus panem in multas partes, ad designandam unionem charitatis accipientium*: "We break and divide the bread into many parts, to declare the unity of the love of them that receive it." Here note, Anselmus saith, this declaration of unity standeth in receiving of the sacraments, and not only in looking on. Neither doth Cyrillus say, "They that hear mass," but "they that receive the mystical benediction, are one body with Christ, and also between themselves⁶³." Like as St. Paul also saith: "The bread that we break is the communication of the Lord's body. And we being many are all one bread and one body, as many as be partakers of one bread." Whereunto agree these words of St. Hierom, spoken in the behalf of Christ: *Benedic hæreditati tuæ, quam per corporis et sanguinis mei mysterium in ecclesia congregasti*: "Bless thine

Cyprian ad
Magnum.
[p. 153.]

Anselm. in
1 Cor. x. [ii.
140. C.]

Accipien-
tium.

Cyrril. in Jo-
han. lib. 11.
cap. 26. [iv.
998.]

1 Cor. x. 16,
17.

Hier. in Ec-
clesiast. cap.
3.

⁶³ [Ἐνὶ γὰρ σώματι, τῷ ἰδίῳ δη- ψεως, ἐαντῷ τε συσσωµοῦς καὶ ἀλ-
λαδῇ, τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύοντας λήλοισ ἀποτελεῖ.]
εὐλογῶν διὰ τῆς µυστικῆς µεταλή-

inheritance which thou hast gathered together in the church, by the mystery of my body and blood." And Dionysius : De Eccles. Hierar. c. 3. ὡς δημοτρόφοις. [p. 135.]
 "The common and peaceable distribution of one and the same bread and cup, prescribeth a godly concord unto them, as unto men fed together with one food⁶⁴." And thus, as M. Harding hath truly said, Cyrillus and Dionysius agree in one ; but both together against him : both utterly condemning his private mass.

M. HARDING : *Fourteenth Division.*

And therefore that one may communicate with another, though they be not together in one place (which M. Jewel denieth, with as peevish an argument of the use of excommunication, as any of all those is, that he scoffeth at some catholic writers for) (24) and that it was thought lawful and godly by the fathers of the ancient church, near to the apostles' time, it may be well proved by divers good authorities. The 24th untruth. For there appeareth no such thing in any ancient father.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

I used the pulpit as a place of reverence, and not of scoffing. Only I thought good to lay out the weakness of sundry reasons alleged on your side, that the people might see upon how slender grounds your religion standeth. And thus I did, having just occasion thereunto of the unjust reports moved in corners by you and others, whereby you bear the people in hand, that all our doctrine was light and childish, and not worth the hearing. Therefore that the people, having taken some taste of the arguments on both parts, might be the better able to judge of both, I shewed forth this argument of pope Innocentius : "The sun is greater than the moon : *ergo*, the pope is greater than the emperor:" and the gloss in the margin upon the same : "The sun is seven and fifty times greater than the moon : *ergo*, the pope is seven and fifty times greater than the emperor⁶⁵." And likewise the argument of pope Bonifacius the Eighth : *In principio creavit Deus cælum et terram, non in principiis* : "In the beginning, and not in sundry beginnings, God made heaven and earth ; *ergo*, Extra de Major. et Obed. cap. Solite. Extrav. comm. de Major. et Obed. Unam sanctam.

⁶⁴ [See the original of this passage, at p. 208, note 48.]

⁶⁵ [It is to be regretted that Richter's otherwise valuable edi-

tion of the Corp. Jur. Canon. does not contain the glosses, so characteristic of the spirit of the age in which they were written.]

the pope hath the sovereignty over all kings and princes." He that sheweth the weakness of these arguments and such other, deserveth not therefore by and by to be called a scoffer.

Excommu-
nication.

Further, touching excommunication, I said thus⁶⁵: If the priest that saith mass in Louaine may communicate with the priest that saith mass in Calicute (which is M. Harding's greatest ground for his private mass), then hath the church, so far forth as toucheth the priests, lost the whole use of excommunication. For the party excommunicate being a priest might say, he would say mass, and so receive the communion, even with the bishop of whom he were excommunicate, whether he would or no. This saying M. Harding hath condemned for peevish, by his authority only, and not by reason.

Gregor. Neo-
cæsar. [c. 11.
Labbé. i. p.
841.]
Lugentes.

Audientes.

Precantes.

Indeed the church of Rome, as it hath lost the whole use of the holy communion, so hath it also the whole use of excommunication. For these two words be of contrary natures, and the one of them hath his name of the losing of the other. In the primitive church, as all the godly were freely received to the holy mysteries, so by the authority of the Spirit of God, the apparent wicked and ungodly were removed, and that with great discretion, according to the enormity and quality of the faults; as it is specially noted by Gregorius Neocæsariensis, in a canon touching the same. The greatest offenders were utterly excluded from the congregation, as men not meet to be in the company of the godly. Others were suffered to enter into the temple, and to hear the sermon, but at the beginning of the prayers they were removed, as men not meet to pray with their brethren. Others were suffered to be present at the prayers, but at the beginning of the communion were willed to depart⁶⁶. The rest were the godly that remained still, and heard the sermon, and continued in prayer, and received the holy mysteries all together. The order hereof is declared by Cassiodorus out of So-

⁶⁵ [Serm. at Paul's Cross, p. 33.] xviii. ch. 1. s. 3, 4, 5, 6. Jewel
⁶⁶ [See Bingham's account of has omitted the order of the con-
the four orders of penitents, book sistentes.]

crates: *Stant rei, et velut in lamentationibus constituti: et cum sacra celebratio fuerit adimpleta, communionem non percipiunt...*: "They stand wofully, and as it were men in lamentation and in heaviness: and when the holy celebration is ended, they receive not the communion." It followeth: *Constituto vero tempore, velut quoddam debitum exsolventes, ... cum populo communionem participant*: "At the time appointed, as if they had discharged a certain debt, they communicate together with the people." Thus the offenders were put from the communion, and all the rest received together. And therefore it is decreed by the Canons of the Apostles, "That all faithful that enter into the church, and hear the scriptures, and do not continue out the prayers, nor receive the communion, should be excommunicate, as men working the trouble and disorder of the church⁶⁷." And the people said unto Timotheus, being a bishop of the Arians, and nevertheless a man of mild and gentle nature, and shunning his company for the one, and yet loving him for the other, Although we communicate not with thee, yet we love thee notwithstanding.

Historia tri-
par. lib. 9.
cap. 35.

Canon. A-
post. canon.
9. [al. 10.]

[Liberatus,
cap. 16.]

Now if M. Harding's principle stand for good, that the priest saying his private mass may receive the communion with all others in other places that do the like, then can no priest be excommunicate. For notwithstanding neither any other priest, nor any of the people will receive with him, yet may he say a private mass, and by M. Harding's new device straightway communicate with them all.

But for better declaration of this matter, it is commonly taught in schools, that *privatio præsupponit habitum*, that is, that the losing of a thing first presupposeth the having of the same; for no man can lose that thing that he hath not. Therefore to say there is excommunication from the sacraments, whereas is no communion of the sacraments; or that he is put from the Lord's table, that neither is at, nor coming to, the table; or that he is excommunicate, that is only forbidden to hear mass; or that the people doth sufficiently receive the sacraments by the mouth of the priest: verily, this kind of learning in the primitive church

⁶⁷ [See p. 184, and the note.]

would have seemed not only peevish, but also fantastical and mere frantic. Thus the bishop of Rome (as it is said) useth to excommunicate locusts, snakes, caterpillars, and otherlike worms; and conjurors use to excommunicate their devils: as though these creatures, saving the force of their authority, were otherwise meet enough to receive the communion.

M. HARDING: *Fifteenth Division.*

Irenæus, writing to Victor, bishop of Rome, concerning the keeping of Easter, as Eusebius Cæsariensis reciteth, to the intent Victor should not refrain from their communion, which kept Easter after the custom of the churches in Asia founded by St. John the evangelist, sheweth, that, when bishops came from foreign parts to Rome, the bishops of that see used to send to them, if they had been of the catholic faith, the sacrament to receive; whereby mutual communion between them was declared. Irenæus' words be these: *Qui fuerunt ante te presbyteri, etiam cum non ita observarent, presbyteris ecclesiarum (cum Romam accederent) eucharistiam mittebant*: "The priests" (by which name in this place bishops are understood) "that were afore thy time, though they kept not Easter as they of Asia did, yet when the bishops of the churches there came to Rome, did send them the sacrament." (25) Thus those bishops did communicate together before their meeting in one place.

Eccles. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 24. [1. 243.]

Græca sic habent: aliter quam Ruffini versio vulgata.

The 25th untruth. For Irenæus saith not, they did communicate together.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This story is common and known to many. The west church in keeping of Easter day, followed St. Peter; the east church followed St. John, and kept it otherwise. Hereof grew contention, and brake out into cruel heats. Victor, the bishop of Rome, on the one side, and Polycarpus, the bishop of Smyrna, on the other side⁶⁷; both godly men, and both martyrs. Each part would have the other to yield. Victor, being a man of a fiery nature, was minded to excommunicate the whole church of Asia, and all others whatsoever, that in keeping of Easter day would not follow the church of Rome. Irenæus, the bishop of Lyons, hearing thereof, wrote unto him a sharp letter out of France, willing him in any wise to proceed no further; for that it might tend to such a breach, as would not afterward be recovered. Among other words he saith thus, as it is here

⁶⁷ [That is, at different periods; Polycarp, A.D. 108: Victor, A.D. 202.]

alleged: "The priests that were (in Rome) before thee, notwithstanding they kept not the Easter as they of Asia do, yet they sent the sacrament unto the priests of those churches when they came to Rome⁶⁸." Hereof M. Harding concludeth; *ergo*, "These bishops did communicate before they met together;" and noteth also by the way in the margin, that the Greek in Eusebius differeth from the common translation of Ruffinus. And yet it is the same translation alleged and used in the book of councils among the decrees of Victor. But if M. Harding had marked the matter well, he should have seen that his own translation in English varieth also somewhat from the Greek.

Concil. tomo
1. inter de-
creta Victo-
ris. [i. 718.]

In this short story, three things specially may be noted. First, that Irenæus, a bishop of France, durst to write so roughly to the bishop of Rome, without any style of superiority, only calling him and all others before him bishops of Rome, by the name of priests.

Secondly, that so notable learned men and martyrs of Christ, agreeing otherwise in the substance of religion, yet notwithstanding, in certain small matters of no great weight, contended and strived so extremely, and so long, and could in no wise be reconciled. Which thing well considered, M. Harding hath less cause to triumph, if God have suffered any such sparkle of dissension in the special members of his church in these days.

Thirdly, where was then that great superiority of the bishop of Rome, when, notwithstanding his threats and commandments, the church of this island of Britain well-near until seven hundred years after Christ, in the keeping of Easter day followed the manner of the Greek church, without any regard therein had to the church of Rome?

Beda Eccl.
Hist. lib. 3.
cap. 25.

But to the matter: "These bishops," saith M. Harding, "communicated together before they met." If he mean in faith and religion, it is not denied; if in the use of the

⁶⁸ [. . . ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ μὴ τηροῦντες οἱ πρὸ σοῦ πρεσβύτεροι, τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν παροικίων τηροῦσιν ἔπεμπον εὐχαριστίαν. Irenæus then proceeds to mention the making up of slight differences between Polycarp and

the bishop of Rome, Anicetus; in token of which reconciliation (notwithstanding their remaining difference about Easter) Anicetus administered the communion to Polycarp in the church.]

sacraments, it is not proved. In my judgment, this word *eucharistia*, in this place of Irenæus, signifieth not the sacrament already consecrate, but rather other common bread, wherewith one bishop used then to present another, as with a special token of consent in religion and Christian concord; which bread the receiver afterward, if he thought it good, might use at the holy ministration. In that sense it seemeth Paulinus wrote unto St. Augustine⁶⁹: *Panem unum sanctitati tuæ charitatis gratia misimus, in quo etiam Trinitatis soliditas continetur. Hunc panem tu eulogiam esse facies dignatione sumendi*: “In token of mutual love, I have sent unto thee one loaf of bread, in which also the soundness of the holy Trinity is contained. This loaf you shall cause to be a loving present of my behalf, vouchsafing to receive it.” And in the next epistle following⁶⁹: *Quinque panes misimus tibi, pariter et filio nostro Licentio. Non enim potuimus in benedictione secernere, quem cupimus eadem nobis gratia penitus annectere*: “Five loaves have I sent unto thee, and unto my son Licentius. For I could not sever him in blessing, whom I desire thoroughly to join with us in grace.” Hereby it may appear, that this bread was not the sacrament; and namely by that Paulinus writeth in another place: *Panem unum, quem unanimi- tatis indicio misimus charitati tuæ, rogamus ut accipiendo benedicas*: “I pray you to take and bless this one loaf, which I have sent unto you in token of unity.” If it had been already consecrate, he would not have desired St. Augustine to have blessed it.

But Irenæus useth this word *eucharistia*, which is taken for the sacrament. I answer; It might be so called, for that it was prepared for the sacrament. Howbeit, herein I will not strive. Tertullian nameth it⁷⁰ *hospitalitatis con-*

Paulin. ad Alypium inter August. Epist. 35. [ii. 36.]

Paulin. ad Romanianum inter August. Epist. 36. [ii. 58.]

Paulin. ad August. Epist. 31. [ii. 38.]

Tertul. de Præscript. advers. Hæ-

⁶⁹ [Jewel is mistaken; these two epistles (though printed amongst St. Augustine's works) were addressed not to St. Augustine, but the 35th to Alypius, and the 36th to Romanianus. For an account of the *εὐλογία* or “consecrated loaves,” distinct from the eucharist, see Bingham, book xv. ch. 4.

sect. 3. See also the 14th can. of the Council of Laodicea (A. D. 369.) ap. Bruns, vol. i. pt. 1. p. 75.]

⁷⁰ [It is not correct to say that Tertullian nameth it (i. e. eucharistia) “hospitalitatis contesseratio.” Tertullian's words are these: “Sic omnes [ecclesiæ] prima et

tesseratio, and seemeth to speak it of the sacrament: which thing being also granted in this place of Irenæus, let us now see M. Harding's reasons. reticos. [cap. 20. p. 209. ed. Prior.]

The bishop of Rome, saith he, sent the sacrament unto them that came out of Asia: *ergo*, there was private mass.

This conclusion is far fet, and hangeth loosely. For I might demand, Which then of the three said mass? he that sent the sacrament, or he that received it, or else the messenger that brought it? It were a strange matter to see a mass, and yet no man to say mass. Verily Irenæus hath not one word, neither of the communion, nor of the mass: unless M. Harding will say that *mittere* is Latin to communicate; or *mittere eucharistiam* is Latin to say mass.

If it were common bread, then was it but a present: if it were the sacrament, then was it to be received, not straight upon the way, or perhaps late in the night, or in the inn at the common table among other meats; but afterward at his pleasure, in his congregation. Thus we see this place first is doubtful; and being never so plain, yet it proveth nothing for private mass. But immediately after followeth a manifest mention, in what order the bishops used then to communicate together; which thing M. Harding thought better to dissemble. *Cum res ita haberent, communicabant inter se mutuo, et in ecclesia Anicetus concessit eucharistiam Polycarpo*: "The matters between them thus standing, they communicated together, and Anicetus in the church granted the sacrament, or the ministration of the sacrament, unto Polycarpus⁷¹."

Mittere eucharistiam.

[Euseb. Hist. 5. 24. vol. 1. p. 249.]

Here mark, good Christian reader, then they communicated, saith Irenæus, when they met in the church; and not before they met together, as M. Harding saith. Ani-

"apostolicæ, dum una omnes probant unitatem: dum est illis communicatio pacis et appellatio fraternitatis, et contesseratio hospitalitatis. Quæ jura non alia ratio gerit, quam ejusdem sacramenti una traditio." The best commentators however are of opi-

nion, that the words referred to by Jewel allude to the eucharist. See Pamelius, note in loc.]

⁷¹ Τούτων οὕτως ἔχόντων, ἐκοινωνήσαν ἑαυτοῖς: καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρεχώρησεν ὁ Ἀνίκητος τῇν εὐχαριστίαν τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ.

cetus, as Irenæus saith, received the sacrament with Polycarpus in the church, and not, as M. Harding seemeth to say, in his inn or hostery.

Now the truth of the matter standing thus, what hath M. Harding here found for his private mass?

M. HARDING: *Sixteenth Division.*

Justinus the Martyr likewise describing the manner and order of Christian religion of his time, touching the use of the sacrament, saith thus: *Finitis ab eo qui præfectus est gratis et orationibus, et ab universo populo facta acclamatione; diaconi, quos ita vocamus, unicuique tunc temporis præsentem, panis, et aquæ et vini consecrati, dant participationem, et ad eos, qui non adsunt, deferunt*: "When the priest hath made an end of thanks and prayers, and all the people thereto have said Amen, they which we call deacons give to every one then present, bread, and water and wine consecrated, to take part of it for their house: and for those that be not present, they bear it home to them." Thus in that time they that served God together in the common place of prayer, and some others that were absent, letted from coming to their company by sickness, business, or otherwise, (26) communicated together, though not in one place; and no man cried out of breaking the institution of Christ.

Apolog. 2.
[al. 1. p. 83.]

The 26th untruth. For Justinus speaketh not one word of communicating together.

And because M. Jewel is so vehement against private mass, for that the priest receiveth the sacrament alone, and triumpheth so much, as though he had won the field, making himself merry with these words, indeed without cause: "Where then was the private mass? where then was the single communion all this while?" he meaneth for the space of six hundred years after Christ, as there he expresseth: I will bring in good evidence and witness, that, long before St. Gregory's time that he speaketh of, yea from the beginning of the church, faithful persons, both *men and women*, received the sacrament alone, and were never therefore reprov'd, as breakers of Christ's institution. And ere I enter into the rehearsal of the places which I am able to shew for this purpose, one question I demand of M. Jewel: If they which remained at home, of whom Justinus Martyr writeth, received the communion by themselves alone lawfully, why may not the priest do the same in the church, serving God in most devout wise in the holy sacrifice of the mass, lacking companions without any his default? Have the sacramentaries any religion to condemn it in the priest, and to allow it in lay folk? What is in the priest, that should make it unlawful to him, more than to the people? Or may a lay man or woman receive it kept a long time, and may not a priest receive it forthwith, so soon as he hath consecrated and offered? And if case of necessity be alleged for the lay, the same may no less be alleged for the priests also,

M. Harding bringeth one thing for another: sole receiving instead of private mass; men and women instead of the priest.

wanting compartners without their default. For otherwise the memory and recording of our Lord's death should not according to his commandment be celebrated and done. Well, now to these places.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Good reader, behold not the names of these fathers here alleged, but rather weigh their sayings. M. Harding hath brought them for his mass; but they witness clearly and fully against his mass: and of all others, none more pregnant or plain than Justinus Martyr; whereof thou hast good occasion to consider how faithfully these men demean themselves in the allegation of the doctors. Justinus, touching this matter, writeth thus: "Towards the end of the prayers each of us with a kiss saluteth other. Afterward, unto him that is the chief among the brethren is delivered bread, and a cup mingled with wine and water; which he having received, rendereth praise and glory unto the Father of all things, in the name of the Son and the Holy Ghost, and yieldeth thanks a great space, for that he is thought worthy of these things. Which being orderly done, the people blesseth or confirmeth his prayer and thanksgiving, saying, Amen, &c. This ended, they that among us be called deacons deliver to every of them that be present, the bread, wine and water, which are consecrate with thanksgiving, and carry of the same to them that be absent⁷²." Here is set forth the whole and plain order of the holy ministration used in the church at that time. The priest prayeth and giveth thanks in the vulgar tongue: the whole congregation heareth his words, and confirmeth the same, saying, Amen: the holy communion is minis-

Justin. Mart.
tyr. in Apo-
logia 2. [al.
Apol. 1. p.
82.]

The order of
the holy mi-
nistration in
Justin's
time.

⁷² [Ἀλλήλους φιλήματι ἀσπαζόμεθα παντάμενοι τῶν εὐχῶν· ἔπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κρίματος. Καὶ οὗτος λαβὼν, αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ Πατρὶ τῶν ὄλων διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου, ἀναπέμπει· καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατηξιῶσθαι τούτων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται· οὐ συντελέσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν,] πᾶς ὁ πα-

ρῶν λαὸς ἐπευφημεί λέγων, Ἀμήν. . . [εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος, καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντος παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ, οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν διάκονοι, διδώσιν ἐκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου, καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσιν ἀποφέρουσι. From Jewel's translation here, and at p. 178, he appears to have read πανσόμνοι.]

tered to the people in both kinds: and all the whole church receiveth together. I marvel much, wherein M. Harding can liken any part hereof to his private mass, unless it be for that, as he said before, every private mass is common, so he will now say, every communion is private.

Justin's communion and M. Harding's mass compared together.

Let us a little compare Justin's mass and M. Harding's mass both together. And to pass by all other circumstances of difference, in Justin's mass all the people did receive: in M. Harding's mass none of the people do receive. In Justin's mass none abstained: in M. Harding's mass all abstain. In Justin's mass a portion was sent to the absent: in M. Harding's mass there is no portion delivered, no not unto the present. With what countenance then can any man allege the authority of Justin, to prove the antiquity of private mass?

"M. Jewel triumpheth," saith M. Harding, "and maketh himself merry, as if he had won the field." No, no: M. Jewel triumpheth not; but giveth all triumph, victory, and glory, unto God, that will subdue all them that withstand his truth, and make his enemies his footstool.

Ps. cx. i.

"I will bring good evidence and witness," saith M. Harding, "that from the beginning of the church, faithful persons, both men and women, received the sacrament alone." I have no great cause to doubt these witnesses: for, excepting only the fable of Amphilochius, and John the Almoner, which were not worth the reckoning, I alleged all the rest in mine own sermon. I knew them, and had weighed them, and therefore I alleged them. That certain godly persons, both men and women, in time of persecution, or of sickness, or of other necessity, received the sacrament in their houses, it is not denied, neither is it any parcel of this question.

But if M. Harding could have proved, that any man or woman in the primitive church ever said private mass, then had he answered somewhat to the purpose.

He seemeth to reason thus: Some received the sacrament alone; *ergo*, there was private mass.

The folly of this argument will the better appear by the like:

Women received the sacrament alone: *ergo*, women said private mass.

But, saith M. Harding, it was lawful for laymen to receive alone; why then was it not lawful for the priest? If he could have proved his mass by priests, he would never have sought help at laymen's hands. Howbeit, this doubt is soon answered: for he knoweth by his own learning, that it is lawful for a priest to say mass: yet it is not lawful for a layman to do the same. Of the other side, it is lawful, as he saith, for the layman to receive in one kind: yet is not the same lawful for the priest. But if he will needs take a precedent of laymen for priests to follow, let him rather reason thus: This manner of private receiving at home, was not lawful for the laymen; for it was abolished by godly bishops in general council⁷³: *ergo*, it was not lawful for the priest to say private mass.

Concil. Cæsar.-Augustan. can. 3. [iii. 633.]

M. HARDING: *Seventeenth Division.*

Proofs for private mass.

Lib. 2. ad Uxor. [cap. 5. p. 169.]

Tertullian exhorting his wife, that, if he died before her, she marry not again, specially to an infidel, shewing that, if she did, it would be hard for her to observe her religion without great inconvenience, saith thus: *Non sciet maritus quod secreto ante omnem cibum gustes? Et si sciverit, panem, non illum credet esse qui dicitur.* "Will not thy husband know what thou eatest secretly before all other meat? And if he do know, he will believe it to be bread, and not (27) him who it is called⁷⁴." He hath the like saying in his book *De Corona Militis*: which place plainly declareth unto us the belief of the church then in three great points, by M. Jewel and the rest of our gospellers utterly denied. The one, that the communion may be kept: the second, that it may be received by one alone, without other company: the third, that the thing, reverently and devoutly before other meats received, is not bread, as the infidels then, and the sacramentaries now believe; but he who it is said to be of Christian people, or who it is called, that is, (28) our Maker and Redeemer, or,

The 27th untruth. For the translation is wilfully corrupted: it violently turned into him.

The 28th untruth. For

⁷³ [Jewel appears to have used the words "general council" in a very loose sense. In the 1st council of Saragossa (A. D. 381.), to which he refers, only twelve bishops attended. The canon was as follows: "Eucharistie gratiam si quis probatur acceptam in ecclesia non sumpsisse, anathema sit in perpetuum." See Mansi,

Concil. tom. iii. 633.]

⁷⁴ [In Priorius' edition the passage is stopped thus, "... et si sciverit panem, non illum credet esse qui dicitur?" See the note of Rigaltius, who supposes here an allusion to the calumny, that the Christians fed upon the flesh of murdered infants.]

the sacrament was never called our Maker or Redeemer by any of the old fathers.

which is the same, our Lord's body. And by this place of Tertullian, as also by divers other ancient doctors, we may gather, that in the times of persecution the manner was, that the priests delivered to devout and godly men and women, the sacrament consecrated in the church, to carry home with them, to receive a part of it every morning fasting, as their devotion served them, so secretly as they might, that the infidels should not espy them, nor get any knowledge of the holy mysteries. And this was done because they might not assemble themselves in solemn congregation, for fear of the infidels amongst whom they dwelt. Neither should the case of necessity have excused them of the breach of Christ's commandment, if the sole communion had been expressly forbidden, as we are borne in hand by those that uphold the contrary doctrine. And Origen, that ancient doctor, and likewise St. Augustine, do write of the great reverence, fear, and wariness, that the men and women used in receiving the sacrament in a clean linen cloth, to carry it home with them for the same purpose. St. Cyprian writeth of a woman that did the like, though unworthily, after this sort: *Cum quedam arcam suam, in qua Domini sanctum fuit, manibus indignis tentasset aperire, igne inde surgente, deterrita est, ne auderet attingere*: "When a certain woman went about to open her chest, wherein was the holy thing of our Lord, with unworthy hands, she was frayed with fire that rose from thence, that she durst not touch it." This place of St. Cyprian reporteth the manner of keeping the sacrament at home, to be received of a devout Christian person alone at convenient time. The example of Serapion, of whom Dionysius Alexandrinus writeth, recited by Eusebius, confirmeth our purpose of the single communion. This Serapion, one of Alexandria, had committed idolatry, and lying at the point of death, that he might be reconciled to the church before he departed, sent to the priest for the sacrament. The priest being himself sick, and not able to come, gave to the lad that came of that errand, *parum eucharistiae, quod infusum jussit seni præberi*; "a little of the sacrament, which he commanded to be poured into the old man's mouth." And when this solemnity was done (saith the story), as though he had broken certain chains and gyves, he gave up his ghost cheerfully.

In Ser. de Lapsis. [p. 189.]

Eccles. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 44. [vol. 1. 316, 317, 318.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding shooteth fair, but far from the mark. To prove private mass in the primitive church, for lack of priests, he allegeth Tertullian's wife, certain women out of Cyprian, and Serapion's boy: not the fittest people that might have been found to say mass. And yet, that the folly might the more appear, he hath besides given a special note in the margin of his book, by these words, "Proofs for private mass;" whereof I conceive some hope,

that he mindeth no more to slip away under the colour of single communion, as he hath done hitherto; but simply and plainly, as he hath here noted unto the world, to stand upon the bare terms of "private mass." For else his note was not worth the noting.

As touching Tertullian, we must remember, that the faithful in that time, for fear of the tyrants under whom they lived, were often driven to pray asunder. Wherefore, when they might privily assemble together, besides that they presently received there, they reserved certain portions of the mysteries, to be received afterward in their houses at home, to put them daily the better in remembrance, that they were the members of one church.

This manner of the church considered, Tertullian being a priest, as St. Hierom writeth of him, and having a wife, wrote unto her an exhortation, that if it should please God to take him first from the world, that she would remain still unmarried, or at the least not match with any heathen, shewing her the dangers that thereof might ensue; that she should be suffered neither to keep the solemn feasts, nor to watch, nor to pray with the congregation. Among other things he saith thus: "And will not thy husband know what thou eatest before other meats? And if he know it, he will believe it to be bread, but not that bread that it is called." Hieronymus de Eccles. Script. [iv. pt. 2. p. 115.] Tertullian a married priest.

Here M. Harding, as if the gospel of Christ were become odious unto him, in scorn and disdain calleth us gospellers, by the name of that gospel that he so wilfully hath forsaken, returning to his old vomit. And out of these words of Tertullian, three things, he saith, he will teach us: of which three things notwithstanding his private mass is none. Of the first we have to speak elsewhere. Of the second there is no question. In the third M. Harding hath manifestly corrupted both the words and meaning of Tertullian. He saith, "The thing that we receive, is no bread:" but so Tertullian saith not. His words be these: "Thy husband will think it (only) bread, and not that bread that it is called;" that is to say, the sacrament of Christ's body, or the mystery of any holy thing, as Chris- Gospellers.

Chrys. in 1. ad Cor. Homil. 7. [x. 51.]

tian men believe of it: like as Chrysostom also saith of the water of baptism: *Ethnicus cum audit lavacrum baptismi, persuadet sibi simpliciter esse aquam*: "A heathen, when he heareth of the bath of baptism, believeth it is nothing else but plain water⁷⁵."

But that the thing which our bodily mouth receiveth, is very bread, both the scriptures, and also the old catholic fathers have put it out of doubt. St. Paul five times in one chapter nameth it bread.

1 Cor. xi.

Cyril. in Joh. lib. 4. cap. 14. [Ed. Aubert. cap. 2. tom. iv. p. 360.]
In Sermone ad Infantes: citatur a Beda, in 1 Cor. x.

Cyrillus saith: "Christ unto his faithful disciples gave pieces of bread⁷⁶." And St. Augustine saith: "The thing that ye see is bread, as your eyes bear you witness⁷⁷." I pass by Gelasius, Theodoretus, Chrysostom, Origen, Justinus Martyr, Irenæus, Clemens, and others, who all together with one consent have confessed, that in the sacrament there remaineth the nature and substance of bread. Wherefore it is much presumed of M. Harding, to say, there remaineth no bread, specially having nothing to bear him in his author here alleged.

Tertullian falsified by M. Harding.

Ludov. Vives: De Civitate Dei, lib. 2. cap. 13.

John xix. 34.
Petrus Crini. [De honesta disciplina.] lib. xiii. c. 6.
Codrus Urceus Sermon. 8. [al. 10.]

Yet for advantage he hath also falsified Tertullian, Englishing these words, *illum panem*, "him," as if it were the person of a man: as Thomas Valois, writing upon St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, hath turned this word *apex*, which was the tuft or crest of the flamen's hat, into a certain chronicler that wrote stories: or as the divines of late years, upon the Gospel of St. John, of this Greek word *lonche*, which signifieth a spear, have made *Longinus*, the blind knight. If Tertullian had not meant *illum panem*, "that bread," he would not have said *illum* at all; but rather, *illud*, referring the same unto *corpus*. A small difference between *him* and *it*. So was there small difference between

⁷⁵ [Ἐτέρωσ γούνη ἐγώ, καὶ ἐτέρωσ ὁ ἀπιστος περὶ τούτων διακείμεθα. . . ἀκούων λουτρὸν ἐκείνος ἀπλῶς ὕδωρ νομίζει.]

⁷⁶ [In the Greek-Lat. edition of Aubert, the words run thus: τοῖς γὰρ ἤδη πεπιστευκόσι διακλάσας τὸν ἄρτον ἐδίδου λέγων, κ. τ. λ. Jewel quoted probably from the Basle Lat. ed. " . . . sic credentibus disci-

"pulis fragmenta panis dedit, dido cens, &c.," Basl. ed. 1546. vol. i. p. 200.]

⁷⁷ [This passage (which Jewel borrowed from Bede), is found in serm. 16. (Aug. Bened. ed. 272. tom. v. p. 1103): "Quod ergo vobis etis, panis est et calix, quod vobis etiam oculi vestri renuntiant. . ."]

sibboleth and *shibboleth*; yet was it sufficient to descry the traitor. Jud. xii. 6.

And whereas M. Harding thus hardly and violently, contrary to the phrase and manner of speech, and as it may be doubted, contrary to his own knowledge and conscience, hath translated *illum panem*, "him," so as, to my remembrance, never did man before, meaning it was the very person of a man that the woman had in her hand, and did eat before other meats; Cyrillus saith: *Non asseveramus anthropophagiam*: "We teach not our people to eat the person of man"⁷⁸.

Cyrillus contra Objecti-
ones Theo-
doreti. [Ed.
Basil. 1546.
vol. iv. 215.]

But who can better expound Tertullian's mind, than Tertullian himself? In his book, *De Corona Militis*, speaking of the same matter, he calleth it *sacramentum eucharistiæ*, "the sacrament of thanksgiving." And against Marcion he writeth thus: *Christus non reprobavit panem, quo [ipsum] corpus suum representat*: "Christ refused not the bread, wherewith he representeth his body." And St. Augustine likewise saith: *In sacramentis videndum est, non quid sint, sed quid significant*: "Touching sacraments, we must consider, not what they be indeed, but what they signify"⁷⁹. So also saith St. Chrysostom: *Ego non aspectu judico ea quæ videntur, sed mentis oculis corpus Christi video*: "I judge not those things which are seen, after the outward appearance; but with the eyes of my mind I see the body of Christ"⁸⁰.

Tertull. de
Corona Milli-
tis. [cap. 3.
p. 102.]

Tertull. con-
tra Marcion.
lib. 1. [cap.
14. p. 372.]

August. con-
tra Maximin-
um lib. 3.
[al. 2.] cap.
22. [viii. 725.]

Chrysost. in
1 Cor. Hom.
7. [x. 51.]

⁷⁸ [Jewel probably alluded to a passage which he quotes more correctly in the 5th Art. 4th Div., and which is found in vol. iv. p. 215 of the Basle edition of 1546 (Latin), and not in Aubert's Paris edition. Indeed in this part of the work the two editions differ altogether. The words are these: "Num hominis commestionem (marg. ἀνθρωποφαγίαν) nostrum sacramentum pronuntias, et ir-religiose ad crassas cogitationes urges eorum qui crediderunt mentes?" Lib. ad Euoptium.]

⁷⁹ [The passage intended, appears to be in the 2nd book Con-

tra Maximin. (Jewel calls it the 3rd, because there was a previous book, entitled *Collatio cum Maximino*): "Ne forte dicas spiritum et aquam et sanguinem diversas esse substantias et tamen dictum esse tres unum sunt. . Hæc enim sacramenta sunt, in quibus non quid sint, sed quid ostendant, semper adtenditur, quoniam signa sunt rerum aliud existentia, aliud significantia."]

⁸⁰ [Οὐ γὰρ τῇ ὄψει κρίνω τὰ φαινόμενα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τῆς διανοίας ἀκούω, σῶμα Χριστοῦ. ἐτέρως ἐγὼ νοῶ τὸ εἰρημένον, ἐτέρως ὁ ἀπίστος.]

This is the thing that the husband, being an heathen, could not see. For, believing not in Christ, he could not understand that the bread should be the sacrament or mystery of Christ's body.

And that this was the very meaning of Tertullian, it may well appear by the words that immediately follow: "The husband," saith he, "will doubt whether it be poison or no, and therefore will dissemble, and bear for a while, that at length he may accuse his wife for poisoning before a judge, and do her to death, and have her dowry⁸¹."

Touching St. Augustine and Origen, the portion so taken was to be used with reverence, as being the sacrament of Christ's body: and so ought we also reverently to have and to order the water of baptism, the book of the gospel, and all other things that be of God: as the Jews were also commanded to keep their manna reverently in a golden pot. "Tell me," saith St. Augustine, "whether of these two things trow ye to be the greater, the body of Christ (meaning thereby the sacrament of Christ's body) or the word of Christ? If ye will answer truly, ye must needs say, that the word of Christ is no less than the body of Christ. Therefore look with what diligence ye take heed when the body of Christ is ministered unto you, that no part thereof fall unto the ground; even so with like diligence must ye take heed, that the word of God, being once received, be not lost from a pure heart⁸²." Likewise St. Chrysostom, touching the same: *Si hæc vasa sanctificata ad privatos usus transferre sic periculosum est, in quibus non est verum corpus Christi, sed mysterium corporis Christi continetur*; "If the matter be so dangerous, to put these sanctified vessels unto private uses, wherein is contained not the very body of Christ, but the mystery or sacrament of Christ's body," &c.⁸³ All these authorities do declare, that the

r. qu. r. Interrogo vos. Idem de tempore.
The word of Christ is no less than the body of Christ.

Chrysost. In opere imper. hom. II. [vi. App. 2. p. lxiii.]

The very body of Christ is not contained in the holy vessels.

⁸¹ ["Et hæc, ignorans quisque rationem, simpliciter sustinebit? sine gemitu? sine suspicione panis an veneni? &c."]

⁸² [The Benedictine editor, while he places the homily from which Gratian extracted this (lib. L. Homiliarum, homil. 26.) in the Ap-

pendix, as having been falsely ascribed to St. Augustine, inclines to the opinion that it was written by Cæsarius, archbishop of Arles, (A. D. 502.) Ed. Bened. tom. v. App. 504.]

⁸³ [The Benedictines, in their edition of the Opus Imperfectum

sacraments of Christ ought discreetly and reverently to be used.

The story that St. Cyprian reporteth, as it sheweth the manner of keeping of the sacrament, so it seemeth also to shew, that God was offended with the same⁸⁴. The like whereof hath often been seen in the water of baptism, and in other holy things, as appeareth by Nicephorus, and others in sundry places. Therefore this authority serveth M. Harding to small purpose, unless it be to prove, that, as God was then displeased with sole receiving in private houses, so he is now displeased with sole receiving in the mass.

Cypr. de Lap-
sis, Sermon.
5. [p. 189.]

Niceph. lib.
14. cap. 17.
[li. 471. ed.
Paris.]

Concerning the story of Serapion, here are interlaced many fair words for increase of credit, that it was written by Dionysius Alexandrinus, and recited by Eusebius, as though the sick man had only desired his housel before he departed, and nothing else. But the special matter, whereupon the story is grounded, is passed by. Eusebius recordeth in plain words, that the book wherein Dionysius wrote this story, was intituled *De Pœnitentia*. Whereby he giveth to understand, that the sacrament then was not

in Matthæum *incerti auctoris* (int. opp. Chrysostom.), inform us that the words “in quibus non est verum corpus Christi, sed mysterium corporis ejus continetur,” are in some copies omitted. In their Dissertation prefixed, they quote this passage amongst others as a proof that the writer was a heretic, although they admit that he elsewhere writes in a catholic spirit on the subject of the holy eucharist. Besides the Benedictines, the work is considered spurious and heretical by Erasmus, Baronius, Tillemont, &c., (and, as it now stands, it certainly bears the marks of Arianism, and of other gross errors). Some however hold that the heretical passages have been interpolated by heretics, but that the main substance is genuine; amongst these commentators is Sixtus Senensis; and Oudinus

seems to agree with him as to the value of the book, if it could be purified, (tom. i. p. 775.) Cave says, that it is now generally considered spurious, although learned, and written perhaps in the age of St. Chrysostom. Jewel, though he continually quotes the book under Chrysostom’s name, has intimated his knowledge of the doubtful value of its authority.]

⁸⁴ [Jewel is not borne out in this assertion. According to St. Cyprian’s account, the reason why the offender was punished, seems to have been that she attempted to open the box “manibus indignis”—“Et cum quædam arcam suam, in qua Domini sanctum fuit, manibus indignis (al. inquinatis) tentasset aperire, igne inde surgente deterrita est, ne auderet attingere.”]

generally sent home to all men's houses, but only unto them that were excommunicate, and might not receive in the congregation among the faithful, and now lay in despair of life.

Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 45. [1. 316, 317, 318.] The case stood thus: Serapion, in the time of persecution, for fear of death, had offered sacrifice unto an idol. The faithful being therewith sore offended, put him out of their congregation, and gave him over to Satan. He, being thus left as an heathen and an idolater, might neither resort to the common church nor pray, nor receive the holy communion, or any other spiritual comfort among his brethren. So hard the church was then to be intreated for them that had fallen back into idolatry. After he had made all means, and had with tears besought his brethren, and was no way considered, through heaviness of mind he began to droop, and fell sick, and for three days lay speechless, and without sense. The fourth day, being somewhat revived, he said to them that were about him, O how long will ye keep me here! Send for one of the priests, (that I may be restored before I depart).

His mind was tormented with consideration of the state he stood in, for that he had forsaken God. The priest being sick himself, in token he was restored, and might depart as a member of Christ, sent unto him the sacrament by his boy. The rest that M. Harding addeth ("And this solemnity being done, saith the story, as though he had broken certain chains and gyves, he gave up the spirit cheerfully"); all this is set to, either by Ruffinus, or by some other, I know not by whom, and is no part of the story. For neither doth Dionysius, nor Eusebius, in the original, make any mention either of solemnity, or of chains or gyves, or of cheerfulness of Serapion's departing, but only thus: "And swallowing down a little, straightways he yielded up the ghost." As for his joyful departure, I doubt nothing. But any great solemnity there could not be between a man in that case, and a boy alone, specially having no such outward pomp as hath been used of late, to make it solemn.

Now must I desire thee, gentle reader, to have an eye a

Ruffin. lib. 6. cap. 34.

Μικρὸν κα-
ταβροχθί-
σας, εὐθέως
ἀπέδωκε τὸ
πνεῦμα.

little backward to M. Harding's note, given thee for a remembrance in the margin, by these words, "Proofs for private mass:" which note must needs be in the foot and conclusion of all his arguments. Therefore of these stories here by him reported, we must conclude thus: Tertullian's wife, and the woman of whom Cyprian speaketh, received the sacrament alone; *ergo*, Tertullian's wife, and the other woman, said private mass. Or thus: Serapion's boy ministered the sacrament to his master; *ergo*, Serapion's boy said private mass. For if the conclusion be otherwise, we conclude one thing for another. And indeed M. Harding may as certainly say, This action was a mass, as he can say Serapion's boy was a priest.

M. HARDING: *Eighteenth Division.*

Of keeping the sacrament secretly at home, and how it might be received of devout persons alone without other company, I ween none of the ancient doctors wrote so plainly as St. Basil, in an epistle that he wrote to a noblewoman, called *Cæsaria*, which is extant in Greek, where he saith further, that this manner began not in his time first, but long before. His words be these: *Illud autem in persecutionis temporibus necessitate cogi quempiam, non præsentem sacerdote aut ministro, communionem propria manu sumere, nequaquam esse grave, supervacaneum est demonstrare, propterea quod longa consuetudine et ipso rerum usu confirmatum est. Omnes enim in eremis solitariam vitam agentes, ubi non est sacerdos, communionem domi servantes, a seipsis communicant. In Alexandria vero, et in Ægypto, unusquisque eorum qui sunt de populo, plurimum habet communionem in domo sua. Semel enim sacrificium sacerdote consecrante et distribuyente, merito participare et suscipere, credere oportet. Etenim et in ecclesia sacerdos dat partem, et accipit eam is qui suscipit, cum omni libertate, et ipsam admovet ori propria manu. Idem igitur est virtute, sive unam partem accipiat quisquam a sacerdote, sive plures partes simul⁸⁵: "As concerning this, that it is no grievous*

[Basil. iii.
186.]

⁸⁵ [Basil. ad Cæsariam patri-
ciam: Τὸ δὲ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ διωγμοῦ
καιροῖς ἀναγκάζεσθαι τινα, μὴ πα-
ρόντος ἱερέως ἢ λειτουργοῦ, τὴν κοι-
νωνίαν λαμβάνειν τῇ ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ, μη-
δαμῶς εἶναι βαρὺ περιττὸν ἐστὶ ἀπο-
δεικνύναι, διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν μακρὰν
συνήθειαν τοῦτο δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πρα-
γμάτων πιστώσασθαι. Πάντες γάρ
οἱ κατὰ τὰς ἐρήμους μονάζοντες, ἔνθα
μὴ ἐστὶν ἱερεὺς, κοινωνίαν οἴκοι κα-

τέχοντες ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν μεταλαμβάνου-
σιν. ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ δὲ, καὶ ἐν
Αἰγύπτῳ, ἕκαστος καὶ τῶν ἐν λαῷ
τελούντων, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλείστον, ἔχει
κοινωνίαν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτε
βούλεται μεταλαμβάνει δι' ἑαυτοῦ.
ἅπαξ γὰρ τὴν θυσίαν τοῦ ἱερέως
τελειώσαντος καὶ δεδωκότος, ὁ λα-
βὼν αὐτὴν ὡς ὅλην ὀμοῦ, καθ' ἑκά-
στην μεταλαμβάνων, παρὰ τοῦ δε-
δωκότος εἰκότως μεταλαμβάνει, καὶ

offence for one to be driven by necessity, in times of persecution, to receive the communion with his own hand, no priest nor deacon being present, it is a thing superfluous to declare; for that by long custom and practice it hath been confirmed and taken place. For all they which live a solitary life in wilderness, where no priest is to be had, keeping the communion at home, do communicate with (29) themselves alone. And in Alexandria, and in Egypt, every one of the people, for the most part, hath the communion at home in his house. For whenas the priest hath once consecrate and distribute the host, it is reason we believe, that we ought to be partakers of it: and he that taketh it, receiveth it without all scruple of conscience, and putteth it to his mouth with his own hand. And so it is of one virtue, whether anybody take one part of the priest, or more parts together." Thus far St. Basil. In this saying of Basil, it is to be noted; 1. That necessity here hath respect to the lack of priest and deacon, so as (30) in that case the sacrament might be received of a faithful person with his own hand. 2. And that for the ratifying of so doing, he allegeth continuance of custom, which for us, in this point of the sole receiving, may in more ample wise be alleged. 3. Again, that holy eremites, living in wilderness, apart from company, and also the devout people of Alexandria and Egypt, received the communion alone in their cells and houses. 4. Futhermore, that the host, once consecrated of the priest, is aligates to be received, whether of many together, or one alone, by him it seemeth not to force. 5. That whether a man take at the priest's hand the blessed sacrament in one piece, or no pieces, and receive them at convenient times, when devotion best serveth; the virtue, effect, and power thereof is one. By which authority, reservation is avouched. Doubtless where he speaketh so precisely and particularly of sundry cases touching the order of receiving, if he had been of M. Jewel's opinion, that the sacrament may not be received of one, without a certain number of communicants together, he would not so have passed over that matter in silence, much less written so plainly of the contrary. Now that the communion thus kept in wilderness and in Egypt, places of extreme heat, where wine in small quantity, as is for that purpose convenient, cannot be long kept from souring, and changing his nature, was in the form of bread only, and not also of wine; I defer to note it here, because it pertaineth to the treatise of the next article.

The 29th untruth. For M. Harding hath corrupted the translation. The words, with themselves alone, are not in St. Basil.

The 30th untruth. For St. Basil saith, The communicant received with his own hand, even in the presence of the priest.

ἰποδέχουσαι πιστεύου ὀφείλει, καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐπιδίδουσι τὴν μερίδα, καὶ κατέχει αὐτὴν ὁ ἰποδεχόμενος μετ' ἐξουσίας ἀπάσης, καὶ οὕτω προσάγει τῷ στό-

ματι τῇ ἰδία χειρὶ. ταυτὸν τοίνυν ἐστὶ τῇ δυνάμει, εἴτε μίαν μερίδα δέξεται τις παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως, εἴτε πολλὰς μερίδας ὁμοῦ.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This place of St. Basil we might have safely passed over, without prejudice of our cause, as touching other things impertinent, and not once making mention of the mass. Yet seeing it hath pleased M. Harding thus to colour and to emboss out this ancient father, as if he alone of all others spake most plainly of his side, having notwithstanding both in this very selfsame place, and also in other words immediately before, which M. Harding thought best of purpose to dissemble, manifest record against private mass, I may not well utterly leave him in silence.

First the case being supposed lawful for the people, both men and women, to take some portion of the sacrament home with them, and to receive it alone secretly, and at their pleasures: to make further doubt, whether the party so having it might touch it, and receive it with his own hands, was a very nice question, and meet for a gentlewoman, as Cæsaria was, to demand. And so it seemed also to St. Basil, as may appear by his answer. For whosoever hath considered the old fathers, shall find this matter fully debated by the continual practice of the church.

St. Cyprian sheweth that in his time the people received the holy mysteries of the deacons with their hands: and that one that had committed idolatry, and afterward came to receive the communion amongst the faithful, opened his hand, and found the sacrament turned into ashes.

The like manner of receiving is recorded also by Tertullian⁸⁶. Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, hath these words in an epistle unto Sistus [Xystus], the bishop of Rome, touching the same, speaking of one that had received the communion in the church: "After he had heard the thanksgiving, and had sounded Amen with the rest, and had been at the table, and had reached forth his hand to receive the holy food⁸⁷," &c.

⁸⁶ [If the reference to Tertullian is correct, it does not seem much to the purpose—it only implies, that the sacrament was kept and eaten in private houses.]

⁸⁷ [Euseb. lib. vii. c. 8. (Reading—Valesius' ed. c. 9.)... και χειρας εις υποδοχην της αγιας τροφης πορειναντα. . . It was the custom namely to stretch forth the right

Cypr. Serm. 5. De Lapsis. [p. 189.]

Tertull. lib. 2. ad uxo. rem. [p. 169.]

Eusebius lib. 7. cap. 8. [al. c. 9. l. p. 330.]

Reached forth his hand.

Clem. Alex.
Strom. lib. 1.
[i. 318.]

Clemens of Alexandria thus uttereth the manner of the church there: "When certain have divided the sacrament, as the order is, they suffer every of the people to take part of it⁸⁸."

Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 42. [al.
43. i. 315.]

Novatus the heretic, when he ministered the communion to the people, used to swear them by that they had in their hands, that is to say, by the sacrament, that they would no more return to Cornelius⁸⁹.

Aug. contra
litteras Peti-
liani, lib. 2.
cap. 23. [ix.
223.]

St. Augustine, writing against certain letters of Petilian, saith thus: "I speak of him, whose kiss of peace ye received at the ministration, and in whose hands ye laid the sacrament⁹⁰." I leave the story between St. Ambrose and

Theodor. lib.
5. cap. 17.
[al. cap. 18.
iii. p. 214.]

the emperor Theodosius, and other sundry like authorities, to the same purpose.

Col. ii. 21, 23.

Yet because many have been superstitiously led, and simply seduced herein, by the doctrine of them that say, "O taste not this, O touch not this; which are nothing else," as St. Paul saith, "but commandments and doctrines of men, having a show of wisdom in superstition, and abasing of the mind;" I think it not amiss to note one special place out of the council of Constantinople concerning the same. The words of the council be these: "We do in nowise admit them, that, instead of their hand, make to themselves instruments of gold, or of any other matter, for the receiving of the holy communion, as men more regarding a dead metal, than the image of God. And if any priest receive such persons with such instruments unto the

Conc. Con-
stantin. 6.
[Quini-Sex-
tum] c. 101.
[Mansi, xi.
988.]

hand (slightly hollow), and to support it by the left; (see Cyril. Hieros. Catech. ult., quoted by Valesius in loc.)]

⁸⁸ [Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. i. . . ἢ καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν τινὲς διανείμεντες, ὡς ἔθος, αὐτὸν δὴ ἕκαστον τοῦ λαοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν μοῖραν ἐπιτρέπουσιν.]

⁸⁹ [Euseb. lib. vi. c. 42, (Reading, c. 43). It appears from this passage, that after the consecrated bread was placed in the hands of the communicant, before he was allowed to partake of it, Novatus

held his hands between his own, and used these words: "Ὁμοσόν μοι κατὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μηδέποτε με καταλιπεῖν καὶ ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς Κορνήλιον. This implied that "he used to swear them by that they had in their hands."]

⁹⁰ [Augustin. contr. Litteras Petiliani: "Huc accedit, quia ego "illum commemoro . . . cui pacis "osculum inter sacramenta copulabatis, in cujus manibus eucharistiam ponebatis."]

communion, let him be excommunicate, and him likewise that bringeth them⁹¹.”

But if this gentlewoman's doubt were not, whether a layman might safely touch the sacrament, but only whether it were lawful for any such one to minister the same unto his own mouth, St. Basil saith it is no question. Custom already hath made it good. For, saith he, both the eremites in the wilderness, and every of the people in Egypt and Alexandria, for the more part, have the sacrament at home, and each of them doth minister it unto himself.

Basilus ad
Cæsariam
patriciam.
[Hil. 186.]

Yea, even in the church, after that the priest hath distributed a portion of the sacrament, he that hath received it, putteth it to his mouth with his own hand, without any remorse or doubt of conscience: and whether he receive one portion of the priest, or mo, the effect and strength thereof is all one. This is the very meaning of St. Basil: albeit, for plainness sake, reserving the sense, I have somewhat altered the words. But much I marvel how M. Harding can gather hereof his private mass.

Touching his five special notes, if we grant them thoroughly every one, yet is he nothing near his purpose. For his mass is none of them.

The eremites' sole receiving, as it nothing hindereth us that deny not the fact, so it nothing furthereth him, unless he will have laymen and women to do so still.

The reason that St. Basil maketh of custom and continuance, being well considered, is very weak, both for many other good and just causes, and also for that the same custom, as it was never universally received, so upon better advice, by order of the church, it was clean abolished. For wise men in God's causes have evermore mistrusted the authority of custom.

⁹¹ [Τοὺς γὰρ ἐκ χρυσοῦ ἢ ἄλλης ὕλης ἀντὶ χειρὸς τινα δοχεῖα κατασκευάζοντας πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δώρου ὑποδοχὴν καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τῆς ἀχράντου κοινωνίας ἀξιωμαμένους οὐδαμῶς προσιέμεθα, ὡς προτιμῶντας τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰκόνας τὴν ἄψυχον

ὑλὴν καὶ ὑποχείριον· εἰ δέ τις ἀλφῆ τῆς ἀχράντου κοινωνίας μεταδιδοῦς τοῖς τοιαῦτα δοχεῖα προσφέρουσι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀφοριζέσθω, καὶ ὁ ταῦτα ἐπιφερόμενος. Quini-Sexti, Can. 101. ap. Bruns. vol. i. 64.]

The heretics in old time named Aquarii, that in the holy ministration used water only and no wine, notwithstanding they manifestly brake Christ's institution, as our adversaries do now, yet they upheld their doings therein by long custom. But St. Cyprian being then alive, wrote thus against them: *Victi ratione opponunt consuetudinem, quasi consuetudo sit major veritate*, &c.: "Being overcome with reason, they defend themselves by custom, as though custom were better than the truth.—We may not prescribe of custom, but we must overcome with reason⁹².—Custom without truth is the mother of error⁹³."

Ad Jubaian.
De Hæret.
Baptizan. [p.
133.]

Cyprian. ad
Quirinum
[Quintum, p.
127.]
Cyprian. ad
Pompeium
contra Epist.
Stephani. [p.
141.]

But be it that both the reason were good, and the custom that long sithence hath been abolished, had remained still: yet is not M. Harding able out of this place precisely and undoubtedly to prove his private mass. For if a man should say, it may possibly be, that these eremites did not minister severally each man to himself alone, but one of them unto the rest of the eremites dwelling in the wilderness, as it appeareth diversly, they had times to meet and to pray together: or, that the householders in Egypt and Alexandria, ministered not only to themselves, but also to their whole several families, as it is written of Hippolytus Martyr, that, being a layman, he received the communion of Justinus, being a priest, and bare it home, and ministered the same to his wife, his children, and his servants. If a man would thus say, perhaps M. Harding would better bethink himself of his conclusions. This sense may seem to stand very well with St. Basil's words; notwithstanding M. Harding, in his translation into English, hath openly falsified the same. For whereas it is written in the Greek, and so likewise in the Latin, "They receive of themselves;" which may well be understood, that one of them received of another for want of a priest, he hath otherwise wrested it to come to his tune, and hath turned it thus: "They do communicate with themselves alone;"

Ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν
μεταλαμβάνουσι.

⁹² ["Non est de consuetudine præscribendum, sed ratione vincendum." Cyprian. ad Quintum.

⁹³ [... "nam consuetudo sine veritate *vetustas* erroris est." Cyprian. ad Pomp.]

wherein, albeit I will not greatly strive, yet neither this word "alone," nor these words "with themselves," can be found either in the Greek or in the Latin.

This long allegation of St. Basil's words, with all the furniture thereof, may shortly be gathered into this reason: These eremites, being no priests, received alone; *ergo*, these eremites, being no priests, said private mass.

Further M. Harding saith, This sole receiving was allowed by custom; *ergo*, private mass likewise is lawful by custom.

This reason goeth round against himself. For it may be well replied: This sole receiving was an abuse, and therefore was abolished by the church, notwithstanding custom; *ergo*, private mass likewise is an abuse; and ought to be abolished notwithstanding custom.

Now let us see, whether these very self words of St. Basil here alleged by M. Harding make any thing for the holy communion. And what authority can be against us, if M. Harding's own authorities, yea, as himself vaunteth, "the most manifest and plainest of all his authorities," be found with us? For trial hereof we must resort, not into the wilderness, whereas was neither priest nor deacon, as it is confessed, but unto the churches that were in St. Basil's time. So shall we soon see, whether the ministration then used were a communion or a private mass.

St. Basil in the same place saith thus: "We do communicate four times in the week; upon the Sunday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday⁹⁴." If we may find any thing upon words, he saith, "We communicate:" he saith not, "We say mass." And thus, saith St. Basil, "we do four times in the week." Then had they not the daily sacrifice, whereupon private mass is grounded. He much misreckoneth himself, that saith, that thing is daily done, which is done but four times in seven days.

Moreover St. Basil saith: "After the priest hath once consecrate (τελειώσαντος) and divided the sacrifice, we must

Basil. ad
Caesarium
patriciam.
[iii. 186.]

No daily
sacrifice.

⁹⁴ [Ἡμεῖς μέντοιγε τέταρτον καθ' ἐκάστην ἑβδομάδα κοινωνοῦμεν, ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ, καὶ ἐν τῇ τετράδι, καὶ ἐν τῇ παρασκευῇ, καὶ τῷ σαββάτῳ, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡμέραις εἰὰν ἡ μνήμη ἀγίου τινός.]

think that we ought to receive and to be partakers of it accordingly (*εὐκότως*). For in the church the priest giveth part, and the communicant receiveth it with all freedom of conscience, and with his own hand putteth it to his mouth. Therefore is the virtue all one, whether it be one portion only that he receiveth of the priest, or mo together⁹⁵.”

Here mark well, good reader, how many ways St. Basil overthroweth M. Harding’s mass.

1. St. Basil saith, “ We do communicate :” M. Harding in his mass doth not communicate.

2. St. Basil “ divideth and distributeth :” M. Harding divideth indeed, but distributeth nothing.

3. In St. Basil’s mass, “ the people receiveth :” in M. Harding’s mass the people receiveth not.

4. In St. Basil’s mass, “ each man receiveth with his own hand :” in M. Harding’s mass no man receiveth, no not with the priest’s hand.

5. In St. Basil’s mass the people, besides that they received presently there, “ had portions also delivered them to receive at home :” in M. Harding’s mass there is no portion delivered unto the people, no not so much as presently to be received in the church.

6. In St. Basil’s mass, “ each man receiveth and eateth for himself :” in M. Harding’s mass, the whole people eateth by the mouth of the priest. O what meaneth M. Harding to bring such witnesses for his mass, as do so openly witness against his mass! Who may trust him in the dark, that thus dealeth in the light?

M. HARDING: *Nineteenth Division.*

It appeareth evidently by witness of St. Hierom also, that this custom of receiving the communion privately at home continued among Christian men at Rome not only in time of persecution, but also afterward when the church was at rest and peace, so as the case of necessity cannot here serve them for maintaining of their strange negative in this point. These be his words: *Scio Romæ hanc esse consuetudinem, ut fideles semper Christi corpus accipiant, quod nec reprehendo, nec probō. Unusquisque enim*

In Apolog.
[pro libris]
adversus
Jovin. [lv.
part. 2. p.
239.]

⁹⁵ [Basil. ad Cæsar. patric. See the original, printed at p. 247, note ⁸⁵.]

in suo sensu abundat. Sed ipsorum conscientiam convenio, qui eodem die post coitum communicant, et juxta Persium, noctem flumine purgant: quare ad martyres non audent? quare non ingrediuntur ecclesias? An alius in publico, alius in domo Christus est? Quod in ecclesia non licet, nec domi licet. Nihil Deo clausum est, et tenebræ quoque lucent apud Deum. Probet se unusquisque, et sic ad corpus Christi accedat: "I know this custom is at Rome, that Christian folk receive the body of Christ daily, which I do neither reprove nor allow. For every man hath enough in his own sense. But I appose their conscience which do communicate that same day as they have done wedlock work, and as Persius saith, Do rince night filth with running water. Why dare they not go to martyrs' shrines? why go not they into the churches? What, is there one Christ abroad, and another Christ within the house? Whatsoever is not lawful in the church, neither at home is it lawful. To God nothing is hidden: yea darkness also shineth before God. Let every one examine himself, and so come to the body of Christ." St. Hierom reproveth this in the Romans, that whereas St. Paul ordained that for cause of prayer married folk should at times forbear their carnal embracings, they notwithstanding that, though they had doing with their wives, yet received their rites nevertheless daily. And yet what day they had so done, they durst not go to churches where martyrs' tombs were, there to receive our Lord's body. For it is to be understood for better knowledge hereof, that such as knew themselves to have done any uncleanness were afraid in old time to come to martyrs' sepulchres. For there commonly by miracle such things were bewrayed, and many times by open confession of the parties, whether they would or no. Erasmus, in his scholies upon this place of St. Hierom, saith thus: "Of this place we gather, that in the old time every one was wont to receive the body of Christ at home in his house, that would." He saith further: *Idem videtur innuere Paulus, cum ait: An domos non habetis ad manducandum?* "St. Paul," saith he, "seemeth to mean the same thing, where he saith, Have ye not houses to eat in?" Thus Erasmus gathereth proof of private, or, as M. Jewel jesteth, single communion, out of the scriptures; and he was as well learned in them as M. Jewel is. Yet herein I leave Erasmus to his own defence. By this we may understand that in the ancient times of the church, the receiving of the communion of one by himself alone was well allowed. And though it was done but by one faithful person at once in one place, yet was it called a communion both of St. Basil, and also of St. Hierom, clean contrary to M. Jewel's sense. It is to be judged that they knew the institution of Christ, so well as he, or any other of these new masters, and that their conscience was such, as, if Christ's ordinance therein had been broken, they would not have winked at it, ne with their ungodly silence confirmed such an ungodly custom. Verily for excuse of this sole receiving, necessity cannot justly be alleged.

Hereof speaketh St. Hierom ad Vigil. S. Aug. Epistolæ 137. [il. 183.] and Severus Vulpitius in Vita S. Martini dial. 3. cap. 7.

Erasmus speaketh of private receiving: but not one word of private mass.

St. Hierom reproveth this custom. Thus he saith: "That is not lawful in the church, is not lawful at home."

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

How often will M. Harding allege the old doctors against himself? Here he bringeth in St. Hierom, and the first words that he could find for his purpose were these: "I know the custom at Rome is this, that the Christian people there receive the body of Christ every day." It seemeth this custom grew first from Peter, and was planted in Rome. A man may here well demand, when the custom was that the people should communicate daily together, where then was the custom of private mass?

Hier. in Apol. [pro libris] advers. Jo- vinian. [lv. pt. 2. p. 239.]

Where was then the private mass?

Besides this, M. Harding to prove the custom of the people's receiving at home, hath alleged St. Hierom, that earnestly reproveth that custom, and would not have them receive at home⁹⁶. St. Hierom's words be these: "Why dare they not go to the temples built in the remembrance of martyrs? Why go they not to the church? What, is there one Christ abroad, and another Christ at home?" If the people did well, why doth St. Hierom thus reprove them? If they did ill, why doth M. Harding thus allow them?

Here M. Harding interlaceth other matter of the office of wedlock, the word of Persius the pagan poet, and the superstitious ceremony of the heathens, as I take it, little pertaining unto his mass. Whereas the whole people received the holy mysteries every day, the man and wife remembering sometimes what they had done between themselves, and thinking themselves for the same not to be in so clean state of life as the rest were, for that cause forbore the church for the time: and having the sacrament

⁹⁶ [Jewel has here misrepresented not only Harding's reasoning, but the passage which he quotes from St. Jerome. It is not the custom of the people's receiving at home, which St. Jerome here reproveth, but receiving *at all*, as well at home as in the church, *in the case supposed* of married persons; and Jewel, a few lines below, seems so to understand it.

On the other hand, granting (as Jewel has granted before) that it was not unusual at one time to receive the sacrament at home, Harding has no right to infer from this custom the existence of private mass.

It is also unfair to say that "Harding interlaceth the word of Persius," seeing that it is St. Jerome who quotes that poet.]

sent unto them, received it privately at home. Unto this superstition St. Hierom himself gave great occasion, many times both writing and speaking unseemly of the state of marriage, in defence whereof St. Augustine wrote a book against Jovinian, entitled *De bono Conjugii*: and St. Hierom afterward was driven to make his answer by way of purgation unto Pammachius for the same. In this error were divers of the old learned fathers. Tertullian saith: "I allow not marriage: for fornication and that stand both in one thing⁹⁷." Origen saith: "No man can offer the continual sacrifice," (that is to say, the sacrifice of prayer,) "unless he be a virgin⁹⁸." St. Hierom saith: "It is good not to touch a woman: therefore it is ill to touch a woman." Upon occasion of which error, the people sometime forbore the churches where martyrs were buried. Wherein M. Harding's translation swerveth much from the original. For instead of "churches" he hath translated, "martyrs' shrines," as though the bones of holy men had then been shrined, and offerings made unto them, as of late years hath been used.

True it is, Almighty God, for the testimony of his doctrine and truth, hath oftentimes wrought great miracles, even by the dead carcasses of his saints, in witness that they had been his messengers and the instruments of his will. But as these were good inducements at the first to lead the people to the truth, so afterward they became snares, to lead the same people into error: and that even in the time of the old fathers, about eleven hundred years ago. St. Augustine saith: "I know many worshippers of graves and images, that drink and quaff disorderly over

Tertul. in exhortatione ad Castitatem. [p. 523.] Origen. in Numeros. Hom. 23. [li. 358.] Hieron. advers. Jovin. lib. 1. [lv. part. 2. 149.]

M. Harding corrupteth St. Hierom.

Aug. de Morib. Eccles. et Manich.

⁹⁷ [Tertullian is writing to a widower in condemnation of a second marriage. In the course of his argument, this passage occurs: "Ergo, inquis, jam et primas, id est, unas nuptias destruis. Nec immerito, quoniam et ipsæ ex eo constant, quo et stuprum." De Exhort. Castitatis.]

⁹⁸ ["Unde videtur mihi, quod

"illius est solius offerre sacrificium indesinens, qui indesinenti et perpetuæ se devoverit castitati." In former editions the words in parenthesis ("that is to say, the sacrifice of prayer") were printed, as if they were a part of the quotation from Origen. The context, however, justifies Jewel's interpretation.]

cap. 34. [i. 713.]
Idem Confession. lib. 6. cap. 2. [i. 119.]
Gelasius, can. 2.
De Con. dist. 1. Placuit.
[Mansi viii. 44.]

Sulpitius in Vita Martini. [Fol. vi. ed. 1511.]

De Opere Monachorum, cap. 28. [vi. 498.]

Ad Heb. xiii. 4.

Chrys. ad Hebræos, Homil. 7. [xii. 80.]
Chrys. ad Hebræos, Homil. 8. [i. 33. xii. 305.]

the dead, and offer meat unto their carcasses, and bury themselves over the buried, and make account, that even their very drunkenness and gluttony is a religion that pleaseth God⁹⁹." Gelasius saith: "It is reported that with procession they furnish up their churches, built in the name of dead men, and the same, for aught that I can learn, while they were alive not altogether good faithful men." St. Martin on a time came to a chapel built in the name of a holy martyr. But afterward he learned by revelation, that the same martyr had been sometime a common thief, and for a robbery had been put to death, and by error of the people was honoured for a saint. Likewise St. Augustine saith: "Some there be, that carry about martyrs' bones to sale; and yet it may well be doubted, whether ever they were martyrs or no¹."

Thus much briefly and by the way of the relics and miracles of martyrs' bones: for that M. Harding upon so small occasion seemeth to touch them in such sort, as if he would have them shrined and set up again.

As for the matrimony of the godly, as St. Paul saith, "It is clean and honourable in all estates." And therefore St. Chrysostom saith: "Use thy marriage with sobriety, and thou shalt be the chief in the kingdom of heaven." And the same Chrysostom, expounding these words of St. Paul, "marriage is honourable," writeth thus: "Here he toucheth the Jews that reckon the marriage bed to be unclean, and that a man rising from the same cannot be in clean life. But O you most unkind and most in-

⁹⁹ [Augustin. de Moribus Ecclesiæ, &c. "Novi multos esse sepulchrorum et picturarum adtores; novi multos esse qui luxuriosissime super mortuos bibant, et epulas cadaveribus exhibent super sepultos se ipsos sepeliant, et voracitates ebrietasque suas deputent religioni." The passage in the Confessions, noted in the margin, relates to St. Augustine's mother, who, in obedience to St. Ambrose, abandoned the practice of feasting in

churches dedicated to the memory of departed saints, when she became aware of the abuses to which it gave occasion. "Itaque cum ad memorias sanctorum, sicut in Africa solebat, pultes et panem et merum adtulisset, atque ab ostiariis prohiberetur, ubi hoc episcopum vetuisse cognovit, &c."]

¹ [Augustin. de Opere Monachorum. "Alii membra martyrum, si tamen martyrum, venditant."]

sensible Jews! the thing is not filthy that God hath granted of nature unto man, &c.”²

Touching Erasmus, M. Harding hath already refused his authority, and turned him over to his own defence. Where he saith: “Every man was wont in old times to receive the sacrament severally at home;” it would much better have sounded of M. Harding’s side, if Erasmus had said, “Every man was wont then to say mass severally at home.” And albeit in that short note upon St. Hierom, he seem to understand these words of St. Paul, “Have ye not houses to eat and drink in?” of the private receiving of the sacrament; yet elsewhere, writing of purpose and good deliberation upon the same, he saith, St. Paul meant it only of common meats, and not of the sacrament. In his paraphrase he expoundeth it thus: *Hic unanimitalis Christianæ mysterium agitur, &c.*: “Here is practised the mystery of Christian unity, and not provision made for the belly. For that ought ye to do in your private houses, and not in the public congregation. If ye would fill your bellies, have ye not houses, where ye may do it by yourselves alone?” And again: “If any man be so greedy of meat that he cannot tarry, let him eat at home.” Thus, saith M. Harding, “Erasmus gathereth the private mass out of the scriptures.” M. Harding is over quick in his conclusions. He maketh himself sure of the consequent, before he see the antecedent. For Erasmus hath not one word there, neither of private mass nor of single communion. How then can he get that of Erasmus, that Erasmus himself hath not? Neither is this any necessary form of reason: Men received the sacrament in their houses: *ergo*, they received the sacrament alone. For they might receive in their several houses with their wives and families all together, as it is already proved by the example of Hippolytus Martyr. And St. Hierom saith: “The sacrament was sent home to the man and wife.” Otherwise

Paraphrasis
Erasmi in 1
Cor. xi. [tom.
vii. p. 647.
ed. 1540.]

Hieron. in
Apologia ad-
versus Jovi-
nianum,

² [Chrysost. ad Hebræos, Hom. 7: μετὰ συμμετρίας τῷ γάμῳ χρῶ καὶ πρῶτος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἔση... Ibid. Hom. 33: ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἰουδαίουσιν ἀντίτεται, ὅτι βδελυρὰν

ἠγοῦντο τὴν κοίτην, καὶ ὅς ἂν ἦ, φησὶν, ἀπὸ κοίτης οὐκ ἔστι καθαρὸς. οὐκ ἔστι βδελυρὰ τὰ ἀπὸ φύσεως, ὡς ἄγνωμων καὶ ἀναίσθητε Ἰουδαίε, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀπὸ προαιρέσεως.]

it might be said, God commanded that every man should eat the Easter lamb in his house: *ergo*, God commanded that every man should eat that lamb alone. Howbeit, I make small account of this matter, as nothing touching the private mass, but only shew the feebleness of these conclusions.

The commun-
nion. Yet, saith M. Harding, "both St. Hierom and St. Basil call it the communion, notwithstanding it were privately received: which is clean contrary to M. Jewel's sense." But neither St. Hierom, nor St. Basil, ever called it the mass, and that little furthereth M. Harding's sense. They call it a "communion," not for that he that received it communicated with others in other places, as M. Harding guesseth, but for that it was a portion of the holy communion ministered and divided openly in the congregation to be received of the faithful.

No private
mass in
Rome. The reason that M. Harding hereof gathereth must needs be this: The husband and his wife received the sacrament at home: *ergo*, the priest said private mass. He must needs be very simple, that will be led by such single proofs. St. Hierom's plain words necessarily import the contrary. For if this were the custom in Rome for the space of four hundred years, that the people should communicate every day, then must it needs follow, that, during that time, there was no custom there of private mass.

M. HARDING: *Twentieth Division.*

A heap of
simple guess-
es without
sense or sa-
vour. Damasus bishop of Rome, in St. Hierom's time, writeth in *libro Pontificali*, that Milciades, pope and martyr, ordained that the sacrament, in sundry portions consecrated by a bishop, should be sent abroad among the churches for cause of heretics, that the catholic people of the churches (which word here signifieth, as the Greek word *παρoικία* doth, so as it is not necessary to understand that the sacrament was directed only to the material churches, but to the people of the parishes) might receive the catholic communion, and not communicate with heretics. Which doubtless must be understood of this private and single communion in each catholic man's house, and that where heretics bare the sway, and priests might not be suffered to consecrate after the catholic usage. Else if the priests might without let or disturbance have so done, then what need had it been for

A church by
M. Harding's
judgment
signifieth a
private
house.

Milciades to have made such a provision, for sending abroad hosts sanctified for that purpose by the consecration of a bishop? The place of Damasus hath thus: *Milciades fecit, ut oblationes consecratae per ecclesias ex consecratu episcopi (propter hæreticos) dirigerentur*: “Milciades ordained that consecrated hosts should be sent abroad amongst the churches, prepared by the consecration of a bishop.” The two words *propter hæreticos*, “for heretics,” added by Ado, the writer of martyrs’ lives, openeth the meaning and purport of that decree.

M. Harding otherwise reporteth these words, than he findeth them.

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This guess is one of the weakest of all the rest, and therefore M. Harding hath staid it up on every side with other guesses, that one guess might help another. The first guess is, what Damasus should mean by these words, *propter hæreticos*.

The next guess is, that this order was taken by Milciades against certain heretics, that in the holy ministration kept not the catholic church.

The third guess is, that this word *ecclesia* must needs signify the people of the parishes, and not the material church.

The fourth guess is, that the sacrament was then consecrate in little round cakes, as of late hath been used.

The fifth guess is, that the sacrament was sent to every several house: which must have been an infinite labour to the deacon that carried it, and wondrous painful.

The sixth guess is, that first every husband received the sacrament in his house alone; and so the wife; and so the servants; and so likewise the children, every one severally by himself alone. Which thing I reckon M. Harding himself thinketh not very likely. So many guesses are here in a throng heaped together, which, if I deny altogether, M. Harding is hardly able to prove: if I grant him altogether, without exception, yet all are not able to prove his private mass.

First, in this place of Damasus, neither is there mention of any mass, nor any perfect sense or reason in the words. For thus it is written: (*Milciades*) *fecit, ut oblationes consecratae per ecclesias ex consecratu episcopi dirigerentur, quod declaratur fermentum*: “Milciades caused

In libro concil. impresso Colon. anno 1551. [Mansi ii. 425.]

M. Harding
allegeth au-
thorities
without
sense or
reason.

that the oblations consecrate by the churches by the consecration of the bishop, should be directed, which is declared leaven." Neither is there any kind of thing, either going before or following after, whereby we may guess the meaning. It is much to see so learned a man, as M. Harding is, so scanted of authorities, that he is thus driven to prove his mass by such places as be utterly void of sense and reason. But a man must use such weapons as may be gotten.

The two words, *propter hæreticos*, that are patched in by Ado, a man of late years³, as they do nothing help the sense, so have they no help of the story of that time. For a man may well demand of Ado, this new doctor, what were these strange unknown heretics without name, that you at the last for a shift have espied out? where began they? where dwelt they? what taught they? how long continued they? who maintained them? who confuted them? what council condemned them? For it seemeth somewhat strange, that there should be companies and routs of heretics in the world, that no man ever knew but doctor Ado.

M. Harding
addeth of
himself be-
side his au-
thor.

And whereas M. Harding putteth in of his own, besides his book, (for Damasus hath no such thing, nor any other thing like,) that these new found heretics in the ministration "kept not the catholic usage," he should have shewed, for his credit's sake, what other usage they kept that was not catholic: for his word is not yet canonized. The world will believe neither him nor Ado, without some proof.

Ecclesia, a
private
house.

Παροικία.

Eusebius,
lib. 7. cap. 26.

Further to increase absurdities, he saith, by these words, *per ecclesias*, is meant, "not the material church, but the people of the church:" that is to say, in plainer terms, *ecclesia* is not a church, but a private house. I grant the Greek word *παροικία*, out of which our English word "parish" seemeth to have been taken, signifieth a congregation, or meeting of neighbours, or a company dwelling within some space together, whether it be in compass more or less. So saith Eusebius: "Dionysius writeth

³ [Ado, archbishop of Vienne in Martyrologium was first published Dauphny, died A.D. 879. His at Venice A.D. 1554.—Walch.]

unto Basilides, the bishop of the divisions of Pentapolis.” [vol. 1. 356.]
 Athanasius^a saith, that Demetrius took upon him the bishopric of Alexandria, and τῶν παροικιῶν, “of the divisions in Egypt⁴.” In these places, and certain others that might be alleged out of Basil, Nazianzen, and other Greek fathers, this word, παροικία, seemeth to signify a bishopric or a diocese, and not a several parish. And therefore Irenæus thus writeth unto Victor bishop of Rome: “The priests of Rome,” meaning thereby the bishops there, “sent the sacrament τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν παροικιῶν, to them that came out of other dioceses or divisions.” And Eusebius thus writeth of Hippolytus: Ἐτέρας πῶς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίσκοπος παροικίας: “He being bishop of another division.” Thus much touching this word παροικία, being moved thereto by the strange interpretation of M. Harding. Certainly, I think, he himself will say, that, sithence the church was once in peace, neither this word *ecclesia*, nor this word *parochia*, ever signified a private house, in any kind of writer, or in any time.

Τῶ κατὰ Πεντάπολιν παροικιῶν ἐπισκόπου. a Athanasius in epist. de sententia Dionys. adversus Arian.

Eusebius Hist. lib. 5. cap. 24. [1. 243.]

But, saith M. Harding, Ado's heretics (for Damasus speaketh of none) bare all the sway, and would not suffer the catholic people to communicate in the church. Therefore we must needs understand here private houses. Alas! when did heretics ever bear such sway in the church of Rome? Or, if they did at any time, as it is untrue, unless he mean the sovereign heretics, the pope and his cardinals, yet, may we think, that the catholics were so weak in the common church, being all together, and so strong in their own houses, being alone? Or, were these heretics able to withstand a whole congregation, and not able to withstand one single man by himself?

Sovereign heretics.

Mark well, good reader, how handsomely M. Harding's arguments hang together. He must needs think thee to be very unsensible, that hopeth thou wilt yield to such guesses.

To leave a great number of other like absurdities,

⁴ [The passage referred to by παροικία in the sense of Diocese. Jewel has not been found, but See the note in p. 155 of the Ben. Athanasius often uses the word ed.]

M. Harding's arguments are framed thus: The sacrament was received in private houses (albeit there appeareth no such thing by Damasus): *ergo*, one man received alone. Surely then, had that man a very empty house, he might well sing, *Tanquam passer solitarius in tecto*. It is more likely that, being a godly man, he would desire his wife and family to receive with him, as I have said before.

Again, The sacrament was sent among the parishes: *ergo*, there was private mass. The force of this reason may soon be seen. But who said this mass, whether it were the messenger or the receiver, I leave it to M. Harding to consider. He might better have concluded thus: The bishop sent the mysteries abroad for the people to communicate: *ergo*, he meant a communion, and no private mass.

Further, he saith, This was done in time of necessity, because of heretics; and yet by the same he defendeth the mass used now without any such necessity: and that in the church of Rome, where, he saith, can be no heretics.

To conclude, this manner of sending abroad the sacrament was afterward abolished by the council holden at Laodicea⁵.

Thus is M. Harding driven to go by guess, to imagine strange heretics; for show of some antiquity to allege vain decrees without sense, to avouch such orders as he knoweth were long sithence condemned, and to comment the same with his own glosses.

M. HARDING: *Twenty-first Division.*

Here have I brought much for private and single communion, and that it hath not only been suffered in time of persecution, but also allowed in quiet and peaceable times, even in the church of Rome itself, (31) where true religion hath ever been most exactly observed above all other places of the world, and (32) from whence all the churches of the west have taken their light; as the bishops of all Gallia, that now is called France, do acknowledge in an epistle sent to Leo the pope, with these words:

Unde religionis nostræ, propitio Christo, fons et origo manavit: "From the apostolic see by the mercy of Christ, the fountain and spring of our religion hath come."

Epist. proxima post 51. Inter epist. Leonis.

The 31st untruth. For Rome is now become the "mother of fornication." Apocal. xvii. The 32nd untruth. For the faith of the west church came not first from Rome.

⁵ [Concil. Laodic. ap. Bruns, cap. 14. Περὶ τοῦ μὴ τὰ ἅγια εἰς λόγον εὐλογιῶν κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ πάσχα εἰς ἑτέρας παροικίας διαπέμπεσθαι.]

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M. Harding useth a strange kind of logic : he pretendeth private mass, and concludeth single communion. And why might he not as well plainly, and without colour, conclude his private mass ? Doubtless the wise reader may soon gather thus : If he could find it, he would not conceal it.

M. Harding pretendeth private mass, and concludeth single communion.

This talk of the church of Rome in this place was needless, as nothing serving to private mass. Yet is it generally confessed by all men, that Rome is the eldest church that we know founded in this west part of the world ; and that the churches of France, and other countries, at the beginning, had both the confirmation of doctrine, and also other great conference and comfort from thence : like as also the church of Rome had from Jerusalem and Antioch, and other great churches in the east. But that the first that ever preached the gospel in France were sent from Rome, I reckon it not so easy to be proved. For some say, that Nathanael, whom Christ commendeth to be the true Israelite, preached at Trier and Bituriges ; Lazarus, whom Christ raised, at Marseilles ; Saturninus at Toulouse, long before Peter came to Rome. St. Paul, as it is thought, after his delivery under Nero, went into Spain, sent Titus into Dalmatia, and Crescens into Galatia, or, as Epiphanius readeth it, into Gallia ; Joseph of Arimathæa came into England. And yet it appeareth not that any of these were sent by commission from Rome. But why doth M. Harding thus out of season rush into the commendation of the church of Rome, that was so long ago ? It had been more to purpose to have viewed the state of the same church, as it standeth now. But as one once said, Ye shall not now find Samnium in Samnio, because the city of Samnium was sacked and rased up, and utterly overthrown ; even so I heard M. Harding sometime say, He had sought for the church of Rome in Rome itself, and yet could not find the church of Rome. The bishops, cardinals and priests, do neither teach, nor exhort, nor comfort, nor any other part of their duties : the people, as it is already confessed, is careless and void of devotion.

Nathanael.

Lazarus.

Saturninus.

2 ad Tim. iv. 10.

Epiphanius contra Alogos.

St. Bernard saith: *O Domine, sacerdotes tui facti sunt tonsores; prælati, pilati; doctores, seductores*: "O Lord, thy priests are become shearers; thy prelates, pilates; thy doctors, deceivers." If a church cannot err, then may we say of it, as Euripides sometime said of the city of Athens, ὦ πόλις, πόλις, ὡς εὐτυχῆς εἶ μᾶλλον, ἢ καλῶς φρονεῖς: "O city, city, thy luck is far better than thy wit."

M. HARDING: *Twenty-second Division.*

More could I yet bring for confirmation of the same, as the example of St. Hilaria the virgin, in the time of Numerianus; of St. Lucia, in Diocletian's time, done to martyrdom; of St. Maria Ægyptiaca, and St. Ambrose; of which every one, as ancient testimonies of ecclesiastical histories, and of Paulinus do declare, at the hour of their departure hence to God, received the holy sacrament of the altar for their viage provision alone. But I judge this is enough; and if any man will not be persuaded with this, I doubt whether with such a one a more number of authorities shall any thing prevail.

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Now M. Harding hieth himself unto the end of his authorities, and for speed is content to pass by the stories of Hilaria, Lucia, Maria Ægyptiaca, and others; written, I suppose, in *Legenda Aurea*, of whom, as it appeareth, he is certain that they said mass a little before their departure hence. The like is also avouched for certain, of St. Ambrose lying in his death-bed. But this thing seemeth marvellous in my judgment, that, notwithstanding St. Ambrose were bishop in Milan two and twenty years and more, being also so holy a man, as few the like in those days, yet M. Harding cannot learn, that ever he said private mass, but only when he lay breathless in his death-bed.

Paulinus in
Vita Ambros.
[in Ambros.
Opp. ed.
Basil. 1567.]

M. HARDING: *Twenty-third Division.*

Now that I have thus proved the single communion, I use their own term, I desire M. Jewel to reason with me soberly a word or two. How say you, sir? Do you reprove the mass, or do you reprove the private mass? I think, whatsoever your opinion is herein, your answer shall be, you allow not the private mass. For as touching that the oblation of the body and blood

of Christ done in the mass, is the sacrifice of the church, and proper to the New Testament, (33) commanded by Christ to be frequented according to his institution ; if you deny this, make it so light as you list, all those authorities which you deny us to have for proof of your great number of articles, will be found against you : I mean doctors, general councils the most ancient, the examples of the primitive church, the scriptures : I add further reason, consent universal and uncontroled, and tradition. If you deny this, you must deny all our religion from the apostles' time to this day, and now in the end of the world, when iniquity aboundeth, and charity waxeth cold, when the Son of man coming shall scarcely find faith in the earth, begin anew. And therefore you, M. Jewel, knowing this well enough, whatsoever you do in deed, in word, as it appeareth by the little book you have set forth in print, you pretend to disallow, yea most vehemently to improve, the private mass.

The 33rd untruth. For Christ never commanded or named any such sacrifice.

Great words without ground.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Hitherto M. Harding hath brought doctors without reason, now he bringeth reason without doctors. "And how say you, sir," saith he, "Do you reprove the mass, or do you reprove private mass?" I trust he hath not so soon forgotten, whereof he hath discoursed all this while. Neither doth the matter rest upon that point, what I list to allow, or disallow ; but what he can prove, or not prove, by the scriptures, and by the ancient councils and fathers.

But mark well, good Christian reader, and thou shalt see, how handsomely M. Harding conveyeth and shifteth his hands to deceive thy sight. First, he hath hitherto forborne both the name and also the proof of private mass, and only hath used the words of "sole receiving, and single communion ;" and so hath taken pains to prove that thing, that was never denied : and that thing that we deny, and wherein the whole question standeth, he hath left utterly untouched. Now he demandeth, whether I reprove the mass, or the private mass ? What meaneth this, that private mass and sole receiving be so suddenly grown in one ? Surely M. Harding well knoweth, that the nature of these words is not one. Neither whosoever receiveth alone, doth therefore of necessity say private mass. This so sudden altering of terms may breed suspicion.

That he further interlaceth of the "sacrifice of the New

Testament," is another conveyance to blind thy sight, as utterly nothing making to this purpose.

For neither doth the sacrifice import private mass, nor doth sole receiving imply the sacrifice. Yet for short answer, we have that only sacrifice of the New Testament, that is, the body of Jesus Christ upon the cross, that Lamb of God, that hath taken away the sins of the world: the virtue of which sacrifice endureth for ever. To this everlasting sacrifice, the sacrifice that is imagined in the mass, is mere injurious.

And whereas M. Harding saith, "If you deny this, you must deny all our religion, from the apostles' time until this day:" these be but empty words without weight, and prove nothing.

"In my little book," saith he, "I disallow the private mass." If he find fault with my book, for that it is little, he might consider it is but a sermon, and therefore no reason it should be great. Yet is it a great deal longer than either Hippolytus Martyr, or the fable of his Amphilocheus, of whom, notwithstanding their shortness, he maketh no small account. And where he saith, "I disallow private mass," I disallow that thing, that infinite numbers of godly and learned men have disallowed, and that M. Harding himself, not long sithence, openly and earnestly disallowed, both in schools and pulpits, until he was suddenly persuaded to the contrary, only by the alteration of the state. Of these two words, "private mass," I can no better say, than St. Gregory sometime said of that Antichrist should be called *Deus*, God; *Si quantitatem vocis perpendimus [sermonis attendimus], duæ sunt syllabæ: sin pondus iniquitatis, universa perniciës*: "If we weigh the quantity of the word, they are but two syllables: but if we weigh the weight of the wickedness, it is an universal destruction."

11b. 6. epist.
30. [ll. 88r.]

M. HARDING: *Twenty-fourth Division.*

Upon this resolution, that the mass, as it is taken in general, is to be allowed, I enter further in reason with you, and make you this argument: If private mass, in respect only of that it is private, after your meaning, be reprobable, it is for the single com-

munion, that is to say, for that the priest receiveth the sacrament alone : but the single communion is lawful, yea, good and godly : *ergo*, the private mass in this respect, that it is private, is not reprov-able, but to be allowed, holden for good and holy, and to be frequented. If you deny the first proposition, or "major," then must you shew for what else you do reprove private mass, in respect only that it is private, than for single communion. If you shew any thing else, then do you digress from our purpose, and declare that you reprove the mass. The "minor" you cannot deny, seeing you see how sufficiently I have proved it. And so the private mass, in that respect only it is private, is to be allowed for good, as the mass is.

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But of all these former authorities, of Tertullian's wife, monks in the wilderness, laymen, women, and boys, M. Harding gathereth this conclusion, which, as he would have folk think, standeth so soundly on every side, that it cannot possibly be avoided.

The private mass is single communion ;

Single communion is lawful :

Ergo, private mass is lawful.

This syllogism unto the unskilful may seem somewhat terrible, as a visard unto a child, that cannot judge, what is within it. But M. Harding, that made it, knoweth it is vain, and worth nothing. And that it may the better appear, I will open the error by another like.

The ministration of private mass is a single communion ;

Single communion is lawful for a woman :

Ergo, the ministration of private mass is lawful for a woman.

It is all one kind of argument, of like form, and like terms. And as this is deceitful, so is the other likewise deceitful. The error is in the second proposition, which is called the "minor," and that shall ye soon see, if you turn the same "minor" and make it an universal, and say thus in M. Harding's argument ;

All manner single communions be lawful :
or in the other argument ;

All manner single communions are lawful for a woman :
so shall ye soon find out the folly.

Further, *Medius Terminus*, that holdeth and knitteth the argument, must agree with the *subjectum* and *prædicationem*, in circumstance of time, of place, of person, of subject, and part of subject: with which circumstances a thing may be lawful, and without the same may be unlawful. For example, It is thought lawful for a woman to baptize at home, but it is not thought lawful for a woman to baptize in the open church; yet is the thing all one, but the circumstance of place being changed, changeth the whole. Again, It is lawful for a priest to minister the sacrament in the forenoon, and in the church, but it is not lawful for a priest to minister the sacrament after he hath dined, or in his bed: yet was it lawful for St. Ambrose and others so to receive the sacrament. We see therefore, there is great matter in alteration of the circumstance.

These things perhaps may seem over curious, and therefore I pass them by, doing thee nevertheless, gentle reader, to understand, that, without consideration hereof, thou mayest be deceived. Set the head in his natural place between the shoulders, and there is a man; set the same head in the breast, or elsewhere out of his place, and there is a monster.

Now touching M. Harding's syllogism, thou mayest see that the "minor," or second proposition, is not true, as they term it *simpliciter*, and without exception. For the single communion was never so taken for lawful, but only in consideration of circumstances, and cases of necessity; which cases being either removed, or better examined, the same kind of single communion is no longer thought lawful. Therefore thou mayest thus say to M. Harding: "How say you, sir? Do you allow the examples that ye have brought to prove your mass by, or do you not allow them? If you allow them, why then suffer ye not women to carry home the sacrament, and to keep it in chests and napkins, as they did of old? If you allow them not, because they were abuses, why then seek you to prove your mass by the same, and so to establish one abuse by another?" Now let us look a little back to the note that M. Harding set out in the margin for our remembrance, by these words,

“Proofs for private mass.” That it might seem lawful for a priest to say private mass, he hath brought in examples of laymen, women, sick folk, and boys. Alas, doth M. Harding think, it was the manner in old times, that lay people should say mass? Or was there no priest all this while in the world, for the space of six hundred years, that women and children must come forth to prove these matters? Or was there no difference then between sole receiving, and private mass? Or shall we think, that women and boys did then consecrate the holy mysteries, or offer up Christ’s body, or make sacrifice for quick and dead, or apply Christ’s death unto others? Where is M. Harding’s logic become? Where is the sharpness of his wit?

But mark, good Christian reader, how far he swerveth from that he hath taken in hand. I demand of the open church, he answereth me of private houses; I demand of priests, he answereth me of women, boys, and laymen; I demand of the mass, he answereth me of that thing that himself granteth is no mass; I demand of the right use of the holy supper that ought to stand, he answereth me of abuses that be abolished; I demand of the usage that then was ordinary, he answereth of necessity, and cases extraordinary. Judge thou therefore, how well and substantially he hath hitherto performed his promise.

How aptly
M. Harding
answereth to
the question.

M. HARDING : *Twenty-fifth Division.*

Marry I deny not, but that it were more commendable and more godly on the church’s part, if many, well disposed and examined, would be partakers of the blessed sacrament with the priest. But though the clergy be worthily blamed for negligence herein, through which the people may be thought to have grown to this slackness and indevotion, yet that notwithstanding, this part of the catholic religion remaineth sound and faultless. For as touching the substance of the mass itself, by the single communion of the priest, in case of the people’s coldness and negligence, it is nothing impaired. Else, if the public sacrifice of the church might not be offered without a number of communicants receiving with the priest in one place, then would the ancient fathers in all their writings somewhere have complained of the ceasing of that, which every where they call *quotidianum et iuge sacrificium*; “the daily and continual sacrifice;” of which their

The undevotion
of the
people groweth
of the
negligence
of the clergy.

The 34th untruth. For the fathers say not so, but plainly the contrary.

opinion is, that it ought (34) daily to be sacrificed, that the death of our Lord, and the work of our redemption, might always be celebrated and had in memory, and we thereby shew ourselves, according to our bounden duty, mindful and thankful. But verily the fathers nowhere complain of intermitting the daily sacrifice, but very much of the slackness of the people, for that they came not more often unto this holy and wholesome banquet; and yet they never compelled them thereto, but exhorting them to frequent it worthily, left them to their own conscience.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Concil. Nicen. 2. Action. 4. [xlii. 17. a.]

The painter that pourtrayed out in colours Medea killing her own child, by the skill he had in painting, made to appear in her face two contrary affections: for in the one side he expressed extreme fury, that bade her kill, and in the other side motherly love and pity, that bade her not kill. Such two contrary affections we may here see in M. Harding, both painted and set out in one face. For notwithstanding, for his credit's sake, he advance his mass, and deface the holy communion with all that he is able, yet here again, for conscience sake, of the other side he confesseth, that the communion is the better; and so rippeth up all that he hath sewed before, and willeth others to assent unto him, before he can assent unto himself. God's name be blessed, that is thus able to force out his truth, even by the mouths of them, that openly withstand his truth. But neither should he in such disdain, and so often, call us new masters and gospellers, for defending that himself knoweth and confesseth to be the better; nor after the holy communion was once restored, should he have drawn the people again to the private mass, that is, by his own confession, from the better to the worse.

M. Harding confesseth that the communion is better than his mass.

But, saith M. Harding, "In case of negligence of the people, if the priest receive alone, the substance of the mass is not impaired." This difference in terms of substance and accidents, in Christ's institution, is newly found out, and hath no warrant, neither of the scriptures, nor of the old fathers. Howbeit, Christ's example in doing, and commandment to do the same, may not be taken for a show

or accident, but for the effect and substance of his supper.

“Do this,” saith Christ, “the same that ye have seen me do: take, bless, break, divide, in my remembrance.”²⁶

Which words St. Chrysostom expoundeth thus: *Hoc facite in memoriam beneficii mei, salutis vestræ*: “Do this in remembrance of my benefit, and of your salvation⁵.” This is no accident, or light phantasy, that may be left at our pleasure, but the very substantial point of that sacrament, which we are specially commanded “to continue until he come;” and for want whereof St. Paul saith, “That supper is not the Lord’s supper.”

Certainly, Alexander of Hales and Humbertus, two of M. Harding’s own scholastical doctors, are full against him in this point. Alexander saith: “Consecration is for the communion: therefore, of both, the communion is the greater.” Humbertus saith: *Hoc quotiescunque feceritis, id est, benedixeritis, fregeritis, distribueritis, in mei memoriam facietis. Quia quodlibet horum trium, si sine reliquis fiat...perfectam memoriam Christi non representat*: “As often as ye shall this do, that is to say, as often as ye shall bless, break, and distribute, ye shall do it in my remembrance. For whatsoever one thing of these three things be done without the rest, it representeth not the perfect remembrance of Christ.” And thinketh M. Harding that the sacrifice, whereof neither Christ nor his disciples ever spake one word, is the substance of his supper? and the mystical distribution in remembrance of his death, whereof he gave us such a strait commandment, in so manifest and so plain words, is no part of the substance?

The allegation of which sacrifice to this purpose is mere vain. The old fathers never complained of ceasing thereof, because they knew it could never cease. For the strength and virtue of Christ’s sacrifice resteth in itself, and not in any diligence or doing of ours. “Christ being a priest after the order of Melchisedec, hath offered up one sacrifice for all upon his cross, full and perfect,” therefore we need none other; “one and everlasting,” therefore it

⁵ [All the so called homilies ad Pop. Antioch. after the twenty-first are spurious; see p. 188, note ²⁰.]

needeth no renewing ; “ by privilege given to himself only,” therefore it cannot be wrought by any other.

This sacrifice notwithstanding is revived, and freshly laid out before our eyes, in the ministration of the holy mysteries, as it is well recorded by sundry of the old godly fathers. St. Augustine saith : “ Was not Christ once offered in himself? Yet that notwithstanding, by way of a sacrament, he is offered every day unto the people, not at Easter only, but also every day ; and he saith no untruth, that, being demanded the question, saith, Christ is offered. For if sacraments had not a certain likeness of the things whereof they be sacraments, then should they indeed be no sacraments. And of this likeness many times they bear the names of the things themselves : as the sacrament of Christ’s body, by a certain manner of speech, is the body of Christ.....” Likewise again he saith : *Cum non obliviscimur munus Salvatoris, nonne Christus quotidie nobis immolatur ?....Ex ipsis reliquiis cogitationis (et) [id est] ex ipsa memoria, quotidie nobis sic immolatur, quasi quotidie nos innovet* : “ When we forget not the gift of our Saviour, is not Christ daily offered unto us?....Through the remnants of our cogitation, and by way of our very memory, Christ is so offered unto us every day, as if he daily renewed us.” And again likewise he saith : *Holocaustum Dominicæ passionis eo tempore offert quisque pro peccatis suis, quo ejusdem passionis fide dedicatur, et Christianorum fidelium nomine baptizatus imbuitur* : “ At that time doth every man offer up the sacrifice of Christ’s passion for his sins, when he is endued with the faith of Christ’s passion,

Aug. epist.
23. ad Boni-
facium. [ii.
267.]

Augustinus
in Psalmum
75. [iv. 801.]

Aug. in Epist.
ad Rom. sub
finem. [iii.
pt. 2. 937.]

⁶ [Augustin. ad Bonifac.
“ Nonne semel immolatus est
“ Christus in seipso, et tamen in
“ sacramento non solum per om-
“ nes Paschæ sollemnitates, sed
“ omni die populis immolatur,
“ nec utique mentitur qui inter-
“ rogatus eum responderit immo-
“ lari? Si enim sacramenta quam-
“ dam similitudinem earum rerum,
“ quarum sacramenta sunt, non
“ haberent, omnino sacramenta
“ non essent. Ex hac autem si-
“ militudine plerumque etiam ip-

“ sarum rerum nomina accipiunt.
“ Sicut ergo secundum quemdam
“ modum sacramentum corporis
“ Christi corpus Christi est, sacra-
“ mentum sanguinis Christi san-
“ guis Christi est, ita sacramentum
“ fidei fides est.” Jewel is wrong
in translating “ populis immola-
“ tur,” “ offered unto the people;”
and again below, “ nobis,” “ unto
us.” There can however be no
intention to mislead, as he there
gives the original.]

and being baptized, receiveth the name of faithful Christians.”

Thus is the sacrifice of Christ’s passion expressed in the holy ministration; and yet not, as M. Harding imagineth, by any action there done by the priest alone, but by the communion and participation of the people, as St. Augustine also elsewhere witnesseth: *Dum frangitur hostia, et sanguis in ora fidelium funditur, quid aliud quam Domini corporis in cruce immolatio...designatur?* “While the oblation is broken, and the blood” (that is, the sacrament of the blood) “is poured into the mouths of the faithful, what other thing is there expressed or signified, but the sacrificing of the Lord’s body upon the cross?”

De Con. dist. 2. [Cum frangitur] ex sententia Prosperi. Designatur.

This sacrifice of Christ on his cross is called the daily sacrifice, not for that it must be renewed every day, but for that, being once done, it standeth good for all days, and for ever. What force then is there in this reason: “The fathers never complained of ceasing of the daily sacrifice: *ergo*, they had private mass?” For it may be answered in one word, They had the holy communion every day, and therefore they complained not. Howbeit, neither is the holy communion that daily sacrifice itself, but a memory of the same; neither was the communion then ministered every day. For proof whereof, I would wish M. Harding to mark this epistle, sent from the council of Alexandria, in the defence of one Macarius, who was charged by his enemies, that he had forcibly entered into the church, and broken the cup of the holy ministration. They make his defence in this manner: “The place where they say the cup was broken was no church, nor any priest at that time near thereabout; and touching the day, it was no Sunday. Seeing then there was no church in that place, nor ministration of the sacraments, nor the day required the same, what manner cup was it then, or when, or where was it broken?” It appeareth plainly by these words of the council, that they had no ministration of the sacraments at that time in Alexandria, but only upon the Sundays. And yet no man ever complained of the ceasing of the daily sacrifice notwithstanding. For they knew

Epistola Synodalis Concilii Alexandrini. [Mansi, tom. ii. p. 1293.]

Communion only upon the Sunday.

that the sacrifice of Christ's death is daily, and for ever, and can never cease.

M. HARDING; *Twenty-sixth Division.*

St. Ambrose witnesseth that the people of the east had a custom in his time to be houseled but once in the year. And he rebuketh sharply such as follow them, after this sort: *Si quotidianus est cibus, cur post annum illum sumis, quemadmodum Græci in oriente facere consueverunt?* "If it be our daily meat," saith he, "why takest thou it but once in the year, as the Greeks are wont to do in the east?" St. Augustine uttereth the same thing almost with the same words⁷. And in the second book, *De Sermone Domini in Monte*, the twelfth chapter, expounding the fourth petition of our Lord's prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread," shewing that this may be taken either for material bread, either for the sacrament of our Lord's body, or for spiritual meat, which he alloweth best; would, that concerning the sacrament of our Lord's body, they of the east should not move question, how it might be understood to be their daily bread, which

The 35th untruth. For St. Augustine saith: *Hic in illis partibus non intelligitur quotidianus panis.*

were not daily partakers of our Lord's supper, (35) whereas for all that, this bread is called daily bread; there he saith thus: *Ut ergo illi taceant, neque de hac re sententiam suam defendant, vel ipsa autoritate ecclesiæ (sint contenti), quod sine scandalo ista faciunt, neque ab eis qui ecclesiis præsumunt, facere prohibentur, neque non obtemperantes condemnantur:* "Wherefore that they hold their peace, and stand not in defence of their opinion, let them be content at leastway with the authority of the church, that they do these things without offence thereof taken, neither be forbidden of those that be over the churches, neither be condemned when they disobey⁹." Here we see by St. Augustine, that they of the orient, who so seldom received the sacrament, were holden (for all that) Christian people by the authority of the church: none offence thereof was taken, neither were they inhibited of their custom; and though they obeyed not their spiritual governors, moving them to receive more often, yet were they not condemned nor excommunicated.

⁷ [Not a genuine work of St. Ambrose; see p. 188, note.]

⁸ [Harding alludes to the *Serm. de Verb. Dom. secund. Lucam*, (quoted by Jewel below, p. 278.) formerly attributed to St. Augustine, but which the Bened. have shewn to be nearly identical with part of the very work just quoted by Harding *De Sacramento*, under the name of

St. Ambrose. See p. 202. note ³⁸.]

⁹ [. . . "ut ergo illi taceant, neque de hac re suam sententiam defendant vel ipsa autoritate ecclesiastica, quod sine scandalo, &c." The reading "sint contenti," which is found only in the Louvaine edit., is rejected by the Bened. as being absent in MSS. and in the other editions.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding findeth small force herein to prove that he seeketh for. St. Ambrose rebuketh the slackness of some of his people that received so seldom, and wisheth them to communicate daily all together. Wherein he quite overthroweth the private mass.

Ambr. lib. 5.
de Sacram.
cap. 4. [ll.
378.]

As for St. Augustine, I must needs say he hath taken wrong, and is ill used at M. Harding's hand, as being by violence and perforce made both to suppress that he would say, and also to say that he would not say, and yet in the end saith not one word for private mass, but plainly to the contrary. First he would have St. Augustine say, that the

Aug. de
Serm. Dom.
in Mont. cap.
12. [ll. pt. 2.
210.]

sacrament of Christ's body, to them of the east, was their daily bread, yea, although they daily received it not.

This matter of itself is not weighty. Yet St. Augustine saith far otherwise, not in any other of his books, but even in the selfsame sentence, where hence M. Harding had these words. For he added immediately: *Unde probatur, non hunc in illis partibus intelligi quotidianum panem. Nam magni peccati crimine arguerentur, qui ex illo non accipiunt quotidie*: "Whereby it appeareth, that they of the east

M. Harding
falsifieth St.
Augustine's
mind.

understand not the sacrament to be their daily bread. For then were they guilty of great sin, that do not daily receive it." But touching private mass, he saith thus, even in the same place: *Panis quotidianus potest accipi pro sacramento corporis Christi, quod quotidie accipimus*: "The daily

The sacra-
ment is not
the daily
bread.

bread may be taken for the sacrament of Christ's body, which we receive every day." St. Augustine saith, the people then received the sacrament every day; whereof it followeth necessarily, that the private mass was then said never a day.

The sacra-
ment receiv-
ed every day.

But the Grecians' custom was to receive once only in the year: *ergo*, the priest at other times received alone. No, saith St. Augustine, this custom or negligence was not universal among all the people of Græcia, but among a certain of them only. For thus he saith: *Plurimi in orientalibus partibus non quotidie communicant*: "Many in the east parts do not daily communicate." Wherein may be well implied, that some daily did communicate. Other-

Plurimi.

Augustinus. In the Greek church some received the communion every day.

wise the exception of "many" had been in vain. And that the rest did daily communicate, it may plainly appear by these words of St. Augustine in the same place: *Vel autoritate ecclesiæ sint contenti, quod sine scandalo ista faciant*: "Let them hold themselves content with the authority of the church, that they may thus do without offence." These words do necessarily import, that the rest received the communion, and yet, that notwithstanding, were not offended with the negligence of their brethren that received not. For if the negligence had been general, and the whole people had abstained all together, as they do now in the church of Rome, there had been no cause at all why one of them in that respect should be offended with another.

German. in Rerum Eccl. Theoria. [p. 175. Gr. ed.] Pseudo.] Aug. de Verb. Domin. secund. Luc. 28. [v. 7. 152.]

Now touching the matter itself, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is our daily and everlasting food, not to be removed and renewed after certain days, as the showbread of the Jews, but to stand before the mercy seat of God for ever. "Our daily bread," saith Germanus, "is Christ, that is, and was before, and continueth for ever." Likewise St. Augustine saith: "Not the bread that passeth into our body, but the bread of everlasting life, which sustaineth the substance of the soul."

Ambr. de Sacram. lib. 5. cap. 4. [ii. 378.] The sacrament called the daily bread. a Basil, ad Cæsariam. [iii. 186.] b Conc. Laodiceen. c. 49. [ii. 571.] c Conc. Constantin. [Quini-Sext.] can. 52. [xii. 50.] d Concil. A.

A sacrament of this food is the bread that Christ commanded to be blessed, broken, and delivered in his remembrance, which also may be called the daily bread; not for that it is daily received, but for that there is no day excepted, but it may be received every day. And that in such places where, as the sacrament was not daily received of the people, it was not received privately and daily of the priest, for continuance of the daily sacrifice, as M. Harding surmiseth, it appeareth well by sundry good records. And to leave St. Basil^a, *ad Cæsariam patritiam*, the council^b of Laodicea¹⁰, the council^c of Constantinople holden in Trullo¹¹, and the synodal epistle^d sent from the

¹⁰ [Concil. Laodic. (A.D. 320—372.) c. 49. "Οτι οὐ δεῖ τῆ τεσσαρακοστῆ ἄρτον προσφέρειν, εἰ μὴ ἐν σαββάτῳ καὶ κυριακῇ μόνον.]

¹¹ [Concil. Quin. Sext. (A.D. 692.) Ἐν πάσαις τῆς ἁγίας τεσσαρακοστῆς τῶν νηστειῶν ἡμέραις, παρεκτός σαββάτου καὶ κυριακῆς καὶ

bishops of the east part in the defence of Macarius, St. Augustine saith: *Hujus rei sacramentum...alicubi quotidie, alicubi certis intervallis dierum, in Dominico* [1. *Dominica mensa*] *præparatur, et de mensa Dominica sumitur...* : “The sacrament of this thing is prepared, or consecrate in the church, and received of the Lord’s table, in some places every day, in some places upon certain days.” Likewise also saith St. Ambrose: “Every week we must celebrate the oblation, although not every day unto strangers, yet unto the inhabitants at least twice in the week¹².” St. Augustine saith, the sacrament was ministered “at certain days;” St. Ambrose saith, “sometimes twice in the week,” and not every day. But what record hereof can be plainer than the council of Toledo? The words in English be these: “There be sundry priests in Spain, that touching the prayer that the Lord taught, and commanded daily to be said, say the same only upon the Sunday, and upon no day else¹³.” Hereof we may very well gather, that if the priests in Spain said the Lord’s prayer only upon the Sunday, forso much as the communion is never ministered without the Lord’s prayer, therefore the priests in Spain ministered not the communion, but only upon the Sunday.

lexandr. Epistola Synodalis. [il. 1293.] Aug. in Joh. tract. 26. [iii. pt. 2. 500.]

Ambr. in Epist. ad Tim. i. cap. 4. [ii. App. 295.]

Concil. Tolentan. 4. can. 9. [10. x. 621.]

The communion ministered only upon the Sunday.

These things well considered, the weakness of M. Harding’s guesses may the better appear. For where he saith, “Some of the people withdrew themselves; *ergo*, no man did receive:” or, “Many abstained; *ergo*, the priest received alone;” these reasons be of no value, neither are worthy of any answer. For of the same premisses the contrary will rather follow. St. Augustine saith: “Many in the east part abstained:” hereof we may well gather; *ergo*, some abstained not: otherwise he should have said, all abstained, and not some. Then further, Some abstained not;

της άγιης του ευαγγελισμου ήμερας, γινέσθω ή των προηγιασμένων ιερά λειτουργία. For an explanation of this canon and that of Laodicea, and of the use (peculiar to the Greek Church) of these *preconsecrated elements*, see Bingham, Orig. Eccl. book xv. ch. iv. sect. 12.]

¹² [Not genuine, see p. 159,

note.]

¹³ [Concil. Tolet. iv. (A.D. 633.) c. 9. [10.] “Nonnulli sacerdotum per Hispaniam reperiuntur, qui Dominicam orationem, quam Salvator noster docuit et præcepit, non quotidie sed tantum die ‘Dominica dicunt’...]

ergo, some received with the priest. So did not the priest receive alone. And so hath not M. Harding yet found his private mass.

M. HARDING: *Twenty-seventh Division.*

St. Chrysostom many times exhorting his people to prepare themselves to receive their rites, at least at Easter, in one place saith thus: "What meaneth this? The most part of you be partakers of this sacrifice but once in the year, some twice, some oftener. Therefore this that I speak is to all, not to them only that be here present, but to those also that live in wilderness. For they receive the sacrament but once in the year, and peradventure but once in two years. Well, what then? Whom shall we receive? those that come but once, or that come often, or that come seldom? Soothly, we receive them that come with a pure and a clean conscience, with a clean heart, and to be short, with a blameless life. They that be such, let them come always: and they that be not such, let them not come, not so much as once. Why so? Because they receive to themselves judgment, damnation, and punishment¹⁴." The ancient doctors, specially Chrysostom and Augustine, be full of such sentences.

In 10. cap.
ad Heb. Ho-
mil. 17. [xii.
169.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

It is needless to answer such places as make no show of proof. Chrysostom, as M. Harding well knoweth, hath neither here nor elsewhere either the name or the sense of private mass. Only he exhorteth the people to examine and prepare themselves, and so to come worthily to the Lord's supper. Now if M. Harding think he may found his mass upon this place, he may also presume the like of St. Paul, that, where he said, *Probet seipsum homo*, "Let a man examine himself," he meant to erect private mass.

M. HARDING: *Twenty-eighth Division.*

Now to this end I drive these allegations, leaving out a great number of the same sense. Although many times the people forbear to come to the communion, so as many times (36) none at all were found disposed to receive, yet the holy fathers, bishops and priests, thought not that a cause why they should not daily offer the blessed sacrifice, and celebrate mass. Which

The 36th un-
truth. M.
Harding is
able to shew
no such case.

¹⁴ [It seems needless to print the original, the passage being quite beside the purpose. Harding translates from the version of Murtianus, from which he also quotes in the twenty-eighth division. Jewel quotes from the same.]

thing may sufficiently be proved, whether M. Jewel, that maketh himself so sure of the contrary, will yield and subscribe, according to his promise, or no. Of the daily sacrifice, these words of Chrysostom be plain: *Quid ergo nos? Nonne per singulos dies offerimus? Offerimus quidem, sed ad recordationem facientes mortis ejus: et una est hostia, non multæ, &c.*: "Then what do we? Do we not offer every day? Yes, verily we do so. But we do it for recording of his death: and it is one host, not many¹⁵." Here I hear M. Jewel say, though against his will, I grant the daily sacrifice, but I stand still in my negative, that it cannot be shewed there was ever any such sacrifice celebrated without a communion, that is, as they will have it, without some convenient number to receive the sacrament in the same place with the priest. For proof of this, these be such places as I am persuaded withal. The better learned men, that be of more reading than I am, have other, I doubt not.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here M. Harding notably betrayeth himself, laying forth, for a countenance, a few of Chrysostom's words, and the same nothing to the matter, hewing and mangling them as him listeth best, requiring also subscription, as upon sufficient proof, and yet in the same place and with one breath, himself secretly confessing the insufficiency and weakness of his proof.

These words of St. Chrysostom, as they make nothing for private mass, so do they very well declare what the old fathers meant by these words, oblation and sacrifice, in the holy ministration. Chrysostom compareth the sacrifices of the Jews in the law, with the sacrifice of Christ in the gospel. He saith, the sacrifices of the law were many and

Chrysostom.
ad Hebræ.
Homil. 17.
[xii. 167.]

¹⁵ [Τί οὖν; ἡμεῖς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν οὐ προσφέρομεν; προσφέρομεν μὲν, ἀλλ' ἀνάμνησιν ποιούμενοι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ· καὶ μία ἐστὶν αὐτή, καὶ οὐ πολλαί· πῶς μία καὶ οὐ πολλαί; ἐπειδὴ ἀπαξ προσηρέχθη, ὡσπερ ἐκείνη ἢ εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων. τοῦτο ἐκείνης τύπος ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτῆ ἐκείνης. τὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν αἰεὶ προσφέρομεν· οὐ νῦν μὲν ἕτερον πρόβατον, αἴριον δὲ ἕτερον, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τὸ αὐτό. ὥστε μία ἐστὶν ἡ θυσία. ἐπεὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ, ἐπειδὴ πολλαχοῦ προσφέρεται, καὶ πολλοὶ χριστοὶ; ἀλλ' οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλ' εἰς πανταχοῦ ὁ Χριστός, καὶ ἐνταῦθα πλήρης ὢν, καὶ ἐκεῖ

πλήρης, ἐν σώμα. ὡσπερ οὖν πολλαχοῦ προσφερόμενος ἐν σώμα ἔστι, καὶ οὐ πολλά σώματα, οὕτω καὶ μία θυσία. ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἡμῶν ἐκεῖνος ἐστὶν ὁ τὴν θυσίαν τὴν καθαίρουσαν ἡμᾶς προσενεγκὼν· ἐκείνην προσφέρομεν καὶ νῦν, τὴν τότε τε προσενεχθεῖσαν, τὴν ἀνάλωτον· τοῦτο εἰς ἀνάμνησιν γίνεται τοῦ τότε γενομένου. τοῦτο γὰρ ποιεῖτέ, φησιν, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. οὐκ ἄλλην θυσίαν, καθάπερ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τότε, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰεὶ ποιούμεν· μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνάμνησιν ἐργαζόμεθα θυσίας. Chrysost. in 10. cap. ad Hebr. hom. 17.]

unperfect, and therefore daily renewed : this of the gospel is one and perfect, and therefore everlasting. And resembleth the same unto a sovereign salve, which, being once laid on the wound, healeth it up thoroughly, and needeth no more laying on.

He saith further, that we of the gospel have a sacrifice also, and that daily, but in remembrance of that sacrifice once made upon the cross. And although we sacrifice in sundry places, yet, saith he, the sacrifice is but one, because it hath relation unto that one sacrifice of Christ.

Chrysostom.
ad Hebræ.
Homil. 17.
[xii. 168.]

And therefore he addeth: *Quomodo una est hostia, et non multæ? Quia semel oblata est, oblata est in sancta sanctorum. Hoc autem sacrificium exemplar illius est:* "How is it one oblation and not many? Because it was once offered, it was offered into the holy place: but this sacrifice" (meaning the ministration of the sacrament) "is an example of that." And what he meaneth by this word

Exemplar.

exemplar, he sheweth a few lines before: *Quæ formam tantum alicujus habent, exemplar ostendunt, non autem virtutem. Sicut in imaginibus exemplar hominis habet imago, non etiam virtutem:* "The things that bear only a likeness, shew the sampler of some other thing, but not the power of the same: as an image sheweth the pattern of a man, but not the power of a man¹⁴." Hereof St. Chrysostom concludeth thus: "The thing that we do, is done in remembrance of that thing that was done before. For Christ said, Do this in my remembrance." Hereby it appeareth in what sense the old fathers used these words, oblation and sacrifice.

But what doth all this further M. Harding's private mass? Or, if it further it not, what doth it here? It is but a faint conclusion to say,

Chrysostom had the daily sacrifice :

Ergo, Chrysostom had private mass.

M. Harding
nippeth
Chrysos-
tom's words.

Soothly, good reader, if it had liked M. Harding to have given thee leave to read the next lines following in Chry-

¹⁴ [Καὶ καλῶς εἶπεν ἐκεῖνα ἀντί-
τυπα, ἄρα τύπον ἔχει μόνον, οὐχὶ δὲ
καὶ τὴν ἰσχύν ὡσπερ ἐπὶ τῶν εἰκό-
νων, τύπον ἔχει τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἢ
εἰκῶν, οὐχὶ τὴν ἰσχύν.]

sostom, thou mightest easily have seen the whole order of the holy ministration in his time. For thus he saith unto the people : *Per singulos dies intras in ecclesiam ...* : “Thou [xii. 170.] comest daily to the church....” Whereby we see, the priest was not in the church alone. Then, touching the receiving, he saith : “The deacon at that hour calleth the holy, and by that voice as it were beholdeth the people’s spots. For like as in a flock, whereas be many sound sheep and many infected, the one must needs be sundered from the other : even so fareth it in the church. For some are sound, and some are sick, and by that voice the deacon divideth these from them....For that voice of his falling into our ears as it were a hand, removeth and shutteth forth some, and other some it taketh in, and presenteth them to the congregation¹⁵.” I send thee not unto other places of Chrysostom, which be both many mo and far plainer than this, but only unto this same place, out of which M. Harding hath picked as much as he thought good.

Chrysostom saith : “The people resorted daily to the church ; the deacon sundered them with his voice, the sound from the sick, the one part to receive, the other to abstain ; the one part he shut out at the time of the holy communion, the other he brought in and presented to the congregation.” This was the ordinary practice of the church in Chrysostom’s time, where we see plainly by his own report, that he received not alone.

Yet, saith M. Harding, “For proof of this, these follow- ing be such places as I am persuaded withal.” By this cold conclusion, he cutteth off credit from all that he hath hitherto said, as not making show sufficient to win his purpose, and so condemneth his note made in the margin,

¹⁵ [Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ διάκονος ἐπι- φωνεῖ τότε τοὺς ἁγίους καλῶν, καὶ διὰ τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης μωμοσκοπῶν ἅπαντας, ὥστε μὴ προσελθεῖν τινα ἀπαράσκευον. καθάπερ γὰρ ἐπὶ ποι- μνης, ἔνθα πολλὰ μὲν ὑγιαίνει πρό- βατα, πολλὰ δὲ ψώρας ἀναπέπλη- σται, ἀνάγκη ταῦτα διείργεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὑγιαίνοντων οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῇ

ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ μὲν ἐστὶν ὑγιει- νὰ πρόβατα, τὰ δὲ κεκακωμένα, διὰ τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης διείργει ταῦτα ἐκείνων. . . καθ’ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν εἰσέρ- χη εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ἔτι τοῦτο ἀγνοεῖς ; . . ἢ γὰρ φωνῆ ἐκείνῃ εἰς τὴν ἀκοὴν ἐμπίπτουσα τὴν ἡμετέραν, κα- θάπερ χεῖρ, τοὺς μὲν ὠθεῖ καὶ ἐκβάλλει, τοὺς δὲ εἰσάγει καὶ παρίστησεν.]

Vocat san- ctos.

Sancta san- ctis. [xii. 171.]

which was, "Proofs for private mass," and layeth all the burden of his grounds upon these other guesses that hereafter follow. Verily hitherto, for any thing that may appear by his book, notwithstanding his long time, his much reading, and great conference with all his fellows, he hath not yet found either the name of private mass in any old catholic writer, or the sole receiving of the priest. If he will have the world to believe him and subscribe, he must leave his guesses, and bring some sound and substantial proofs.

M. HARDING: *Twenty-ninth Division.*

Soter, bishop of Rome, about the year of our Lord 170, who suffered martyrdom under Antoninus Verus the emperor, for order of celebrating mass, made this statute or decree: *Ut nullus presbyterorum missarum solennia celebrare præsumat, nisi duobus præsentibus, sibi que respondentibus, et ipse tertius habeatur: quia cum pluraliter ab eo dicitur, Dominus vobiscum, et illud in secretis, Orate pro me: apertissime convenit, ut ipsius respondeatur salutationi:* "This hath been ordained, that no priest presume to celebrate the solemnity of the mass, except there be two present and answer him, so as he himself be the third. For whereas he saith, (as by way of speaking to many,) 'Our Lord be with you,' and likewise in the secrets, 'Pray you for me;' it seemeth evidently convenient, that answer be made to his salutation accordingly." Which ancient decree requireth not that all people of necessity be present, (37) much less that all so oftentimes should communicate sacramentally: which thing it requireth neither of those two that ought to be present. If of the bare words of this decree a sufficient argument may not be made for our purpose, inducing of the affirmation of that one thing there specified, the denial of that other thing we speak of, which manner of argument is commonly used of our adversaries, then more weight may be put unto it in this case: for that, whereas the receiving of Christ's body is a far greater matter than to answer the priest at mass, if that holy bishop and martyr had thought it so necessary, as that, the mass might not be done without it; doubtless, of very reason and convenience, he would and should have specially spoken of that rather than of the other. But for that he thought otherwise, he required only of necessity the presence of two for the purpose above mentioned.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Some say this decree was made by pope Anacletus, some others say by Soter, and so they seem not to be yet tho-

The 37th untruth. For all that were present, were willed either to communicate, or to depart. A bare collection.

Polydorus de Inventoribus Rerum. [lib.

De Con. dist. 1. can. Hoc quoque statutum.

roughly resolved upon the author. But if we had not good cause to doubt of the authority of these decrees and epistles decretal, we would the less doubt of their doctrine. It was evermore the common practice of deceivers, to blaze their doings by the names of such as they knew to be in estimation in the world. For to pass by Homer, Hesiod, Cicero, Plautus, and such others counted learned and famous among the heathens, in whose names many counterfeit books were set abroad, St. Paul himself willeth the Thessalonians not to suffer themselves to be drawn from their faith, “neither by spirit, nor by talk, nor by letter as sent from him.” By which last words he signifieth, that letters sometime were falsified and set abroad in his name. So were there given out gospels in the name of Peter, Thomas, and other the apostles; and other matters of small weight, in the names of Augustine, Hierom, Ambrose, Cyprian, and otherlike. This was unto some a common pastime, and many godly fathers complain much of it.

Wherefore we ought the less to marvel, if the like have happened unto Anacletus, Euaristus, Soter, and such others as followed immediately in Rome after the apostles’ time.

Gratian sheweth, that the decretal epistles have been doubted of among the learned. And doctor Smith, although his authority be not great, declared openly at Paul’s Cross, that they cannot possibly be theirs, whose names they bear. And to utter some reasons shortly for proof thereof, these decretal epistles manifestly deprave and abuse the scriptures, as it may soon appear unto the godly reader upon the sight. They maintain nothing so much, as the state and kingdom of the pope: and yet was there no such state erected in many hundred years after the apostles’ time; they publish a multitude of vain and superstitious ceremonies, and otherlike phantasies, far unlike the apostles’ doctrine; they proclaim such things as M. Harding knoweth to be open and known lies.

Anacletus, that was next after Peter, willeth and straitly

v. cap. 12.
p. 339.]

2 Thess. ii. 2.

Dist. 19. De
epistolis.

Anno secun-
do Edwardi
sexti.

Dist. 97. Jux-
ta sancto-
rum.

commandeth, that all bishops once in the year do visit the entry of St. Peter's church in Rome, which they call *Limina Petri*. Yet was there then no church yet built there in the name of Peter. For pope Cornelius saith¹⁶, as he is alleged, that he first took up St. Peter's body, and buried the same in Apollos' church in Rome, at the least one hundred and forty years after that Anacletus was dead. Pope Antherus maketh mention of Eusebius Alexandrinus, and Felix, which lived a long time after him, and therefore was it not possible for him to know them. Fabianus writeth of the coming of Novatus into Italy, and yet it is clear by St. Cyprian and by Eusebius, that Novatus came first into Italy in the time of Cornelius, which was next after him. And to leave a number of other conjectures, which may be hereafter more aptly touched some other where, neither St. Hierom nor Gennadius entreating of the ecclesiastical writers, nor Damasus writing purposely of the lives of the bishops of Rome before him, ever made any mention either of such epistles or of any such decrees: which they would not have dissembled, if there had been any such extant or known in their time. Thus have I briefly given a taste of these decretal authorities, that the reader may the better understand, of what credit they ought to be.

Now touching the matter, that by this decree of Soter, bishop of Rome, it should then be lawful for the priest there to say mass, having only two others in his company, the state and story of the time considered, it seemeth very unlikely. 1. For both St. Augustine and St. Hierom¹⁷, who lived two hundred and fifty years after Soter, have recorded, that the people of Rome, even in their time, used

In Decretal.
Cornelii.
[i. 811.]

Cypr. lib. i.
epist. 3.
Eusebius,
lib. 6. cap.
42. [c. 43.
i. 309.]

Aug. epist.
118. ad Janu-
arium. [li.
123.]
Aug. in Joh.

¹⁶ [In Mansi this decretal is marked as Epistola I. Cornelii Papæ, (Baron. aliisque merito suspecta.)]

¹⁷ [In St. Augustine's epistle to Januarius an allusion to *fasting* at Rome is found, but no mention of that city in particular in respect to the communion. In Tract. in

Johan. 26, there is no particular allusion at all to Rome, but a general statement, that the frequency of communions varied in different places. The statement in the text rests mainly upon St. Jerome's testimony, which these passages from St. Augustine are apparently intended only to illustrate.]

to receive the communion together every day¹⁸; which practice can hardly stand with that is here imagined.

2. The words also themselves imply a manifest contrariety. For this word *solemnia*, which here is used, seemeth to import a solemn company or resort of the people. And yet this Soter, requiring to this action only the company of three persons, nevertheless calleth it *missarum solemnia*.

3. As touching the causes mentioned in this decree, which are that the priest may seem conveniently and aptly to say in the plural number, "The Lord be with you," and, "Brethren, pray you for me," it may well be doubted, whether *Dominus vobiscum*, or *Orate pro me fratres*, were any part of the liturgy of Rome in Soter's time. For Damasus, which was bishop of Rome two hundred and fifty years after that, writeth unto St. Hierom¹⁹, that things were done with such simplicity in the church of Rome in his time, that upon the Sunday there was nothing else but some epistle of the apostle, or some chapter of the gospel read openly unto the people; which whether he meant of the holy ministration or no, I leave further to be considered.

4. Further, this same Soter requireth, that both these two, and as many others as be present, make answer unto the priest; wherein is included both nearness of place for the people to stand in, and to hear, and also a common known tongue, which both are contrary to M. Harding's mass.

5. Moreover, touching these two whose presence is required, question is moved by the canonists, whether they ought to be two clerks or two laymen, or one clerk and one layman, or one man and one woman. The resolution whereof is, that they must be two clerks.

6. Howbeit, the matter is otherwise determined, that if the mass be public, there must needs be two at the least; but if it be a private mass, that then one is sufficient.

¹⁸ [St. Jerome's word is "semper." "Scio Romæ hanc esse consuetudinem, ut fideles semper Christi corpus accipiant, quod nec reprehendo, nec probo."]
¹⁹ [Cave pronounces this epistle to Jerome spurious; it will be found in Crabbe, vol. i.]

tract. 26. [Hieron. in Apol. [pro Jovinian. [1. pt. 2. 500.] pt. 2. 339.]

Damasus in Epist. ad Hieron.

De Con. dist. 1. Hoc quæ. In Gloss.

Summa Angelica, Missa

38.

Gerson contra Floretum, lib. 4.

7. Gerson likewise saith, that the priest may well say *Dominus vobiscum*, although there be but one present at his mass²⁰. For it may be presumed, saith he, that the priest speaketh not only unto that one, but also unto the whole church. Thus we see, notwithstanding Soter's determination, the number of two for a shift may well be abridged.

Innoc. lib. 2. cap. 20. de Offic. Miss.

8. Pope Innocentius hath yet another fetch to help the matter. He saith, though there be but one there, yet may the priest nevertheless say *Dominus vobiscum*; because it may be thought there be angels there to supply men's rooms.

9. Again, that there were any such secesies in the mass in the time of Soter, it were very hard for M. Harding to prove. For then every piece of the mass was spoken aloud, that the people might hear it, and say "Amen." And indeed to say unto the people, "Pray for me, brethren and sisters," as it is now used in the mass, unless the people may hear and understand the same, it is a mockery.

Durand. l. 4. [c. 15. De salutatione.]

And yet Durandus saith: *Sacerdos ante secretellam volvens se ad populum dicturus, Orate fratres, &c. debet dicere, Dominus vobiscum sub silentio*: "The priest before the little secret turning himself to the people to say, Brethren pray for me, must say, The Lord be with you, under silence."

Now, saith M. Harding, "Soter's decree is not that these two should communicate with the priest, but only requireth their presence; ergo, it is likely the priest received alone; which is an argument much used among our adversaries." But what if these two will not come, neither to communicate, nor to be present at all? Verily by M. Harding's mind, the priest's devotion ought not to stay for want of company. For these be his very words a little before: "Well, none cometh; this is not a sufficient cause why the faithful and godly priest, inflamed with the love of God, feeling himself hungry and thirsty after the heavenly food and drink, should be kept from it," &c. This is a

Page 12.

²⁰ [Gerson contra Floretum. Gerson's collected works, edit. The editor has been unable to discover any such treatise amongst 1514, 1606, or 1706.]

cause sufficient, saith Soter ; it is no sufficient cause, saith M. Harding. The judgment hereof I refer unto the reader.

Touching the force of the argument wherewith he chargeth us by the name of his adversaries, I trust there doth already appear some difference between our proofs and his guesses. But the argument that he meaneth, and not very plainly uttereth, is called in the schools, *argumentum ab autoritate negative*²¹; which is thought to be good whensoever proof is taken of God's word, and is used not only by us, but also by St. Paul and by many of the catholic fathers. St. Paul saith: "God said not unto Abraham, In thy seeds all nations shall be blessed, but In thy seed, which is Christ." And thereof he thought he made a good argument. Ad Gal. iii. 16.

Likewise saith Origen: "The bread which the Lord gave unto his disciples, saying unto them, Take and eat, he deferred not, nor commanded to be reserved until the next day." Such arguments Origen and other learned fathers thought to stand for good, whatsoever misliking M. Harding hath found in them. This kind of proof is thought to hold in God's commandments, for that they be full and perfect ; and God hath specially charged us, that we should neither put to them nor take from them: and therefore it seemeth good unto them, that have learned of Christ, *Unus est magister vester Christus*: "Christ only is your master," and have heard the voice of God the Father from heaven, *Ipsum audite*: "Give ear unto him." Orig. in Levit. Homil. 5. [ii. 211.]
Matt. xxiii. 8.
Matt. xvii. 5.
But unto them that add to the word of God what them listeth, and make God's will subject unto their will, and break God's commandments for their own tradition's sake, Matt. xv. 3. unto them it seemeth not good. To conclude, if this manner of reasoning be good, why doth M. Harding re-

²¹ [See some judicious remarks of Hooker's on the nature of this argument, and the extent of its validity, (Keble's ed. vol. i. pp. 310—318,) where he obviates an objection drawn from this very passage of Jewel, which he quotes, from "which is thought to be

good," down to "it seemeth not good." He entirely justifies the bishop in the extent to which he makes use of it. See ante, p. 51. Jewel had pursued the same line of defence in his correspondence with Cole.]

prove it? if it be naught, why doth he use it, and that even in the same place where he doth reprove it?

“But,” saith M. Harding, “Soter required only the presence of two, and these two were not commanded to communicate; *ergo*, the priest did receive alone, and so there was undoubtedly private mass.” But mark well a little, good reader. If these two were bound to communicate with the priest, then, notwithstanding this decree, M. Harding hath not yet found his private mass. Then consider this decree written in the name of pope Calixtus:

De Con. dist. 2. Peracta. De Con. dist. 1. Episcopus Deo. *Peracta consecratione, omnes communicent, qui noluerint ecclesiasticis carere liminibus. Sic enim et apostoli statuerunt, et sancta Romana tenet ecclesia:* “The consecration being done, let all communicate, unless they will be removed from the church. For so the apostles appointed, and so holdeth the holy church of Rome.” By this decree these two were bound either to communicate with the priest, or to depart forth of the church. If they did communicate, then hath M. Harding here no private mass; if they departed forth, then could the priest say no mass at all; for Soter at least requireth the presence of two.

Again, the argument that M. Harding gathereth out of this decree,

“Three persons were present;
Ergo, two of them did not receive,”

is utterly unsensible and void of reason. Rather he might have concluded thus:

Soter willeth that two be present;
Ergo, much more he willeth that the same two do communicate.

It may also stand with reason and with the common practice of the church at that time, that these two, whose presence Soter requireth, were priests or deacons, or otherwise of the clergy, and that over and beside the company of the people, as indeed it is determined by the gloss. And so this decree of Soter agreeth with another decree of Anacletus made to the like purpose, that is, “That the bishop at the ministration have about him a certain number of deacons, sub-deacons, and other ministers, besides

De Con. dist. 1. Hec quoque. In Glossa. De Con. dist. 1. Episcopus Deo.

the common multitude of the lay people:" and likewise with another decree of the same Soter, that is, "That every priest making the sacrifice, have by him another priest to assist him, and to make an end of the ministration, if any qualm or sickness happen to fall upon him." And this assistance of the priest is required, notwithstanding the presence of others, either of the clerks or of the laity.

Now being priests or clerks, and being present at the ministration, the law specially constrained them to receive the holy communion with the minister, as it appeareth by this decree written in the Canons of the Apostles: "If any bishop, or priest, or deacon, or any other of the clerks, after the oblation is made, do not communicate, either let him shew cause thereof, that if it be found reasonable he may be excused: or if he show no cause, let him be excommunicate."

Thus whosoever these two were, whose presence Soter required, whether they were of the laity or of the clergy, the law constrained them to receive together with the priest: and therefore M. Harding hath hitherto found a communion, and no manner token or inkling of his private mass.

M. HARDING: *Thirtieth Division.*

In a council holden at Agatha, a city of France, then called *Gallia*, about the time of Chrysostom, an old decree of Fabianus, bishop of Rome and martyr, and also of the council Elibertine, in the time of St. Sylvester, *anno Domini* 314, was renewed, that all secular Christian folk should be houseled three times every year, at Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas. It was there also decreed, that they should hear the whole mass every Sunday, and not depart before the priest had given blessing. So they were bound to hear mass every Sunday, and to receive the communion but thrice in the year. The selfsame order was decreed in the council of Orleans. Then of like, specially in small towns and villages, they had mass without the communion of many together sometimes.

Ex Con. Agath. can. 31. [ap. Grat. 47.] Missas die Dominico secularibus totas audire, speciali ordine præcipimus, ita ut ante benedictionem sacerdotis egredi populus non præsumat: quod si fecerint, ab episcopo publice confundantur. De Con. dist. 1. Quam ad celebrandas missas.

De Con. dist. 1. Ut illud.

Canon. Apost. can. 9. [al. 8.]

Private Mass proved by likelihood.

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M. Harding knoweth well, that these decrees which he here allegeth could never be found written, neither in the council holden at Agatha in France, nor at the other council

M. Harding allegeth councils that cannot be found.

holden at Eliberis, now called Granado, in Spain²², but were set forth many hundred years after in the name of those councils by one Gratian, a man of great diligence, as may appear by his gathering: but of no great judgment, as we may see by his choice. Yet here M. Harding shuffleth a great many of them together, that the one may the better countenance the other.

But let us receive the authority of these decrees, and grant there was no error committed by Gratian in his gathering: yet will they stand M. Harding in small stead. For as in many other matters they utterly cast him, so they nothing relieve him for his mass. For thus it is concluded by both these councils: *Qui in natali Domini, Paschate, et Pentecoste non communicant, catholici non credantur, nec inter catholicos habeantur*: "They that receive not the communion at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, let them not be taken nor reckoned for catholic people." It appeareth by these general councils²³, that in the whole church of Rome, saving only a few massing priests, there is not one man worthy to be accounted catholic.

And to draw near to the purpose, whoso will narrowly view the points of these decrees, shall soon see they cannot

De Con. dist.
2. Sæculares.

²² [Of the council of Eliberis, it is perfectly true, that the decrees in question formed no part, and Crabbe has expressly stated that he merely transcribed them (at the end of the genuine canons) out of Gratian. But the case is very different with respect to the council of Agatha (A. D. 506). Crabbe, from whom Jewel generally quotes, published forty-six of the canons from a good MS. obtained at Gembla, near Namur, and for the "editio regia" four other MSS. were collated, including one from Corvei. All the MSS. agree, however, in giving only forty-seven canons, the rest in all the editions being printed from Gratian, &c. Amongst those so excluded by Crabbe (who differs in this respect from the later editions) is the forty-seventh, the same which Harding

has erroneously quoted as the thirty-first. "Missas die Dominico sæcularibus, &c." So far therefore Jewel is right as to *this* decree "not being found written." On the other hand he is wrong in extending this censure to the other canon alleged, which is the eighteenth of the genuine and original canons of the council. Harding's argument here, however, turning on the *combination* of the *two* canons, is sufficiently refuted by shewing the spuriousness of *one*. The council of Orleans also (can. 28. De Cons. Quum ad celebrandas missas) relates to only one of these canons.]

²³ [Here again, as at p. 239, the bishop has used the term *general* councils very loosely; the councils of Eliberis and Agatha have no pretensions to that name.]

stand with the very form and order of the church of those days. For besides that I have already proved by the authority of St. Hierom and St. Augustine, that the holy communion was then ministered unto the people in Rome every day, Fabianus, also bishop of Rome, which is likewise brought forth here for a witness, hath plainly decreed, not that the people should hear mass "every Sunday," as it is soothly warranted by M. Harding, but that they should receive the communion every Sunday. His words be plain:

Decernimus, ut in omnibus Dominicis diebus altaris oblatio ab omnibus viris, et mulieribus fiat, tam panis, quam vini: ^{Inter Decreta Fabiani cap. 7.}

"We decree that every Sunday the oblation of the altar be made of all men and women, both of bread and of wine."

Here, besides that in these words is included the receiving of the communion "every Sunday," may be noted also by the way, that by this authority of Fabian, men and women made the sacrifice of the altar, and that of bread and wine, and therefore after the order of Melchisedek.

Therefore St. Bernard saith: *Non solus sacerdos sacrificat, ... sed totus conventus fidelium...*: "Not only the priest sacrificeth, but also the whole company of the faithful²⁴." ^{Pseudo-Bernard. in Sermon. in die Purific. tom. ii. [ll. 980.]}

These things well considered, the sense, that M. Harding would so fain wring out of these decrees, will seem unlikely.

Moreover, when did St. Augustine, St. Hierom, St. Chrysostom, or any other learned father or doctor of that age, ever use this manner of speech, *audire missas*, "to hear mass?" Certainly this phrase was so far unacquainted and unknown in that world, that the very originals of these decrees have it not: but only have these words, *tenere missas*, "to hold mass:" as may be seen in the book of councils, noted purposely in the margin²⁵. The Italians this day seem to speak far better. For of them that hear ^{Con. Agath. can. 31. [can. 47. Mansi. viii. 332.]}

²⁴ [Bernard. de Purific. Serm. tom. ii. This sermon (to be distinguished from the sermon so entitled in vol. i.) is pronounced spurious by the Benedict. It is supposed to have been written by

Guerricus, a disciple of Bernard.]
²⁵ [Crabbe in his text of the forty-seventh canon has "tenere missas," and over it as a various reading, "audire missas."]

mass, and understand not what they hear, they say, *videre missas*; that is, not to hear, but to see mass.

To hear
mass.

Hearing.

Matt. xv. 10.

Eccclus. vi. 33.

Deut. xxxi.
11, 12.

2 Kings xviii.
26.

Cicero in
Tusculanis
Quest.

De Authori-
tate et Con-
sen. tuto. et
cur. Non
multum.
[tom. ii.]

De Verbor.
et Rer. Signi-
ficat. [tom.
iii.]

And forso much as M. Harding seemeth to delight himself with this kind of speech, "to hear mass," to the intent he may make some simple body believe that the people, hearing that they understand not, are nevertheless well and devoutly occupied, and therein follow the order of the primitive church; I will also demand of him, what learned doctor or ancient father ever took hearing in that sense? Surely Christ in the godly, joineth hearing and understanding both together. Thus he saith: *Audite et intelligite*: "Hear ye and understand ye." And the wise man saith: "If thou give thine ear, thou shalt receive knowledge." And God himself in the Deuteronomy saith: "Thou shalt read the words of this law, in the presence of all the people of Israel, &c.; that they hearing may learn, and fear the Lord your God, and may keep and fulfil all the words of this law." And in the book of Kings it is written thus: *Loquere nobis Syriace; nam audimus*: "Speak to us in the Syrian tongue; for we hear it:" that is to say, "for we understand it." And to that use hath God endued us with the sense of hearing, that thereby we might learn and attain knowledge. And therefore Aristotle calleth hearing the sense of understanding. For hearing void of all manner understanding is no hearing. Cicero saith: *In illis linguis quas non intelligimus, quæ sunt innumerabiles, surdi profecto sumus*: "In the tongues that we understand not, which are innumerable, we are doubtless deaf and hear nothing." By this it appeareth, that the simple people, hearing mass in a strange language, is deaf, and heareth no mass at all.

The emperor Justinian likewise saith: *Non multum interest, utrum abfuerit tutor, cum negotium contraheretur, an præsens ignoraverit, quale esset quod contrahebatur*: "There is no great difference, whether the tutor were absent when the bargain was made, (in the behoof of his pupil,) or being present understood not the manner of the bargain." Likewise also in another place he saith: *Coram Titio aliquid facere iussus, non videtur præsentem eo fecisse, nisi is*

intelligat: “He that is commanded to do a thing in the presence of Titius, seemeth not to do it in his presence, unless he understand it.” Upon the which words Alciat writeth thus: *Quid opus erat ejus præsentiam adhibere, qui quod agatur, non intelligat? Siquidem aiebat Epicharmus philosophus, mentem esse, quæ videt, non oculos. Qui igitur animo non adest, abesse videtur*: “What needeth his presence, that understandeth not what is done? For the philosopher Epicharmus saith, it is the mind that seeth, and not the eyes. Therefore he that is not present with his mind,” (to understand what is done,) “may be taken for absent.”

I have alleged these authorities rather than other, for that in them we may see the very light and sense of nature. How then can M. Harding think he may steal away invisible under the cloak of these words, “of hearing mass?” Verily in the favour and judgment of common reason, it is as strange and as fond a speech to say, “I will hear mass,” as it is to say, “I will see the sermon.” For what is there in the mass that the unlearned can hear? The oblation, that they imagine, is an outward action or doing, and therefore is to be seen and not to be heard; the consecration, as they use it, is spoken in silence, and may not in anywise be heard; their communion is none at all, and therefore cannot be heard. These be the three substantial parts, whereof, as M. Harding saith, the whole mass consisteth. How then can he say, the unlearned man heareth mass, that heareth not one part of the mass?

If by this word “mass” he understand the prayers that be said in the mass, the unlearned understandeth them not, and therefore heareth them not. Chrysostom, speaking of him that heareth the prayers in a strange unknown tongue, saith thus: *Tu recte oras: Spiritu, scilicet, concitatus sonas: sed ille nec audiens, nec intelligens ea, quæ dicis, parvam ex ea re utilitatem capit*: “Thou prayest well: for thou soundest out words, being moved by the Spirit: but the unlearned, neither hearing nor understanding what thou sayest, hath thereby but small profit.”

Likewise saith St. Paul: *Qui loquitur lingua, non ho-* 1 Cor. xiv. 2.

Andr. Alciat.
[H. 1281.]

To hear
mass.
To see the
sermon.

Follio 12. b.

Chrysost. in
1 Cor. homil.
35. [X. 326.]

minibus loquitur, sed Deo : nullus enim audit : “ He that speaketh with tongue, speaketh not unto men, but unto God : for no man heareth him.” M. Harding saith, the unlearned heareth the mass and other prayers, yea although he understand not one word that is spoken ; but St. Paul and St. Chrysostom say, “ The unlearned heareth not, because he understandeth not.” God saith unto the wicked, and not unto the godly : “ Ye shall hear with your ears, and shall not understand.”

Isai. vi. 9.
Matt. xiii. 13.

Or like.

Now let us see what M. Harding gathereth out of these two councils. “ Then of like,” saith he, “ specially in small towns and villages, they had mass without the communion of many together.” “ Of like,” was never good argument in any schools.

Thou seest, good reader, the best that here can be had is but a guess, and, as it shall afterward appear, a very simple and a blind guess. It is a wonder to see so great a matter, and so single proofs. You have taught the people, that in your mass Christ himself is presently and really sacrificed for the sins of the world ; that all, that ever he did or suffered for our sakes, is lively expressed in the same ; and that all kings, princes, and other estates, must needs stoop unto it. And yet was the same for the space of six hundred years to be found only in poor towns and villages, and that only by guess and blind conjecture, and none otherwise ? Or could it never all that while once enter into any city or good town ? And being so good a thing, can no man tell us who published it and said it first ?

Innoc. 3. in
prologo de
officio missæ.
Durandus
lib. 4.
Rupertus de
Missa. [lib.
ii. 10. 12.]

But what if the very words of these councils, whereupon M. Harding hath founded his mass, make manifest proof against his mass ? The words be these : “ All secular Christian folk be bound to receive the communion at the least thrice in the year.” This relaxation or privilege is granted only unto the secular Christians. Whereof it followeth necessarily, that all ecclesiastical persons, as priests, deacons, clerks, and others whatsoever of that sort, were not excepted, but stood still bound to receive orderly, as they had done before : and that was, at all times whensoever

there was any ministration. And so by the plain words of these councils the priest received not alone: neither hath M. Harding yet found out his private mass.

But that the whole matter may the better appear, not by guess or aim, but by the very ecclesiastical order of that age, we must understand, that these and such other like decrees were made, not for the greatest part of the people that in those days used to communicate in all their assemblies, but for a few that were negligent and held back. For otherwise the general order doth well appear by all the ecclesiastical records of that time.

And whereas M. Harding hath taken exception of small towns and villages, which he guesseth had then the private mass, it was decreed and straitly ordered, in a council holden at Gerunda in Spain²⁶, that all little churches in the country should conform themselves unto the great cathedral churches that were in cities and towns, as well for order of the communion, as also for singing and other ministration. But by M. Harding's own grant, there was no private mass then in cathedral churches; it followeth therefore necessarily, (this council of Gerunda standing in force,) that there was no private mass then in towns or villages.

And that the people did then commonly receive the sacrament every Sunday, it appeareth by most certain and undoubted proofs. The council holden at Matiscona in Italy hath this canon: *Decrevimus, ut omnibus Dominicis diebus altaris oblatio ab omnibus viris et mulieribus offeratur...*: "We have decreed, that every Sunday the oblation of the altar be offered of all, both men and women²⁷."

Likewise the council holden at Antissiodorum: *Decernimus, ut unaquæque mulier, quando communicat, dominicalem suum habeat. Quod si non habuerit, usque in alium diem Dominicum, non communicet*: "We decree, that every woman, when she doth communicate, have her dominical.

Con. Gerunden. can. 1. [viii. 549.]
De Con. dist. 2. [Institutio missarum.]

Concil. Matisconen. 2. can. 4. [ix. 951.]

Concil. Antissiodoren. can. 42. [ix. 915.]

²⁶ [See this canon in Bruns, or in Richard's Analys. Concil. Concil. Gerund. A.D. 517.]

²⁷ [Concil. Matiscon. (Mascon

in France,) A.D. 585. In the original the words "tam panis, quam vini" are added.]

If she have it not, let her not communicate until the next Sunday²⁸." Likewise Carolus Magnus, a long while after, among other his ecclesiastical laws, writeth thus : *Ut populi oblationes sacerdotibus in ecclesia offerant, et in die Dominico communicent* : "That the people offer their oblations unto the priests in the church, and receive the communion upon the Sunday." By these councils and decrees it appeareth plainly, without guess or gloss, that the people used commonly in all that time, and long after, to communicate the holy mysteries every Sunday. Therefore M. Harding must yet seek further for his private mass.

M. HARDING : *Thirty-first Division.*

In that council of Agatha²⁹ we find a decree, made by the fathers assembled there, whereof (38) it appeareth, that priests oftentimes said mass without others receiving with them. And thus much it is in English : "If any man will have an oratory or chapel abroad in the country, beside the parish churches, in which lawful and ordinary assembly is, for the rest of the holy days, that he have masses there, in consideration of weariness of the household, with just ordinance we do permit. But at Easter, Christ's birth, Epiphany, the Ascension of our Lord, Whitsunday, and the Nativity of St. John Baptist, and if there be any other special feasts, let them not keep their masses, but in the cities and parishes. And as for the clerks, if any will do, or have their masses at the aforesaid feasts in chapels, unless the bishop so command or permit, let them be thrust out from communion." By this decree we learn, that then masses were commonly said in private chapels at home, at such times as the people were not accustomed to be houseled. For when by commandment and common order they received their rites, as in the aforementioned feasts, then were the priests prohibited to say masses in private oratories or chapels, without the parish churches. And hereof we may plainly understand, that in such places priests customably said masses of their own, and of the householders' devotion, when none of the household were disposed to receive with them. The like decree is to be found, Concilii Alvernensis, can. 14. [15.] Concil. Constantinopol. generalis in Trullo, can. 31.

²⁸ [Rather "until another Sunday." Harding's Rejoinder. Jewel has taken the reading "dominicalem" from Crabbe. The more usual term was "dominicales;" its use has been disputed; either first, a veil for the head at church on

Sundays—probably meant here; or secondly, a linen covering for the hands, when women communicated; or thirdly, a union of both uses.]

²⁹ [Concil. Agath. 21. See Bruns, vol. ii. p. 150.]

Lib. vi. cap. 162. Ex Casandro. [Liturg. p. 61.]

The 38th untruth. For there appeareth no such thing: but rather the contrary.

[Concil. Agath.] can. 21. [Mansi. viii. 328.]

[Concil. Alvern. Clarmont. in Alvern. can. 15.]

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This objection, being all one with the former, may the sooner be discharged by the former answer.

Notwithstanding here we may learn by the way, that the old fathers, when they use this word *missa*, mean not thereby a private mass, as M. Harding would fain have it taken, but a communion. These be the words: "At Easter, Christmas, Epiphany, the Ascension of our Lord, Whitsunday, and at the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, let them hold their masses, *teneant missas*, in cities or parishes." Now it is known, and confessed by M. Harding, that in great parishes and cities, at their solemn feasts, they used to have general communions for all the whole people, and no private mass.

Notwithstanding, for avoiding of error, it is also further to be marked, that this same word *missa*, in the old writers, sometime signifieth no mass at all, neither private nor common; but only a resort and meeting of the people together in place and time of prayer, as it may sundry ways appear, and namely by old translations out of the Greek into Latin, touching the same. For that the Greek writer uttereth by the word that signifieth an assembly, or meeting of the people, the same doth the Latin interpreter oftentimes translate by this word *missa*. For example, Sozomenus, in Greek, writeth thus: ἐκκλησιάζοντος τοῦ λαοῦ, that is, "when the people came together;" that doth Epiphanius translate into Latin thus: *cum populus congregaretur ad missas*, "when the people came to mass." Likewise Socrates writeth thus in the Greek: καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐκκλησιάζειν, that is to say, "to have a congregation or assembly by themselves;" that doth Epiphanius translate into Latin thus: *apud seipsos missarum celebrare solennia*, that is, "among themselves to celebrate the solemnities of the mass." In these and many other like places, which I purposely pass by, it must needs be confessed, that *missa* cannot any way be taken for the mass, but only for an assembly of the people. For which cause all manner of common prayers many times are called *missa*, as may be

Missæ used for the communion.

Missæ used for any assembly of the people.

Soz. lib. 7. cap. 5. [ii. 283.]

Epiphanius in Tripart. Hist. lib. 9. cap. 9.

Socr. lib. 5. cap. 15.

Epiphanius in Tripart. lib. 7. cap. 31.

Cassian, lib.
3. cap. 12.
[al. 11.]

Missæ in the
old writers
never taken
for private
mass.

seen in Cassianus, an ancient writer, and sometime scholar to St. Chrysostom, in *Canone Diurnarum Orationum*, and in Honorius and others, sufficient only to be touched. But amongst all other significations, it cannot be found, that this word *missa* in any old writer was ever taken for the private mass, notwithstanding any thing by M. Harding yet alleged.

Now, if a man would say that this council of Agatha, that is here brought in, by this word *missa* meant nothing else but ordinary prayers, in which signification the old writers, as I have proved, have often taken it, and so dispensed with them that dwelt far from the church, only to have such ordinary prayers at home, and for the holy communion to resort to the parish churches, perhaps M. Harding should not find much to reply against it. If he will say, I force and rack this exposition only of myself, without precedent; it may please him to remember, that the same practice is yet continued until this day, in many parishes within this realm, and that the law itself determineth a difference between *ecclesia parochialis*, and *ecclesia baptismalis*.

16. Quest.
1. Quidam
Abbas.

But let this word *missa* in these decrees be taken for the mass, that is to say, for the ministration of the sacraments, yet is not M. Harding much therefore the nearer to prove his purpose. For, alas, what a simple reason is this, "Upon principal holy days the priest received the sacrament solemnly in the common church, with all the whole parish: *ergo*, at other times he received alone!" Or how hangeth this argument, "At certain times all the people received together: *ergo*, at other times the priest received alone?" Or this, "The priest ministered the sacraments in a chapel: *ergo*, he said private mass?" What leadeth M. Harding thus to say? What, was there no company at all in the chapel to communicate with the priest? Verily it is provided by the decree itself, that there should be a lawful and an ordinary company³⁰. And that in such com-

[Conc. A-
gath.] Can.
21. In quibus
est

³⁰ [Here Jewel seems to say that the lawful and ordinary company was enjoined for the *oratoria*, whereas it refers to the *parochie*: "Si quis extra parochias in quibus legitimus est ordinariusque conventus, oratorium in agro habere voluerit," &c. This mistake,

panies, yea and in men's several houses, they had the communion ministered, it is evident by the preface of the council of Gangra, against the heretic Eustathius. These be the words: *In domibus conjugatorum ne orationes quidem debere celebrari persuaserunt, in tantum, ut easdem fieri ventent: et oblationibus, quæ in domibus factæ fuerint, minime communicandum esse decernant*: "They have persuaded the people, that prayers may not be made in married men's houses: and that so far forth that they forbid any such prayers to be made, and determine, that no man may communicate of the oblations made in houses³¹." Here we have not only the communion, but also the ordinary use of the communion in private houses.

legitimus
ordinarius.
que conven-
tus.
In Præfatione
Conc. Gang-
ren. [li. 1097
1098.]

Now let M. Harding shew us as much for the ordinary use of private mass, or for any private mass at all, and that without his surmises and guesses, and then let him hardly require subscription.

Thou mayest see, good reader, these be but very poor helps. In his former allegation he sought his mass in little towns and villages, now he hunteth for it in private men's houses, and yet cannot find it. They say, they have had the use and possession of their private mass these fifteen hundred and threescore years, and more. Wherefore it is much to be marvelled, that of so long continuance of time, of so many doctors and councils, they have so slender proofs to bring for it.

Yet, for clearer answer unto M. Harding's blind guesses, it appeareth by the plain words of the same council of Agatha, that in those days the people received the holy communion together with the priest, and not the priest by himself alone. The words are these: *Lapsi in hæresim, agentes pœnitentiam, cum catechumeni egredi commoentur, discedant*: "They that have fallen into some heresy, and do penance for the same, when the novices (that be not yet christened) be commanded to depart out of the church, let them depart also." They were commanded forth, not

Con. Agath.
can. 60.
[viii. 334.]

however, does not affect his argument, as the permission was evidently granted "propter fatigati-
"onem familiæ," for the accommoda-
tion of the household, that they

might enjoy divine service, without
going all the way to the town for
it.]

³¹ [Concil. Gangr. Præf. Compare the Greek, ap. Bruns, i. 107.]

to the intent they should not hear mass, but that they should not communicate with the rest. For it is well known, both to M. Harding and also to others, that all such as were newly entered into the faith of Christ, but were not yet baptized, and were called *catechumeni*, after the sermon was ended, were commanded out of the church, before the distribution of the holy mysteries; and so likewise were the penitents, that they should not communicate with the rest of their brethren; which is a manifest and undoubted proof, that the rest of the brethren, that remained still, did communicate all together. And so it followeth in the same canon: *Hoc si observare voluerint, constituto tempore admittendis ad altare observatio relaxetur*: "If they will do thus, after a time appointed, their penance shall be released, and they shall be admitted again unto the altar," (which was the communion table,) there to receive together with the congregation, and no more to be commanded forth. Hereunto agreeth another canon set forth in the name of Siricius, touching the same case, by these words: "Certain that after their penance have gone back again, like dogs unto their vomit, we decree that they shall join in prayer only with the faithful within the church: and that they may be present at the celebration of the mysteries, although they be not worthy: but that they be kept off from the banquet of the Lord's table, to the intent, that by this advertisement being corrected, they may both amend themselves, and also shew example unto others." Here we may plainly see, that the rest received, and those that had offended sat by, and received not, for example unto others. But what example could that have been, if they had abstained altogether?

Epist. Decretal. Siricii. [cap. 5.]

Offenders kept from the Lord's table.

M. HARDING: *Thirty-second Division.*

M. Harding proveth his mass by a childish fable.

John the almoner began to be in estimation in the year of our Lord 610.

Now let us see, what examples of the old fathers we have for the private mass. Leontius, a Greek bishop of a city in the east church called Neapolis, writeth the life of St. John the holy patriarch of Alexandria, who for his great charity was commonly called *eleemosynarius*, that is, "the almsgiver," telleth this story, whereby it appeareth, that at that time private mass was used. Though the translator, through ignorance of the time he lived in, turned this Life into Latin of mean eloquence, yet for truth's sake,

I will not let to recite that which I take for my purpose, as I find it: *Malitiam reservantem quendam industrum contra alium principem, audiens hic magnus Johannes, monuit eum sæpe, et suavit ad concordiam, et non potuit eum convertere ad pacem. Semel ergo ad eum mittit, et adducit eum sanctus, quasi pro republica, et facit missas in oratorio suo, nullum habens secum nisi ministrum suum. Cum ergo sancta benedixisset patriarcha, et orationem Dominicam inchoasset, cœperunt dicere tantum tres illi, Pater noster. Et cum pervenissent ad sermonem quo dicitur, Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris: innuit domestico patriarcha, ut taceret. Siluit ergo et patriarcha, et remansit princeps solus dicens versum, Dimitte nobis, sicut et nos dimittimus. Et statim conversus sanctus dicit ei mansueta voce, Vide in quam terribili voce dicas Deo, Quoniam sicut ego dimitto, ita et tu dimitte mihi. Et tanquam ab igne statim cruciatum ferens, prædictus princeps cecidit in faciem ad pedes sancti, dicens, Quæcunque jusseris, domine, faciet servus tuus. Et reconciliatus est inimico suo cum omni veritate.* This story soundeth thus in English: "This great patriarch John, hearing that a nobleman bare malice to another nobleman, warned him oftentimes of it, and treated with him to be at accord: but he could not bring him to be at peace. Wherefore on a day this holy father sent for the nobleman, and caused him to come to him, as though it were about some matter of the commonweal. At that time (39) he saith mass in his chapel, having none other body with him but his servant. When the patriarch had consecrated the sacrament, and had begun to say our Lord's prayer, they three only began to say, 'Our Father,' and so forth. When they were come to these words, 'Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us,' the patriarch made a beck to his servant to hold his peace. Then the patriarch held his peace also; and the nobleman remained alone saying forth the verse, 'Forgive us, as we forgive.' Then the holy father, turning himself towards him, by and by saith with a mild voice, 'Consider with how terrible words thou sayest to God, that as I forgive, so forgive thou me also.' Whereat the said nobleman, as though he had felt the torment of fire, forthwith fell down on his face at the holy father's feet, saying, 'My lord, whatsoever thou biddest me, thy servant, to do, I will do it.' And so he was reconciled unto his enemy without all dissembling."

The 39th untruth. For there was never private mass said in Alexandria, neither before this time, nor at any time since.

Here M. Jewel will grant, I trow, that this was a private mass: the place was private; the audience not public, nor common; the purpose touching the nobleman was private; the communion also private, I mean for the patriarch's part alone; for beside that the story maketh no mention of any other communicants, he could not be assured of that nobleman to communicate with him. For, whereas he could by no means before bring him to forgive his enemy, he had but a small conjecture he should bring it to pass now. And again, though he had conceived no distrust of

Private mass. Private fable.

his reconciliation upon this holy policy, yet we may doubt, whether the patriarch forthwith, without further and more mature probation and examination, which St. Paul in this case requireth, would have admitted him to receive our Lord's body so upon the sudden. Now for the servant; it is a strait case, that so holy and so great a patriarch, and bishop of so populous a city as Alexandria was, understanding that mass could not be celebrated without breach of Christ's institution, (as M. Jewel holdeth opinion,) except he have a number to communicate with him in the same place, should have none of his spiritual flock with him at so weighty a matter of conscience, but one only, and him his own household servant. He was not so simple as not to think that the servant might be letted from receiving by some sudden pang coming upon him, or with some cogitation and conscience of his own unworthiness suddenly coming to his mind. If either this, or any other let had chanced, in what case had the patriarch been then? He had been like, by M. Jewel's doctrine, to have broken Christ's institution, and so God's commandment, through another's defect, which were strange. But I judge that M. Jewel, who harpeth so many jarring arguments against private mass, upon the very word "communion," will not allow that for a good and lawful^a communion, where there is but one only to receive with the priest. Verily it appeareth by his sermon, that all the people ought to receive^b, or to be driven out of the church. Now therefore to another example of the private mass.

^a Order was taken, that at the receiving of the communion there should be twelve persons at the least, and never under. S. Basil, *Exercitationis ad Pietatem*, serm. 4. [ii. 320.]
^b This decree, as it is supposed, was made by Anacletus and Calixtus immediately after the apostles' time. De Con. dist. 1. Episcopus.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This is the best proof of all others. A short answer may well serve it. For being but a little viewed, it is able to answer itself. There is neither authority in the tale, nor weight in the matter. The translation is peevish: and all without the compass of six hundred years.

Aug. eplst. 152. [ii. 456.]

St. Augustine saith³¹, that certain heretics in his time, named the Donatists, that they might the rather prevail in disputation against St. Augustine and other Christians, and that the world might understand they had some company of their side, therefore, for a show, subscribed their articles with the names of certain that were dead, and oftentimes such as never were Donatists. Such a policy methinketh M. Harding hath here begun to practise. For what is this Leontius that wrote this story? or who ever heard of his name before? I trow he hath raised up one of the seven

M. Harding rangeth without the compass of six hundred years.

³¹ [This is taken from a synodal epistle from Augustine and others assembled at the council of Zerta.]

sleepers to help him to mass. He should have shewed us, as his manner is, what this strange doctor was ; what books he wrote ; where, when, in what age, and in what credit he lived. If he had said, This John the almoner lived above six hundred years after Christ, and this Leontius, that wrote his life, a great while after that³², this one circumstance would have answered the matter wholly. For notwithstanding the rest of this tale were true, yet my assertion standeth still good, that within the space of six hundred years after Christ, M. Harding is not able to find his private mass.

Vincentius, in his book that he calleth *Speculum*, writeth thus: "After Gregory was dead, Bonifacius ruled the church of Rome. This Bonifacius obtained of the emperor Phocas, that the church of Rome should be the head of all churches, and that because the church of Constantinople wrote itself by that title....The next year after that, Augustine, that was called the Englishmen's bishop, died. The year following, John the almoner was in great fame, [at which time also Mahomet first spread his religion in Arabia³³."] The same computation of years appeareth in Freculphus, Sabellicus, Palmerius, and others. Wherefore M. Harding might well have spared this tale, as nothing else but bewraying his want of better matter, and proving that his mass is of the very age of Mahomet.

But to leave both the advantage of the time, and also the exception against the author, let us consider the likelihood of the doing ; and if John the almoner said this private mass in his chapel, how safely he might so do by the order of the holy canons, which to break, Damasus saith, "is blasphemy against the Holy Ghost." M. Harding's Leontius saith, "John the almoner said mass in his oratory at home, being sure of no more company, but of one of his own household servants alone." But pope Soter, as it is before alleged by M. Harding, straitly commandeth, that

Vincent. in
Specul. lib.
23. cap. 17.
[lib. 22. cap.
107. iv. 308.]

An. Dom. 610.

25. Quest. 1.
Violatores.

De Con. dist.
1. Hoc quo-
que.

³² [Cave says, that Leontius, almoner was interpolated by the bishop of Neapolis in Cyprus, translator.]

flourished about the year 590, and was still alive after 616. He adds, that his life of John the

³³ [The words between brackets are not in Vincentius.]

no priest presume to celebrate the sacrament, "without the company of two together." And again, that no priest dare to minister, "without the company of some other priest."

De Con. dist. 1. Ut illud. And in the council holden at Orleans it is decreed thus : "It is lawful for every Christian man to have a chapel in his house : but to have mass said there, it is not lawful."

De Con. dist. 1. Unlicuique. And in the council holden at Laodicea : "It is not lawful for bishops or priests to minister the oblations at home."

Conc. Laodiceen. can. 58 [li. 574.] Likewise pope Felix : "It is not lawful to minister the communion at home, but upon exceeding great necessity."

Inter Decret. Felicis 4 Papæ. The same order was taken in the council of Acon, and in sundry other councils. Which decrees being so many, and so strait, it is not likely that John the almoner, being so holy a man, would wilfully break them all without cause.

Neither indeed, if M. Harding will thoroughly behold the matter, shall he find here any mass spoken of at all, neither bread, nor wine, nor consecration, nor oblation, nor elevation, nor altar, nor vestment, nor any other thing to the mass belonging.

And if we agree there was mass said there, yet may there grow another doubt, which of these three said that mass ; I mean the bishop, or the gentleman, or the servant. For here is no more noted, but that they said the Lord's prayer all three together ; which verily is not the manner of private mass. For there the priest, as he receiveth alone, so he saith the *Pater noster* himself alone. But in the communion, as the people said the Lord's prayer all together³³, as it is noted by St. Gregory, so they received all together. Thus M. Harding bringeth a witness for the mass, that saith nothing for the mass. The law saith : *Qui mutum... exhibet, nihil* [i. *non eum*] *exhibet* : "He that presenteth a dumb body, presenteth no body."

But he will reply, here is the very name of the mass, *et facit missas*. And to make the more appearance, M. Harding helpeth it forth with a pretty false translation of his

³³ [That is, amongst the Greeks. "apud nos vero a solo sacerdote." "Sed et Dominica oratio apud Gregorius Johanni Syracusano."] "Græcos ab omni populo dicitur,

De Con. dist. 1. Ut illud.

De Con. dist. 1. Unlicuique.

Conc. Laodiceen. can. 58 [li. 574.]

Inter Decret. Felicis 4 Papæ.

[Aquis-granense, c. 84. A.D. 816.]

Gregor. lib. 7. epist. 64. [li. 941.]

De Verbor. et Rer. Significat. Apud Labeon. [tom. III.]

own. For whereas it is written in the Latin, *cum benedixisset sancta*, he translatheth it thus: "when he had consecrate the sacrament;" and likewise these words, *post finem orationum*, he translatheth thus: "after he had done the prayer of consecration;" notwithstanding he knew right well, that in these words there is no mention at all, neither of any sacrament nor of any consecration. And thus *vocat ea quæ non sunt, tanquam sint*, "he calleth things that be not, as though they were," and yet is not afraid of *lex Cornelia de falsis*. But this, I trow, he himself will confess, is no sincere nor plain dealing. Yet will he say, here is the very word *missa*. It is well known that *missa* is no Greek word, and therefore Leontius, whatsoever he were, in his Greek tongue could not use it. As for the translator, seeing he was not able to write true Latin, we may well think he had simple skill in the Greek.

But grant we there be no error in the word, yet will it not necessarily follow, that *missa* in this place importeth the mass. For, as I have already proved by sundry authorities, *missa* is oftentimes used for any kind of prayer; as it may further appear by an epistle of Chromatius and Heliodorus, sent unto St. Hierom, touching Gregory the bishop of Corduba³⁴, and by the words of the council of Cabilon³⁵. Which thing also very well agreeth with the custom and order of the church of Alexandria at that time, whereof Nicephorus writeth thus: *Quarta hebdomadis die, et ea quæ Parasceue dicitur, Alexandrini scripturas legébant, doctoribus eas interpretantibus: omniaque, quæ ad synaxin pertinent, peragebant, præter divinorum mysteriorum perceptionem. Atque eam illi antiquitus habuere consuetudinem*: "At Alexandria they read the scriptures upon Wednesdays and Fridays, and the doctors or preachers expound the same. And they do all things that appertain unto the communion, saving only the receiving of the holy mysteries. And this custom there they have had of old."

Touching these words, *benedicere sancta*, they do no

³⁴ [This epistle is spurious.—
Cave.] ³⁵ [Gratian refers to that council.]

more signify the "consecration of the sacrament," as M. Harding hath translated it, than these words, *extollite manus vestras in sancta*, do signify the lifting up of hands to the sacrament. Chrysostom in his Liturgy useth the same manner of speech to a far other purpose. For after the communion is ended, and the people ready to depart forth, he writeth thus: *Sacerdos benedicit sancta, et exiit* [i. *exiitur*]³⁶ Here, if M. Harding will take *benedicere sancta* for consecration, there must needs follow a great inconvenience, that there were two consecrations in one communion: yea and one consecration after all was ended. It may appear that Chrysostom by these words meant a solemn prayer to conclude the whole. For it followeth immediately: "O thou that art the fulfilling of the law and prophets, Christ our God, thou that hast fulfilled all the dispensation of the Father, fill our hearts with joy and gladness now and for ever." This Chrysostom calleth *benedicere sancta*; and the same seemeth to be the meaning of this Leontius, whatsoever he were. And notwithstanding all these things were granted, yet is not M. Harding able thereof necessarily to import his private mass.

But saith he, "The place was private, the audience was private, the purpose was private: only one nobleman, only one servant, all was private." And further he saith: "It was a very strait case, that so holy a bishop, in so populous a town, could find no man to communicate with him, but his own servant only." Yea, doubtless, it was a very strait case, that a nobleman should be driven to help the priest to mass; a strait case for M. Harding to run to Alexandria, a thousand miles beyond all Christendom, to seek his mass, and that not in open church neither, but only in a private oratory; a strait case, that for the space of six hundred years after Christ, and more, there was not one private mass to be found in the whole church of Rome; a very strait case that M. Harding is thus forced to leave St. Augustine, St. Hierom, St. Chrysostom, and all other

Chrysost. in
Liturg. ad
finem.

³⁶ [No such rubric appears in De Sainctes edit. of Chrysostom's Liturgy, nor in the Bened. edit.; but it will be found in Goar, Eucharolog. p. 107. edit. 1647, taken from early edd. of Chrysostom's works.]

the godly learned fathers, and to rake up of the dust Hippolytus, Abdias, Leontius, and otherlike new doctors, without name or credit, such as never were thought worthy to be alleged or named before.

Yet he forceth his guesses further: "The nobleman came unlooked for: the servant might have had some sudden pang, or some conscience of his unworthiness, and so the priest perforce must have received alone." Here to answer guess with guess, even so might the priest also himself have had some sudden pang or qualm, as indeed it is specially presumed by the law that it may so happen, or else some sudden conscience of his own unworthiness, and so had there been no mass at all. Alas, these guesses be too light in so great a matter.

De Con. dist.
1. Ut illud.

Here, further for his pleasure, he saith: "M. Jewel harpeth many jarring arguments." Of my arguments I make no vaunt; if they sound well in God's ears, they are well in tune; God be thanked, we lead not the people by aims and guesses, we rear up no new doctors, we cumber not the people's ears with lies and fables, as M. Harding doth; we bring forth neither women nor boys to prove the communion, as these men are driven to do to prove their mass.

Moreover, he saith in scorn, as his manner is, "that we would have all the people, that will not receive, to be driven out of the church." O, M. Harding, how long will you thus wilfully pervert the ways of the Lord? You know this is neither the doctrine nor the practice of our church. Howbeit, the ancient doctors have both taught so, and also practised the same. Anacletus saith: "After the consecration is ended, let all receive, unless they will be thrust from the church." And Calixtus saith further: "For so is it appointed by the apostles, and so is it observed in the church of Rome."

De Con. dist.
1. Episcopus.

De Con. dist.
2. Peracta.

Now, saith M. Harding, "The place was private: *ergo*, there was a private mass." A child may soon see, that this reason hath no hold. For, touching that the place was private, St. Gregory saith thus of one Cassius the bishop of Narnium: "He said mass," which is, he ministered the communion, "in an oratory within his palace, and with

Greg. hom.
37. in Evang.
[l. 1633.]

In Præfatione in Concilio Gangra. [Bruns. f. 106.]

Hist. Tripart. lib. 9. cap. 8. [a Socrat. lib. 5. cap. 7. li. 267.]

his own hand he gave the body of the Lord, and peace unto them all." The like hereof we may see in the preface before the council of Gangra. And in the tripartite story it is written thus: "Gregory Nazianzen at Constantinople, in a little oratory, *συναγωγὰς ἐποιεῖτο*^a, [Hist. Tripart. *sacra celebrabat*,] made assemblies of the people." Here we see the action was common, and a full communion ministered, notwithstanding the place were private.

Again he saith, There were but three:

Ergo, but one did receive.

This reason holdeth as the former.

Consider now, gentle reader, how aptly M. Harding answereth to the purpose. I demand the authority of St. Augustine, St. Hierom, or some other catholic ancient father: he answereth me with a childish fable. I demand of the usage of the open church: he answereth me with a private oratory, as though at that time there had been no churches built. I demand what was done in the face and sight of the people: he answereth me what he supposeth was done in a corner. I demand of him undoubted truth and certainty: he answereth me by conjecture and blind guess.

I believe he would not willingly have hindered his own cause. If he could have found better matter, doubtless he would have brought it forth. Is this the antiquity, is this the universality, that they so much talk and glory of? Is this the common consent of all the world?

Thus then, gentle reader, standeth my answer to this tale. First, that it was forbidden by many decrees, to minister the sacrament in private houses; and therefore unlikely that John the almoner, being a godly man, would presume to do the contrary.

Secondly, that this word *missa*, used here by the rude and utterly unlearned interpreter, doth not necessarily import the mass.

Thirdly, that M. Harding, the better to furnish out the matter, hath violently, and of purpose, falsified the translation.

Fourthly, that, notwithstanding here were granted the celebration of the sacrament, yet it cannot be forced thereof, that the priest received alone.

Fifthly, that although this were proved a private mass, yet hath M. Harding utterly misreckoned himself, and so gotten nothing. For it was without the compass of six hundred years.

Last of all, hereunto I add, that the place, where these things are imagined to be done, was ill chosen, and very unlikely to serve this purpose. For M. Harding is not able to prove, that in the city of Alexandria was ever any one private mass said, either before that time or ever sithence.

M. HARDING: *Thirty-third Division.*

Amphilochius bishop of Iconium, the head city of Lycaonia, to whom St. Basil dedicated his book *De Spiritu Sancto*, and another book intituled *Ascetica*, writing the life of St. Basil, or rather the miracles through God's power by him wrought, which he calleth worthy of record, true, and great miracles, specially such as were not by the three most worthy men, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyssen, and holy Ephrem, in their epitaphical or funeral treatises before mentioned, amongst other things reporteth a notable story, wherein we have a clear testimony of a private mass. And for the thing that the story sheweth, as much as for any other, of the same Amphilochius he is called *caelestium virtutum collocutor, et angelicorum ordinum comminister*: "a talker together with the heavenly powers, and a fellow-servant with orders of angels." The story is this: This holy bishop Basil besought God in his prayers, he would give him grace, wisdom, and understanding, so as he might offer the sacrifice of Christ's bloodshedding, *propriis sermonibus*, with prayers and service of his own making; and that, the better to achieve that purpose, the Holy Ghost might come upon him. After six days he was in a trance, for cause of the Holy Ghost's coming. When the seventh day was come, he began to minister unto God, that is to wit, he said mass every day. After certain time thus spent, through faith and prayer, he began to write with his own hand, *mysteria ministracionis*: the mass; or, the service of the mass. On a night our Lord came unto him in a vision with the apostles, and laid bread to be consecrated on the holy altar, and stirring up Basil, said unto him: *Secundum postulationem tuam, repleatur os tuum laude, &c.*; "According to thy request, let thy mouth be filled with praise, that with thine own words thou mayest offer up to me sacrifice." He, not able to abide the vision with his eyes, rose up with trembling, and going to the holy altar, began to say that he had written in paper thus: *Repleatur os meum laude, et hymnum dicat gloriæ tuæ, Domine Deus, qui creasti nos, et adduxisti in vitam hanc, et ceteras ora-*

A fabulous tale under the name of Amphilochius.

tiones sancti ministerii: "Let my mouth be filled with praise, to utter an hymn to thy glory, Lord God, which hast created us, and brought us into this life, and so forth, the other prayers of the mass." It followeth in the story: *Et post finem orationum, exaltavit panem, sine intermissione orans, et dicens, Respice Domine Jesu Christe, &c.*: "After that he had done the prayers of consecration, he lifted up the bread, praying continually, and saying, 'Look upon us, Lord Jesus Christ, out of thy holy tabernacle, and come to sanctify us, that sittest above with thy Father, and art here present invisibly with us, vouchsafe with thy mighty hand to deliver to us, and by us to all thy people, *sancta sanctis*, thy holy things to the holy.' The people answered, 'One holy, one our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Holy Ghost, in glory of God the Father. *Amen.*'"

The people answered; yet was there no people there.

Now let us consider what followeth, pertaining most to our purpose: *Et dividens panem in tres partes, unam quidem communicavit timore multo, alteram autem reservavit conspeliere secum, tertiam vero imposuit columbæ aureæ, quæ pependit super altare*: "He divided the bread into three parts, of which he received one at his communion, with great fear and reverence; the other he reserved, that it might be buried with him; and the third part he caused to be put in a golden pix that was hanged up over the altar, made in the form and shape of a dove." After this, a little before the end of this treatise, it followeth how that St. Basil, at the hour that he departed out of this life, received that part of the host himself, which he had purposed to have interred with him in his grave, and immediately as he lay in his bed, gave thanks to God and rendered up the ghost.

The burying of the sacrament.

Seven years after he had seen this vision.

That this was a private mass, no man can deny. Basil received the sacrament alone, for there was no earthly creature in that church with him. The people that answered him were such as Christ brought with him. And that all this was no dream, but a thing by the will of God done indeed, though in a vision, as it pleased Christ to exhibit, Amphilochius plainly witnesseth, declaring how that one Eubulus, and other the chief of that clergy, standing before the gates of the church whiles this was in doing, saw lights within the church, and men clothed in white, and heard a voice of people glorifying God, and beheld Basil standing at the altar, and for this cause at his coming forth fell down prostrate at his feet. Here M. Jewel and his consacramentaries do stagger, I doubt not; for grant to a private mass they will not, whatsoever be brought for proof of it. And therefore some doubt to avoid this authority must be devised. But whereof they should doubt, verily I see not. If they doubt any thing of the bringing of the bread and other necessaries to serve for consecration of the host, let them also doubt of the bread and flesh that Elias had in the pond of Carith. Let them doubt of the bread and pot of water he had under the juniper tree in Bersabe. 1 Kings xvii. Let them doubt of the pot of pottage brought to Daniel for his 1 Kings xix. Dan. xiv.

The forcing of this fable.

Christ and his apostles bring bread from heaven.

dinner from Jewry into the cave of lions at Babylon, by Abakuk [Bel and the Dragon 34.] the prophet. But perhaps they doubt of the authority of Amphilo-
 lochius that wrote this story. It may well be, that they would be glad to discredit that worthy bishop. For he was that vigilant pastor and good governor of the church, who first with Letoius bishop of Melite, and with Flavianus bishop of Antioch, overthrew and utterly vanquished the heretics called Messaliani, otherwise Euchitæ, the first parents of the sacramentary heresy; whose opinion was, that the holy eucharisty, that is, the blessed sacrament of the altar, doth neither good nor evil, neither profiteth aught nor hurteth. Even as our sacramentaries do ascribe all to faith only, and (40) call the most worthiest sacrament none other but tokening bread, which of itself hath no divine efficacy or operation. Therefore I wonder the less, I say, if they would Amphilo-
 lochius his authority to be diminished. But for this I will match them with great Basil, who esteemed him so much, who loved him so entirely, who honoured him so highly with the dedication of so excellent works. I will join them also with the learned bishop Theodoretus, who seemeth to give him so sovereign praise, as to any other bishop he writeth his stories of, never naming him without preface of great honour, now calling him *admirandum*, "the wonderful;" at another time *sapientissimum*, "the most wise;" and most commonly *laudatissimum*, "most praiseworthy." If they doubt of Basil himself, whether he were a man worthy to obtain by his prayer of God such a vision, it may please them to peruse what Gregorius Nyssenus, what holy Ephrem of Syria, and specially what Gregory Nazianzen, wrote of him, which two Gregories be not afraid to compare him with Elias, with Moses, with St. Paul, and with whosoever was greatest, and for virtue of most renown. Whereby, without all envy, he hath obtained of all the posterity to be called *magnus*, "Basil the great," much more for desert of virtue and learning, than those other for merit of chivalry, the great Charles, the great Pompey, the great Alexander. If they deny the whole treatise, and say that it was never of Amphilo-
 lochius' doing, that were a shift indeed, but yet the worst of all and furthest from reason and custom of the best learned, and much like the fact of king Alexander, who being desirous to undo the fatal knot at Gordium, a town in Phrygia, hearing that the empire of the world was boded by an old prophecy to him that could unknit it, not finding out the ends of the strings, nor perceiving by what means he could do it, drew forth his sword and hewed it in pieces, supplying want of skill with wilful violence. For the authority of this treatise, this much I can say: Beside that it is set forth in a book of certain holy men's lives printed in Cologne, and beside very great likelihood appearing in the treatise itself, it is to be seen in the library of St. Nazarius in the city of Verona in Italy, written in vellum for three hundred years past, bearing the name of Amphilo-
 lochius bishop of Iconium.

Rather the first parents of hypocritical and idle monks.

The 40th untruth. For we never called it so.

The glorious painting of a shadow.

Set abroad lately with other fables.

Theod. in Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. cap. 11.

Theod. lib. 5. Eccl. Hist. cap. 16.

In Monodia.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

If this serve not the turn, nothing, I trow, will ever serve. The authority of St. Basil and Amphilochius is so great, the matter so clear, the wonder so strange, the antiquity so ancient, the fable so likely, the dream so plain, the original hereof at Verona in Italy in the library of Nazarius, kept as a relic fair written in vellum above three hundred years ago; Basil a worthy bishop, Ephrem a holy father, Amphilochius a man that had conference with the heavenly powers. Not one show or circumstance left out, that may serve to win credit. And what should need so much ado, if there were not some suspicion in the matter? He that never saw this book, nor knoweth the contents thereof, haply by such circumstances and colours may be deceived.

But I myself have had this unknown doctor in my poor library these twenty years and more, written likewise in vellum, as true, as fair, and of as good record in all respects as that other of Verona, indeed not under the name of Amphilochius, but no doubt very ancient, as it may soon appear. For the same author in the same book hath written also the life of Thomas Becket, who lived at the least seven hundred years after that Amphilochius, this writer, was dead. Therefore that story written by him of one that was to come so many hundred years after him, must needs be a prophecy, and not a story.

The very names of old godly fathers are worthy of much honour. But, as it is well known, many vain tales have been covered under the name of old fathers. The life of St. Basil hath been set forth fully and faithfully by sundry old worthy writers, as by his own brother Gregorius Nyssenus, by his dear friend Gregory Nazianzen, by Gregorius Presbyter, by Socrates, by Theodoretus, by Sozomenus, by Nicephorus, touched also in divers places by Chrysostom. And notwithstanding of late years he that wrote *Vitas Patrum*, and *Jacobus de Voragine*, and *Vincentius in Speculo*, who seem to intitle this book by the name of Amphilochius, have furnished the same with many unsavory vain tales, yet was there none of them so impu-

dent once to make any mention of this peevish fable of M. Harding's mass.

But, forso much as the glorious name of this holy father is here brought in to bear witness to these matters, and that in the night season in a dream and a vision, with the visible appearance of Christ and his apostles, and the great stay of M. Harding's cause resteth hereupon, and many are amazed with the strangeness hereof, and many are led away as though it were matter of good truth, and specially for that the book is not commonly to be had, and it would be chargeable to send to Verona into Italy for a copy, suffer me therefore, good Christian reader, to give thee some taste of the same, that thou mayest be able of thyself to judge further, and to see by what doctors M. Harding proveth his private mass³⁵.

To pass over the idle talk and conference with devils, the visions, the dreams, the fables and other fantastical vanities, which are the whole contents and substance of this new book, Tertullian hath a good discreet saying: *Furibus aliqua semper excidere solent in indicium*: "The thief evermore leaveth somewhat behind him, that he may be known by." Let us therefore compare M. Harding's Amphilochius with Socrates, Sozomenus, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyssen, and other old writers of approved credit, that have of purpose written St. Basil's life.

Socrates and Sozomenus say, that Basil in his youth was Libanius' scholar; M. Harding's Amphilochius saith, Basil was Libanius' schoolfellow.

Nazianzen and Gregorius Presbyter say, that Basil continuing at Cæsarea, was well acquainted with Eusebius the bishop there, before he went into Pontus; M. Harding's Amphilochius saith, that at his return from Pontus, which was soon after, Eusebius knew him not, neither had ever spoken with him or seen him before.

M. Harding's Amphilochius saith, Basil was bishop of Cæsarea in the time of the emperor Julianus, whereupon

³⁵ [Dupin, Bibl. Nova, Bellarmine, &c. acknowledge that this Life of St. Basil, ascribed to Amphilochius, is spurious. Oudin attributes it to another Amphilochius, A. D. 860. vol. ii. 228.]

The contents of M. Harding's Amphilochius.

Tert. lib. 5. contra Marcionem. [cap. 4. p. 465.]

Socr. lib. 4. cap. 2r. [26. ii. 246.]
Sozom. lib. 6. cap. 17. [ii. 239.]

Nazian. in Vita Basilii. [l. 792.]
Gregor. Presbyter in Vita Nazianzen. [cxxxviii.]

Nazian. in
Vita Basilii.
[l. 799.]

also are founded a great many fond fables; Nazianzen, his nearest friend, saith, he was chosen bishop there a long while after, in the time of the emperor Valens, and was not bishop there at all during the whole time of Julianus.

M. Harding's Amphilochius telleth a long tale, how that St. Mercury, being then dead, and a saint in heaven, at the commandment of our lady, took his own spear out of his chapel where it was kept, and went out with the same into the field and slew the emperor Julian, and that the same spear was found bloody afterward; Nazianzen, Socrates, Theodoretus, and Sozomenus say, it could never be known by whom he was slain^a.

a Nazian. in
Oratione 2.
contra Ju-
lian. [l. 155.]
a Socrat. lib.
3. cap. 18. [ii.
198.]
a Theod. lib.
3. cap. 25. [iii.
142.]
a Sozom. lib.
6. cap. 2. [ii.
219.]
b Theod. lib.
3. cap. 24. [iii.
142.]
c Sozom. lib.
6. cap. 16. [ii.
237.]

M. Harding's Amphilochius saith, Basil foretold the death of Julian; Theodoretus saith^b, it was one Julianus Sabba that foretold it, and not St. Basil.

M. Harding's Amphilochius saith, the emperor Valens yielded and gave place unto Basil; Sozomenus^c saith, the emperor continued still his purpose, and would not yield.

M. Harding's Amphilochius saith, Nazianzenus was present at St. Basil's burial; Nazianzen himself, that ought to know it best, saith, he came afterward, and was not present.

Nazian. in
Monodia. [l.
771.]

Greg. Pres-
byter in Vita
Nazianzen.
[p. clvii.]

Gregorius Presbyter saith³⁶, Nazianzen came a great while after that Basil was buried. M. Harding's Amphilochius is so impudent, that he saith, Nazianzenus came in all haste, and saw the blessed body, and fell upon it when it was buried. Whereby it seemeth, that this Amphilochius was not very wise, nor circumspect in his talk. For if Nazianzen saw St. Basil's body, how was it buried? if it were buried, how could he see it?

Again, M. Harding's Amphilochius saith, Gregory Nazianzen ruled the apostolic see for the space of twelve years. By the apostolic see he must needs mean either Rome or Constantinople. If he mean Rome, Nazianzen was never bishop there; if he means Constantinople, where indeed he was bishop, yet was that never called the apostolic see; and so, whatsoever he meant, he made a lie.

³⁶ [The life of Greg. Nazianz. at the beginning of the Bénéd. ed. by Gregorius Presbyter is printed of his works.]

Now judge thou indifferently, good Christian reader, whether Amphilocheus the bishop of Iconium, St. Basil's special and nearest friend, writing of him that he knew so well, could possibly so many ways be deceived? If M. Harding had known him better, I think he would have spared this authority. Howbeit, Ulpian saith: *Etiam monstra et portentosi partus prosunt*: "Even monsters and ill shapen children may go for children."

De Verbor.
et Rer. Sig-
nificat.
Quæret ali-
quis. [tom.
iii.]

To come to the matter, M. Harding's Amphilocheus thus telleth on his tale: Basil, saith he, being once made bishop, besought God that he might offer up the unbloody sacrifice with his own words: he fell in a trance, came again to himself, and so ministered every day. On a certain night Christ with his apostles came down to him from heaven, brought bread with him, awoke Basil, and bade him up and offer the sacrifice. Up he arose, was straight at the altar, said his prayers as he had written them in his paper, lifted up the bread, laid it down again, brake it in three parts, received one, reserved another to be buried with him, hung up the third in a golden dove. And all this was done, Christ and his apostles being still present, who came purposely from heaven to help Basil to mass.

We may now the better believe Homer, that Jupiter with his gods went down sometime for his pleasure to banquet in Ethiopia; or that an angel evermore ministered the sacrament unto Marcus that holy monk; or that angels came from heaven to consecrate Amphilocheus bishop of Iconium; or that the Holy Ghost was sent from heaven to Remigius with a box of holy oil; or that, ^a when holy Arnulphus began matins at midnight, and said *Domine labia*, &c. and all his monks were asleep, a number of angels supplied the lack, and answered him, *Et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam*.

Sozom. lib.
6. cap. 29.
[ii. 259.]

Niceph. lib.
11. cap. 20.
*Paulus Emi-
lius.*
Gaguinus.
^a *Henricus*
Herfordien.
cap. 49.

But M. Harding layeth on more weight, and forceth this fable to his purpose: and, albeit in the whole tale there is not once the name of mass, yet is he content to take pains cunningly to falsify the text, and seven times together to translate it only by the name of mass. For with him *offerre sacrificium* is to say mass; likewise *ministrare Deo*

M. Harding
falsifieth his
own fable.

is to say mass; and *ministerium ministracionis* is the service of the mass. For as Midas, whatsoever he touched, had power to turn the same into gold, so M. Harding, whatsoever he toucheth, hath a special power to turn the same into his mass.

But let us a little view the circumstances, and weigh the likelihoods of this matter. Basil besought God, that he might make the sacrifice with his own words. And shall we think, he had more fancy to his own words than he had to the words of Christ? He awoke, stood up, and suddenly was at the altar at midnight. What, shall we think he was the sexton there, or lay all night like Eli or Samuel in the church; and yet, being so famous a bishop, had no man to attend upon him?

The golden dove.

He divided the bread, and laid up the third part of it "in a golden dove," that hung over the altar; and yet, by his own tale, his golden dove then was not yet ready made. For it followeth immediately in the next lines: "After Basil had done these things, and had communed with Eubulus and others, the next day he sent for a goldsmith, and made a dove of pure gold." It behoveth a liar to be mindful what he saith. If this dove were made before, how was it made afterward? If it were not made before, how could it then hang over the altar? Or how could Basil put his bread in it before it was made? And to what end was that bread so kept in the dove? And wherein or where was the other third part kept, that Basil thus reserved purposely to be buried, or, as M. Harding termeth it, to be interred with him? Wherein M. Harding's Amphilocheus both uttereth words of manifest blasphemy, and also shamefully believeth that holy father, and doth him great and open injury. It was but fondly done by St. Benet, as Gregory reporteth of him³⁷, to cause the sacrament to be laid upon a dead man's breast; and likewise it was as fondly done of others that ministered the sacrament unto the dead, and gave it into their mouths, which thing is namely forbidden by the council of Carthage.

Dialogorum,
lib. ii. cap.
24. [li. 256.]

Conc. Carthage,
3. can.
6. [lii. 881.]

³⁷ [The genuineness of these dialogues has been very generally disputed.]

But the sacrament being, as M. Harding would have the world believe, no bread, nor wine, and so no sacrament at all, but only the natural and real body of Christ, it were horrible blasphemy to bury it, and as a dead thing to lay it in the grave.

The burying of the sacrament.

Further, as this doctor saith, St. Basil had this dream or vision, and reserved this portion of the sacrament, immediately after he was made bishop of Cæsarea, and after that, as it is clear by other stories, continued bishop there seven years at the least. Now judge thou, gentle reader, what kind of bread that would have been, after seven years keeping, to be given to a sick man in his death bed. So many absurdities and contrarieties may easily be found in the very show and sight of this childish fable.

The sacrament reserved seven years.

Yet saith M. Harding, "Here doth M. Jewel with his consacramentaries stagger, and knoweth not what to say." Yea verily, M. Harding, we are astonied to consider the wonderful and just judgments of God, that any man should so wilfully renounce God's known truth, and be thus utterly given over to follow lies; or so much to presume of his own wit and eloquence, that he thinketh himself able to overrule and lead all the world with a fable. As for axes or instruments to hew up this knot, we need none. Every child may see the ends. It openeth and looseth itself. Christ cometh with his apostles down from heaven to hear mass. The apostles sing mass by note; Christ playeth the clerk's part, and attendeth the priest; Amphilochius writeth Thomas Becket's life seven hundred years before he was born; St. Basil lieth all night in the vestry; he hangeth up a golden dove first, and maketh it afterward. He keepeth a portion of the sacrament seven years together; he receiveth the same in his death bed, and is buried, or, as M. Harding delighteth rather to say, is interred with it; besides a multitude of otherlike follies and fables. This is that wonderful Gordius' fatal knot, that can never be opened without an ax.

And although M. Harding's Amphilochius were a manifest and an impudent liar, yet I confess, and it is well known, that the true Amphilochius of Iconium was a godly

The true Amphilochius.

and a worthy bishop, stout and courageous in suppressing the Messalians, the first parents, as M. Harding here saith, of the sacramentary heresy. Howbeit the rest of his brethren and he himself elsewhere saith, Berengarius was the first father of that heresy. For afterward in the fifth article he writeth thus: "Berengarius first began openly to sow the wicked seed of the sacramentary heresy." So it appeareth that M. Harding neither is resolved in the heresy, nor can tell when it first began. Notwithstanding, the seed that he calleth wicked was first sown neither by the Messalians, nor by Berengarius, but by Christ himself and by his apostles.

M. Harding much forgetteth himself.

The first fathers of idle monks.

Indeed the Messalians, whom Amphilochius suppressed, were heretics, the fathers of many idle swarms yet remaining in the world. They were named in Greek ψαλλιανοί, or εὐχίται, of their long counterfeit praying. St. Augustine saith: "They prayed so much, or so fast, that a man that knew it not, would not think it possible. They thought it unlawful for a monk to labour for his living, and therefore became monks that they might be free from labour." Thus far St. Augustine.

Aug. ad Quod-vult-Deum. [de Hæresibus, viii. 19.]

Theod. Hæret. Fabular. lib. 4. [iv. 243.]

Theodoretus saith³⁸: *Orationi vacantes, maximam diei partem dormiunt*: "They give themselves to contemplation, and sleep the most part of the day." St. Augustine saith: *Tanquam conservatricem evangelii prædicant pigritiam*: "They highly commend sloth, as if it were the maintenance of the gospel." For these causes Amphilochius being the archbishop of Lycaonia, and Flavianus the bishop of Antioch, withstood them, and drave them from their dioceses; and Letoius, being an earnest and a zealous man, utterly consumed and burnt their monasteries, or rather, as Theodoretus termeth it, their dens of thieves.

De Opere Monach. cap. 22. [vi. 493.]

Theodoret. [Hist. Eccl.] lib. 4. cap. 11. [al. 10.] μάλλον δὲ ληστρικὰ σπήλαια.

These were the Messalians, not the open maintainers of any error touching the mystical supper; neither doth either St. Augustine or Epiphanius report any such matter of them.

Indeed, Theodoretus saith, they had certain secret in-

³⁸ [Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. Τῇ ἡμέρας τὸ πλείστον καθεύδουσιν... δὲ εὐχῇ δῆθεν ἐσχολακότες, τῆς Edit. Paris. 1642.]

structions among themselves, that sacraments did at all neither further nor hinder: meaning thereby as well the sacrament of baptism, as the sacrament of Christ's body; into which error they were led, for that they gave all perfection and holiness to their prayers, and in respect thereof refused the communion of their brethren.

But whereas M. Harding saith: "This is also our doctrine, and that we teach the people, the sacrament of Christ's body to be nothing else but tokening bread;" his own conscience knoweth it is a slander, and will be required of him in the day of the Lord. Our doctrine is, that the sacraments of Christ, unto the godly, are the instruments of the Holy Ghost; and unto the wicked are increase of further judgment. Like as St. Augustine also saith: "*Sacramentum sumitur quibusdam ad vitam, quibusdam ad exitium. Res vero ipsa cujus est sacramentum, omni homini ad vitam, nulli ad mortem, quicumque ejus particeps fuerit*:" "The sacrament is received of some unto life, of some unto destruction. But the thing itself" (that is, the body of Christ) "whereof it is a sacrament, is received of all men to life, and of no man to destruction, whosoever be partaker of it." Here St. Augustine maketh great and manifest difference between the body of Christ, and the sacrament of the same. And this is not the Mesalian monk's heresy, but St. Augustine's, and the catholic faith.

"Now to deny that ever this was Amphilochius' doing, that," saith M. Harding, "were a shift indeed." Thus he is bold to say, I believe, for that he never considered the whole book. For otherwise he might soon have seen it is but a rude gathering out of the tripartite story, in many places word by word, without discretion, with interlacing of lies and fables of his own, without shame. Neither can M. Harding justly prove, that ever Amphilochius wrote St. Basil's life. For notwithstanding a clause in Nazianzen's Monodia touching the same, as it is now extant in Latin, yet must he understand, that the said clause was thrust in by Volaterrane the translator, a man that hath perverted and altered a great part of that book, as by con-

August. in
Joh. tract.
26. [iii. pt. 2.
500.]

Amphilochius never wrote St. Basil's life.

[Basilii Opp. ed. Musculi.]

ference to any learned man may appear, and is not to be found in the Greek. But false translation maketh no proof.

But, "this book is found at Verona in Italy;" he might as well have said at Falsona. "It is written in vellum;" this is but a simple allegation. A calf's skin is no sufficient warrant of truth; lies have been written in letters of gold.

The allegation of the book, called ἀσκητικά, which M. Harding saith St. Basil dedicated to Amphilochius, rather hindereth than furthereth his matter. For Nazianzenus, reckoning up all St. Basil's books, passeth that book by, as none of his. And Sozomenus saith, it was ever doubted of, and thought of many, never to be written by St. Basil, but rather by an heretic named Eustathius, a book full of superstition and wicked doctrine, and namely condemned by the council of Gangra.

Nazianzen.
in Monodia.
[l. 821, 822.]

Sozom. lib. 3.
cap. 13. [al.
14. ll. 115.]

Præfat. in
Concil. Gan-
gen.
Eubulus.

But Eubulus "is witness of these things;" he peered in at the crevice, and espied what was done. Certainly a meet witness for such a matter. I have heard sometime a man without a name, but here we have found a name without a man. M. Harding's Amphilochius ever maketh this Eubulus the chiefest man about St. Basil in all his affairs; yet neither doth Basil in any of all of his epistles, or other works, nor Nazianzen, nor Socrates, nor Sozomenus, nor Gregorius Nyssenus, nor Gregorius Presbyter, once make mention of any such. Thus much for the credit of M. Harding's Amphilochius.

But if all this were good record and matter of truth, yet were it but a miracle, but a vision, and perhaps but a dream, but one man's fact, but once done, not in the day-time, but at midnight, and that without company and without witness. If this Eubulus, which doubtless was nobody, had not espied it, nobody should ever have heard of it.

Now as touching the very mass, that St. Basil said indeed, we may soon learn the order of it without any dream or vision. St. Basil himself, in the liturgy that beareth his name, plainly declareth the whole order in this sort:

Liturgia Ba-
sili. [p. 49.]

“The priest speaketh thus aloud unto the people; the whole people maketh answer: ‘One is holy, one is the Lord, one Jesus Christ in the glory of the Father.’..... Then,” saith St. Basil, “the quire singeth the communion; and so they communicate all together³⁹.”

Here may we clearly see the very order and usage of St. Basil’s mass. Here was no sole receiving, no single communion, no private mass; the whole people prayed aloud together with the priest, and received the communion all together.

And what if M. Harding’s own Amphilochius, notwithstanding all his fables, say the same? Can any man desire more substantial witness? Verily his words be plain, that there was people in the church with St. Basil, and received the communion at his hand. For thus saith St. Basil even as it is here written by this Amphilochius: “‘Vouchsafe, O Lord, to give unto us, and by us unto all the people, holy things unto the holy;’ the people answereth, ‘One is holy,’” &c. I shuffle not these words, but leave them even as this Amphilochius hath written them, and M. Harding himself hath here alleged them.

St. Basil’s mass is a communion, and no mass, [p. 49.]

[Amphil. Opp. p. 176. ed. 1644.]

Now mark, good reader, what help M. Harding hath here found for his private mass. M. Harding’s own Amphilochius saith: “The holy things were given unto all the people;” M. Harding saith: “St. Basil received alone.” M. Harding’s own Amphilochius saith: “there was people in the church;” M. Harding saith: “there was no people there.”

M. Harding and his Amphilochius cannot agree.

“But this people,” saith M. Harding, “was Christ and his apostles.” No doubt a strange kind of people. And Basil, being so notable a man for his eloquence, was not able to utter his mind in his own mother tongue, but said, “all the people,” and yet saw no people there at all; and “Give this to all,” and yet knew there was nobody there to give unto. Thus may we conclude, according to M. Harding’s own construction, that the people was no people; that Christ, no Christ; that Eubulus, no Eubulus; that

³⁹ [Jewel refers to the Latin edit. of De Sainctes, p. 49. The Greek edit. differs.]

Amphilochius, no Amphilochius; that Basil, no Basil; that dove, no dove; and that mass, no mass at all. Such be the proofs of private mass.

M. HARDING: *Thirty-fourth Division.*

The 41st untruth. For private mass is never found in Chrysostom.

Now one place more for proof of private mass, at the winding up of this matter, and then an end of this article. (41) This place is twice found in Chrysostom, in an homily upon the Epistle to the Ephesians, and more plainly in an homily *Ad populum Antiochenum*, where he hath these very words: *Multam video rerum inæqualitatem. In aliis quidem temporibus cum puri frequenter sitis, non acceditis: in pascha vero licet sit aliquid a vobis patratum acceditis. O consuetudinem! O præsumptionem! Sacrificium frustra quotidianum. Incassum assistimus altari. Nullus qui communicetur:* "I see great inequality of things among you. At other times, whenas for the most part ye are in clean life, ye come not to receive your rites. But at Easter, though ye have done some things amiss, yet ye come. O what a custom is this! O what a presumption is this! The daily sacrifice is offered in vain. We stand at the altar for nought. There is not one that will be houseled."

[Pseudo-Chrysost.] homil. 61. ad populum Antioch.

Here is to be noted, whereas Chrysostom saith, the daily sacrifice was celebrated in vain, and the priests stood at the altar in vain; it is not to be understood of the sacrifice in itself, as though it were in vain and frustrate, but this is to be referred to the people; it was in vain for their part that should have received their communion with the priests, who waited daily for them, and cried out as the manner was, *Sancta sanctis*, "Holy things for the holy;" and after that they had received the bread themselves, shewing the chalice to the people, said: *Cum timore Dei, et fide, et dilectione accedite:* "Come ye up to receive with the fear of God, with faith and charity." But all was in vain. (42) For none came; so cold was their devotion in that behalf. Now if Chrysostom had cause to complain of the people's slackness in coming to the communion in that great and populous city of Antioch, where the scriptures were daily expounded and (43) preached, where discipline and good order was more straitly exacted, where in so great number some of likelihood were of more devotion than others, what is to be thought of many little towns and villages thorow the world, where little preaching was heard, where discipline slaked, where the number of the faithful being small, and they occupied altogether in worldly affairs, few gave good example of devotion to others? Doubtless in such places was much less resort of the people at the mass time to receive the sacrament with their priests. And whereas, lest this place might seem plainly to avouch the having of mass without a number communicating with the bishop or priest, for avoiding of this authority, the gospellers answer by way of con-

The 42nd untruth. For there came many both of the people, and also of the clergy.

The 43rd untruth. For there was no such daily preaching, as shall appear. M. Harding seeketh up his mass in little towns and villages. Private mass proved by a simple collection.

jecture, that in Chrysostom's time the priests and deacons communicated together daily with the party that offered the sacrifice, though none of the people did; we tell them, that this poor shift will not serve their purpose. For though they say, some sufficient number ever communicated with him that celebrated the daily sacrifice in that great and famous church of Antioch, where many priests and deacons were, which neither being denied, they shall never be able to prove; what may be said or thought of many thousand other less churches through the world, where the priest that said mass had not in readiness a sufficient number of other priests and deacons to receive with him, so to make up a communion? Of such churches it must be said, that either the sacrifice ceased, and that was not done which (44) Christ com-

The 44th untruth. For Christ commanded no such daily sacrifice.

manded to be done in his remembrance, which is not to be granted; or that the memory of our Lord's death was oftentimes celebrated of the priests in the daily oblation, without tarrying for others to communicate with them, and so had these churches private masses, as the churches now-a-days have. Now to conclude, of this most evident place of Chrysostom, every child is able to make an invincible argument against M. Jewel for the private mass, as they call it, in this sort: by report of Chrysostom, the sacrifice in his time was daily offered, that is to say, the mass was celebrated; but many times nobody came to communicate sacramentally with the priests (45) as it is before proved; *ergo*, there were masses done without other receiving the sacrament with the priests. And then further, *ergo*, private masses in Chrysostom's days were not strange; and then yet one step further, there to stay; *ergo*, M. Jewel, according to his own promise and offer, must yield, subscribe, and recant (unto a guess).

The 45th untruth. For this is not yet proved.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Now is M. Harding come, as he saith, to the winding up of his clew; meaning thereby, as may be thought, that the substance of all that he hath alleged hitherto, hangeth only by a twined thread.

This conjecture is taken out of certain words of Chrysostom, and the whole force thereof standeth only upon this word *nemo*, which is in English, "nobody." Chrysostom's words be these: "We do daily offer the sacrifice," or as M. Harding delighteth rather to say, "We do daily say mass, and there is nobody to communicate;" *ergo*, saith he, "Chrysostom received alone." And so have we, without question, a plain private mass.

[Pseudo-] Chrysost. ad populum Antiochen. homil. 61.

Here would I first know, whether M. Harding will rest

upon the bare words of Chrysostom, or rather qualify them somewhat, and take his meaning. If he press the words so precisely as he seemeth to do, then did not Chrysostom himself communicate. For he was "somebody;" and the plain words be, "nobody doth communicate." By which words, doubtless, Chrysostom himself is excluded as well as others. And so there was no sole receiving, nor any receiving at all, and therefore no private mass.

If he will rather take Chrysostom's meaning, it appeareth his purpose was to rebuke the negligence of the people, for that of so populous a city, they came to the holy communion in so small companies; which companies he, in a vehemency of speech by an exaggeration, in respect of the whole, calleth "nobody." The like manner of speech is used also sometimes in the scriptures. St. John saith of
 John iii. 32. Christ: *Testimonium ejus nemo accipit*. Not for that nobody at all received his witness, for his disciples and many others received it, but for that of a great multitude very few received it. In like phrase Chrysostom himself saith
 Chrysost. ad
 Hebræos,
 hom. 12. [xii.
 126.] elsewhere: *Nemo divina sapit, nemo contemnit ea quæ in terra sunt, nemo attendit ad cælum*: "Nobody savoureth godly things, nobody despiseth the things of this world, nobody hath regard to heaven." In these words M. Harding must needs confess, that Chrysostom instead of "few," by heat of speech and by way of comparison, said "nobody."

And albeit this only answer, compared with the manner of Chrysostom's eloquence, which commonly is hot and fervent, and with the common practice of the church then, may suffice a man more desirous of truth than of contention, yet I have good hope it may be proved, notwithstanding M. Harding's *nemo*, that Chrysostom neither was alone, nor could be alone, at the holy ministration, and therefore could say no private mass. For if the whole company of the lay people would have forsaken him, yet had he company sufficient of the priests and deacons, and others of the quire. And if the whole quire would have forsaken him, yet had he company sufficient of the lay people, as it may be clearly proved.

That there was then a great number to serve in the ministry, it may diversely well appear.

Ignatius calleth *presbyterium*, “the sacred college,” Ignatius ad Trallianos. [Interpol. vol. ii. pt. 4. p. 164.]
τὸ ἱερὸν σύστημα.

Chrysostom himself, in his Liturgy, saith thus: “The deacons bring the dishes with the holy bread unto the holy altar: the rest carry the holy cups.” By which words appeareth, both a number of the ministry, and also provision for them that would receive. Chrysost. in Liturgia. [p. 57.]

Cornelius writeth, that in the church of Rome there were forty and six priests; seven deacons; seven subdeacons; forty and two acolytes; exorcists, readers, and other officers of the church, fifty and two; widows, and other afflicted people that there were relieved, a thousand five hundred. Epist. Cornelli ad Fabium Antiochenum, ex Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 42. [p. 312.]

Nazianzen complaineth of the number of the clergy in his time, that they seemed to be more than the rest of the people⁴⁰. And therefore the emperor Justinian afterward thought it needful to abridge the number, and to make a law, that in the great church at Constantinople, where Chrysostom was bishop, there should not be above the number of threescore priests; one hundred deacons; forty women; fourscore and ten subdeacons; one hundred and ten readers, and five and twenty singers. Hereby we may see, that Chrysostom being at Antioch, in so populous a city, although he had none of the lay people with him, yet could not be utterly left alone. Nazianzen. in Apologetico. [l. 15.]
In Auth. Collatione prima. Titul. Ut determinatus sit numerus clericorum. [tom. v.]

Now if we say, that some of these priests, deacons, or other, communicated with the bishop, “I tell them,” saith M. Harding boldly, and with a solemn countenance, which must needs make good proof, “this is but a poor shift, and will not serve their purpose.” But if it be true, it is rich enough; if it agree with Chrysostom’s own meaning, it is no shift, and therefore sufficiently serveth our purpose.

And because he sitteth so fast upon the bare words, and reposeth all his hope in *nemo*, if we list to cavil in like sort, we might soon find warrant sufficient to answer this matter, even in the very plain words of Chrysostom. For

⁴⁰ Καὶ εἰς ἰσχυρὸν τὸ πλείους κατ’ ἀριθμὸν, ἢ ὁπόσων ἄρχουσι.

thus they lie: *Frustra assistimus altari*: "In vain we stand at the altar." "We stand," saith he, and not "I stand;" and therefore includeth a number, and not one alone. Howbeit, our shifts are not so poor; we need not to take hold of so small advantages.

Canon. A-
post. can. 9.
[8.]
ἐκ τοῦ κα-
ταλόγου
ἱερατικοῦ.

It is provided by the Canons of the Apostles: "That if any bishop, or priest, or deacon, or any other of the quire, after the oblation is made, do not receive, unless he shew some reasonable cause of his so doing, that he stand excommunicate." There was then neither such number of altars, nor such chevisance⁴⁰ of masses, as hath been sithence. All the priests received together at one communion. The like law in the church of Rome was afterward renewed by pope Anacletus.

De Con. dist.
1. Episcopus.

Council. Ni-
cen. can. 14.
[can. 18. ii.
676.]

The council of Nice decreeth thus: *Accipiant diaconi, secundum ordinem, post presbyteros, ab episcopis, vel a presbytero communionem*: "Let the deacons in order, after the priests, receive of the bishops, or of the priests, the holy communion."

Council. Car-
thagin. 6.
can. 18. [iv.
414.]

Likewise the council of Carthage: *Accipiant diaconi ex ordine eucharistiam post presbyteros, eis dante episcopo, vel presbytero*: "Let the deacons receive the communion in order after the priests, either the bishop or the priest ministering it."

Council. Lao-
dice. can. 19.
[ii. 567.]

So the council of Laodicea: "It is lawful only for the priests of the church to enter into the place where the altar standeth, and there to communicate."

Council. Tole-
tan. 4. can.
17. [can. 18.
x. 624.]

So the council of Toledo: "Let the priests and deacons communicate before the altar, the clerks in the quire, and the people without the quire."

Nicolaus
Cusan. ad
Cler. et Lite-
rat. Bohem-
iæ. [epist.
7. p. 854.]

Nicolaus Cusanus, writing unto the clergy and learned of Bohemia, hath these words: *Hoc est singulariter attendendum, quod sacerdotes nunquam sine diacono celebrabant: et in omni missa diaconus de manu sacerdotis accepit eucharistiam sub specie panis, et sacerdos de manu diaconi calicem*: "This thing is specially to be noted, that the priest did never celebrate without a deacon; and that in every mass the deacon received the sacrament in the kind of

⁴⁰ [Chevisance, provision—Jamieson; purchase, bargain—Richardson.]

bread, at the priest's hand, and the priest the cup at the deacon's hand⁴¹."

But what needeth much proof, in a case that is so plain? Chrysostom himself in the liturgy, that commonly beareth his name, followeth the same order. "After that the priests have received," saith he, "the archdeacon commandeth the deacons to come forth; and they so coming, receive as the priests did before." This was the very order of Chrysostom's mass touching the clergy, and that by the witness of Chrysostom himself.

Chrysostom.
in Liturgia.
[Lat. p. 73.]

Now let M. Harding judge uprightly, whether these shifts be so poor as he would make them.

But if the whole clergy had been so negligent that not one of them all, being so many, and so straitly charged, would have communicated with the priest, as M. Harding seemeth to condemn them all, only upon his own word, without any evidence, yet let us see whether M. Harding's *nemo* were able of necessity to shut out all the rest of the people.

Chrysostom in divers places seemeth to divide the whole multitude into three sorts: whereof some were "penitent," some "negligent," and some "devout." The "penitent" were commanded away, and might not communicate; the "negligent" sometime departed of themselves, and would not communicate; the "devout" remained, and received together. Now that the "devout" remained still with Chrysostom the whole time of the holy mysteries, it is plain by the very same place that M. Harding here allegeth for his purpose. For thus Chrysostom saith unto the people: "Thou art come into the church, and hast sung praises unto God with the rest, and hast confessed thyself to be one of the worthy, in that thou departedst not forth with the unworthy⁴²." By these words he sheweth, that some were worthy, and some unworthy; that the un-

[Pseudo-]
Chrysost.
ad populum
Antioch.
homil. 61.

⁴¹ [In the Basle edit. of Nic. Cusan. 1565, the reading is as follows:—"Hoc est attendendum quod sacerdotes nunquam sine diacono celebrabant; et in omni missa diaconus de manu diaconi

"calicem; ut in gloss. in cap. "Pervenit 93. Dist."—but it is probable that a line has been in that edit. accidentally omitted, as the sentence is otherwise incomplete.]

⁴² [Spurious, see p. 188.]

worthy departed, and the worthy remained. And again in the same homily he saith: "The deacon standing on high, calleth some to the communion, and putteth off some; thrusteth out some, and bringeth in some." Chrysostom saith: "Some are called," and "some are brought in," to receive with the priest. Where then is now M. Harding's *nemo*? Verily if there were "some people" with the priest, then was there no place for "nobody;" if "nobody" received, then is it not true that Chrysostom saith, that "some received."

Here, of a false principle, M. Harding, as his wont is, guessth out the like conclusion: "If there were so few communicants in that populous city of Antioch, where the scriptures were daily expounded and preached, then it is likely in country churches there were none at all." This argument hangeth only by likelihood, as do the rest of his making; and being set in order, it standeth thus: There was no private mass in the great city of Antioch: *ergo*, there was private mass in the country. Surely, good reader, this is a very country argument, whatsoever it seem to M. Harding.

And further, whereas to advance the city, and to abase the country, he saith, "The people in cities were daily taught by open sermons;" herein he must needs be content, that his guess give place unto the truth. For Chrysostom himself saith far otherwise. Thus he speaketh unto the people in the city: *Dum per hebdomadam semel vocamus vos, et ignavi estis, et alii quidem non advenitis, alii autem presentes sine lucro disceditis, quid non faceretis, si nos hoc continuo faceremus?* "Whereas being called by us but once in the week, yet ye be slothful, and some of you come not at all, and other some, being present, depart without profit, what would ye not do, if we should call you every day⁴³?" I note not this for that I mislike with daily preaching, but for that untruth so boldly presumed should not pass untouched.

Chrysost. in
Acta Apost.
hom. 45.
Idem in
Matt. hom. 5.
[vil. 72.]

⁴³ [This passage has not been reference to the homil. on St. Matt. found in the forty-fifth homil. of is merely to confirm this passage.] Chrysostom in Acta Apostol. The

Yet saith M. Harding: "In small country churches, either the priest let cease the daily sacrifice, or else he received alone. But the daily sacrifice ceased not: for then that had been left undone, that Christ commanded to be done; *ergo*, there was private mass." O, M. Harding, is it not possible your doctrine may stand without lies? So many untruths in so little room, without shame of the world, without fear of God? Where did Christ ever command you to make your sacrifice? By what commission? By what words? Where did Christ will you to do it every day? Where did Christ ever call it the daily sacrifice? Or where ever learned you that the remembrance of Christ's death pertaineth more to the priest than to the people? And if your mass be that sacrifice, who ever commanded your priest to say your daily mass? What law, what decree, what decretal, what legatine, what provincial? Or what priest ever was there, that said it daily?

Peccham in his Provincial was never so strait. He saith no more but thus: *Statuimus, ut quilibet sacerdos, quem canonica necessitas non excusat, conficiat omni hebdomada saltem semel*: "We ordain that every priest, unless he be excused by some canonical necessity, do consecrate every week once at the least⁴⁴." There is odds between once a week, and once a day. And Linwood writing upon the same, allegeth these words of St. Augustine's: *Quotidie eucharistiæ communicare, nec laudo, nec vitupero*: "As for receiving the communion every day, I neither praise it, nor dispraise it." Innocentius the third noteth, that there were priests in his time, that would scarcely say mass at four times in the year. And Thomas of Aquine thinketh it sufficient for a priest, that is not charged with cure, to say mass only upon principal feasts. It is written in *Vitis Patrum*, that a certain holy man, being made priest, would notwithstanding never say mass while he lived. Yet was there none of these ever charged

De Celebrat.
Miss. Can.
Altissimus.
[Ap. Lyndewode Provinc.]

De Con. dist.
2. Quotidie.

Extr. [3.]
de Celebratione Miss.
Dolentes.

In Summ.
parte ultim.
quæst. 82. artic.
10.

⁴⁴ [Jewel has quoted this passage quite correctly. See Lyndewode, (Provinciale lib. iii.) who notices, but rejects, the reading "confitea-

tur" for "conficiat," and yet that corrupt reading is adopted in Concil. Magn. Britann. et Hibern. Lond. 1737. vol. ii. p. 52.]

with foreslowing or ceasing the daily sacrifice, or leaving undone that thing, that Christ had commanded to be done.

Concerning the priest's sole receiving, which is grounded only upon itself, without further proof, verily I see no cause, but that Nicolaus de Cusa, being a cardinal of Rome, ought to carry as good credit herein, as M. Harding with all his guesses. He saith, and willeth his words to be specially noted, as it is before touched, that in those days the priest did never receive without the deacon. Yet hath M. Harding a certain surmise by himself, that the priests in the country received alone.

But what a wonderful case is this? The mass, that we must needs believe is so ancient, so universal, so catholic, so holy, so glorious, cannot be found, neither in churches, nor in chapels, nor in secret oratories, nor in private houses, in town or city, but must be sought out in some petty parish in the country, and that by conjecture only, and by guess, and by such records as directly condemn the whole order of the mass, and will suffer no man to be present thereat, but only such as will receive.

For thus saith Chrysostom: "If thou stand by, and do not communicate, thou art malapert, thou art shameless, thou art impudent. Thine eyes be unworthy the sight hereof, unworthy be thine ears. O, thou wilt say, I am unworthy to be partaker of the holy mysteries. Then art thou unworthy to be partaker of the prayers: thou mayest no more stand here, than a heathen that never was christened." And touching himself, he saith: "In vain we come to offer the daily sacrifice: in vain we stand at the altar⁴⁵;" meaning thereby, as may appear, that if he said private mass for lack of company, it was in vain. Here M. Harding, seeing that his mass, even by his own authority, is

Nicol. de
Cusa, ad
Clerum et
Literatos
Bohemiae.

Chrysost. ad
Ephes. hom.
3. [xi. 23.]

⁴⁵ [Chrysost. ad Ephes. hom. 3. Πᾶς γὰρ ὁ μὴ μετέχων τῶν μυστηρίων, ἀνάσχυτος καὶ ἰταμῶς ἐστηκώς. . . . πῶς ἔμεινας καὶ οὐ μετέχεις τῆς τραπέζης; ἀνάξιός εἰμι, φησὶν οὐκοῦν καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας ἐκείνης τῆς ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς. . . ἀνάξιοι καὶ ὀφ-

θαλμοὶ τῶν θεαμάτων τούτων, ἀνάξιοι καὶ ἀκοαί. . . ἄπιθι· οὐκ ἔξεστί σοι μᾶλλον, ἢ τῷ καθηγουμένῳ; and before, . . . εἰκὴ θυσία καθημερινή, εἰκὴ παρεστήκαμεν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ. . . . This is the passage alluded to by Harding, p. 324. supr.]

shrewdly cracked, and left for vain, assayeth to salve it as well as he may.

“The mass,” saith he, “is not in vain in itself, but unto the people that will not come.” This is a gloss beside the text, yet let us take it, as it were true. But if hearing of the mass be a thing pleasant unto God, and meritorious unto the people, if Christ be there offered indeed for the sins of the world, if the priest alone may receive for all the rest, if it be sufficient for the people to communicate spiritually, as M. Harding hath avouched, then is not the saying of the mass in vain, no, not unto the people; no, although they never would communicate. Chrysostom saith, “It is in vain;” M. Harding saith, “It is not in vain.” And yet, to see a greater contradiction, M. Harding himself in this place saith, “It is in vain unto the people;” and yet the same M. Harding hath said before, “It is commanded by councils, it is sufficient for the people to communicate in spirit; it is not in vain unto the people.”

Division 9.
fol. 13. b.

If M. Harding will stand unto the authority of Chrysostom, let him not dissemble, but speak plainly unto the people, as Chrysostom spake. Let him say to them that come to hear his mass: “If ye receive not, ye are shameless, ye are impudent, ye are not worthy to be partakers of the common prayers; depart ye from the church, ye have no more place here than Turks and heathens; your eyes be unworthy to see these things, unworthy be your ears; our masses cannot profit you, they are not meritorious for you, they please not God, they provoke his anger, they are all in vain.” This is Chrysostom’s sense and plain meaning, and this is a fair winding up of M. Harding’s clew.

Now let us examine this invincible argument, wherewithal every child, as M. Harding vaunteth, is able to prove the private mass.

The “major” is this: “The sacrifice in Chrysostom’s time was daily offered.”

The “minor” is this: “But many times no man came to communicate with the priest.”

The conclusion: “*Ergo*, There was private mass.”

Here the "major" is apparent false; the "minor" proved at adventures, only by blind guess, and so not proved at all; therefore the conclusion must needs follow after as it may. Unless M. Harding look better to it, I trow it will prove but a childish argument.

Concil. Constantin. 6.
can. 52. [Quini-Sext. xi.
968.]
Aug. tract.
26. [iii. pt. 2.
500.]
Basil. ad Cæsar. [iii. 186.]
Concil. Laodic. can. 49.
[il. 571.]

As for the "major," it is plain by the sixth council of Constantinople, by St. Augustine upon St. John, by St. Basil, *Ad Cæsariam Patritiam*, by the epistle of the council of Alexandria in the defence of Macarius, and by the council holden at Laodicea, and by sundry other authorities to that purpose before alleged, that the sacrifice was not daily offered, as M. Harding imagineth.

Touching the "minor," it is not proved, but hangeth, as I have said, only by guess. M. Harding himself saw, that this is but a slender proof: "Chrysostom ministered every day: *ergo*, he received alone;" and therefore he sought further to find his single communion in the country. But Chrysostom saith, "There is nobody to communicate." By this it may appear, as I have already said, that Chrysostom himself did not communicate, unless we will say Chrysostom was "nobody," and so "nobody" received alone, and "nobody" himself said M. Harding's private mass. And therefore "nobody" may come forth, and justly require me to subscribe. Thus the "major" being false, the "minor" not proved, the conclusion not following, thou seest, good Christian reader, what invincible force M. Harding hath brought to prove his mass.

But because he seemeth to set somewhat by the winding up of his clew, it shall not be from the purpose to unwind it again, and to lay it abroad, and to consider the stuffing of it, and to see how closely and handsomely it is wound together.

First, there is not one thread of the holy scriptures in all this clew, but the plain example of Christ and his apostles quite refused.

Secondly, the private mass is founded upon the negligence, and, as M. Harding calleth it, the undevotion of the people.

Thirdly, there is a way devised, how two priests, saying

their masses in divers countries, may communicate together in breaking bread, be the distance between them never so great; and that without any manner warrant of scripture or doctor.

Fourthly, lay people, women, sick folks, and boys, that received or ministered the sacrament alone, are brought in for this purpose, as though it had been lawful then for women or boys to say mass.

Fifthly, because St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Hierom, St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, and such others would not serve, there is brought in a great number of petty doctors, all of doubtful credit, and many of them long sithence misliked, and condemned by the church.

Sixthly, the matter is made good by visions, dreams, and fables.

Seventhly, there are alleged canons of councils, not extant in any council, gathered without great judgment by one Gratian, and yet none of them neither proving nor once naming the private mass.

Eighthly, because M. Harding could not find his mass in the whole church of Rome within the space of six hundred years after Christ, he hath therefore made search at Alexandria in Egypt, at Antioch in Syria, at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, a thousand miles beyond the limits of all Christendom, whereas was never private mass said, neither then, nor before that time, nor never sithence.

Ninthly, for that he stood in despair of cathedral and otherlike great churches, he hath sought out chapels, cells, oratories, and private houses; and, because he had no hope to speed in towns or cities, he hath sought out the little churches in the country.

Tenthly, notwithstanding all this inquiry, he hath not yet found neither the name of private mass, nor any priest that ever ministered and received alone.

To be short, the whole substance of his proofs hangeth only upon his own surmise, without any certainty, or appearance of truth.

These be the contents of M. Harding's clew, and thus

substantially hath he proved the antiquity and universality of his mass.

Now, good reader, to give thee only a taste of some part that may be said of our side, first it is apparent, that Christ our Saviour, at his last supper, ministered the holy communion, and no private mass, and bade his disciples to do the same in his remembrance.

Likewise St. Paul willed the Corinthians, one to wait and tarry for another in the holy ministration, and to conform themselves to Christ's example. Whereupon St. Hieron saith, as it is before alleged: "The Lord's supper must be common unto all: for the Lord delivered the sacraments equally unto all the disciples that were present⁴⁶." And St. Ambrose likewise expounding these words, *invicem expectate*, "wait one for another," saith thus: "That the oblation of many may be celebrate together, and may be ministered unto all⁴⁷."

In the Canons of the Apostles it is decreed, that if any man resort unto the church, and hear the scriptures, and abstain from the communion, he stand excommunicate, as one that troubleth the congregation.

The like decrees are found under the names of Calixtus^a, Anacletus^b, Martinus^c, Hilarius^d, and others, by which it is certain, that the whole church then received together.

^eClemens⁴⁸, as M. Harding calleth him, the apostles' fellow, writeth thus: "Let so many hosts be offered upon the altar, as may be sufficient for the people."

St. Augustine saith of the congregation in his time: "Every day we receive the sacrament of Christ's body." And opening the same more particularly, he saith thus: *Unde confido in eis, quibus heri communicasti, et hodie communicas, et cras communicabis?* "What trust can I have in them with whom thou didst communicate yesterday, and dost communicate to-day, and wilt communicate again to-morrow?"

⁴⁶ [Spurious, but see p. 160, note, where an equivalent passage is quoted from Chrysostom.]

⁴⁷ [Spurious, p. 159.]

⁴⁸ [Clementis Epist. 2 ad Jacob. Fratr. Dom. ap. Crab. i. 19. Tanta holocausta, &c.]

Hieron. in
1 Cor. xi. [v.
997.]

Ambros. 1
Cor. xi. [ii.
App. 150.]

Can. Apost.
can. 9. [al.
10.]

a De Con.
dist. 2. Per-
acta.

b De Con.
dist. 1. Epi-
scopus.

c De Con.
dist. 2. Si
quis.

d De Con.
dist. 2. Si
non.

e Clem. epist.
2.

Aug. de Ser-
mon. Dom.
in Mont. lib.
2. [iii. pt. 2.
209.]

August. in
Psalm. x. [iv.
61.]

Clemens Alexandrinus saith : “ After that certain, as the Clem. Strom. lib. 1. [1. 318.] manner is, have divided the sacrament, they give every of the people leave to take part of it ⁴⁹.”

St. Chrysostom plainly describeth the very order of the communion that was used in his time, by these words : Chrysost. in 1 Cor. hom. 27. “ The spiritual and reverend sacraments are set forth equally to rich and poor ; neither doth the rich man enjoy them more, and the poor man less : they have all like honour, and like coming to them. The sacraments being once laid forth,” (as then the manner was for the people to receive,) “ are not taken in again, until all the people have communicate, and taken part of that spiritual meat ; but the priests stand still, and wait for all, even for the poorest of them all ⁵⁰.”

Again he saith : “ There are things wherein the priest differeth nothing from the people : as when we must use the fearful mysteries. For we are all of one worthiness to receive the same ⁵¹.” Chrysost. 2 Cor. hom. 18. [x. 568.]

St. Gregory saith, that even in his time the order was, that, in the time of the holy communion, the deacon should stand up and say aloud unto the people : *Si quis non communicat, det locum* : “ If there be anybody that is not disposed to communicate, let him give place ⁵².” Gregor. Dialogor. lib. 2. cap. 23. [ii. 253.]

This Latin word *missa*, in the time of Tertullian and St. Cyprian, signified a dismissing, or a licence to depart, and was specially applied unto the communion upon this occasion that I must here declare. They that were then named *catechumeni*, that is to say, novices of the faith, and not yet christened, were suffered to be present at the communion, until the gospel was ended. Then the deacon commanded them forth, pronouncing these words aloud : *Catechumeni exeunto* ; or thus : *Ite, missa est* : “ Go ye forth, ye have licence to depart.” Of this dismissing, or Missa. Isidorus in Lexico. [Etymol. lib. vi. c. 19.]

⁴⁹ [Clem. Alexandr. Stromat. lib. 1. . . ἢ καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν τινὲς διανείμαντες, ὡς ἔθος, αὐτὸν δὴ ἕκαστον τοῦ λαοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν μοῖραν ἐπιτρέπουσιν.]

⁵⁰ [Chrysost. in 1 Cor. hom. 27. This reference is wrong, but the editor has been unable to correct it.]

⁵¹ [Chrysost. 2 Cor. hom. 18. Ἔστι δὲ ὅπου οὐδὲ διέστηκεν ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ ἀρχομένου· οἶον ὅταν ἀπολαύειν δέη τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων. ὁμοίως γὰρ πάντες ἀξιούμεθα τῶν αὐτῶν.]

⁵² [Gregor. Dialog. The genuineness of these dialogues has been doubted of.]

departing forth of the *catechumeni* and others, the service itself was then called *missa*. The rest remained still in the church, and received the communion together with the priest. Further, the breaking of the bread, which even now is used in the mass itself, signifieth a distribution of the sacrament unto the people, as St. Augustine saith unto Paulinus, ...*ad distribuendum comminuitur*..., "it is broken to the end it may be divided." Moreover, the priest himself in his mass saith thus: "This holy mixture and consecration, &c. be unto me, and to all that shall receive it, unto salvation." Thus the very name of the mass, the very breaking of the bread, the very gestures and words that the priest useth at his mass, bear manifest witness against private mass.

The breaking of the bread.

Aug. ad Paulin. epist. 59. [ii. 509.]

Here I leave out a great number of councils, and canons, and old fathers, as Justinus Martyr, Dionysius, Tertullian, Epiphanius, and Eusebius, with sundry other ancient writers, both Greeks and Latins, thinking it sufficient by these few to have given a taste of the rest.

Our proofs hang not upon conjecture, or uncertain guesses; we pray not aid of sick folk, women, boys, and children for the proof of the holy communion, as M. Harding is driven to do for proof of his mass; we seek not out secret oratories, or privy chapels; we forge no new doctors, such as the world never knew before, as these men do for lack of others; we allege neither dreams, nor visions, nor fantastical fables.

We rest upon the scriptures of God, upon the authority of the ancient doctors and councils, and upon the universal practice of the most famous cities and churches of the world.

These things well compared and weighed together, judge thou now, gentle reader, whether M. Harding have hitherto just cause, either to blow up the triumph with such courage, or to require any man to subscribe.

OF COMMUNION
UNDER BOTH KINDS.

THE SECOND ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

OR that there was then any communion ministered unto the people under one kind.

M. HARDING: *First Division.*

This being a sacrament of unity, every true Christian man ought in receiving of it to consider, how unity may be achieved and kept, rather than to shew a straitness of conscience about the outward forms of bread and wine, to be used in the administration of it: and that so much the more, how much the end of every thing is to be esteemed more than that which serveth to the end. Otherwise herein the breach of unity is so little recompensed by the exact keeping of the outward ceremony, that, according to the saying of St. Augustine, whosoever taketh the mystery of unity, and keepeth not the bond of peace, he taketh not a mystery for himself, but a testimony against himself. Therefore they have great cause to weigh with themselves what they receive in this sacrament, who, moved by slender reasons made for both kinds, do rashly and dangerously condemn the church, for giving of it, under one kind, to all that do not in their own persons consecrate and offer the same in remembrance of the sacrifice once offered on the cross. And that they may think the church to stand upon good grounds herein, may it please them to understand, that the fruit of this sacrament, which they enjoy that worthily receive it, dependeth not of the outward forms of bread and wine, but redoundeth of the virtue of the flesh

The 46th un-
truth, pro-
ceeding only
of the gross
error of
transubstan-
tiation.

and blood of Christ. And whereas under either kind (46) whole Christ is verily present, (for now that he is risen again from the dead, his flesh and blood can be sundred no more, because he dieth no more,) this healthful sacrament is of true Christian people with no less fruit received under one kind than under both. The sacramentaries, that believe not the truth of Christ's body and blood in this holy sacrament, I remit to sundry godly treatises made in defence of the right faith in that point. I think it not necessary here to treat thereof, or of any other matter, which M. Jewel hath not as yet manifestly touched in his sermon.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

The former article of private mass, by M. Harding's own confession, proceedeth not from God, but from the negligence of the people; but the abuse of the communion under one kind, from whencesoever it first proceeded, standeth now only upon the wilfulness of the priests, who, seeing and knowing the institution and commandment of Christ, yet notwithstanding have devised ways against their own knowledge, violently to repel the same. And that the whole case may the better appear, the question, that standeth between us is moved thus: WHETHER THE HOLY COMMUNION AT ANY TIME, WITHIN THE SPACE OF SIX HUNDRED YEARS AFTER CHRIST, WERE EVER MINISTERED OPENLY IN THE CHURCH UNTO THE PEOPLE UNDER ONE KIND. For proof whereof, M. Harding hath here brought in women, children, sick folks, infants, and madmen; that these have sometimes received the one kind, some in their private houses, some in their death-beds, some otherwise, as he did before for proof of his private mass. If in all this long treaty he have brought any one example, or proof sufficient, of the ministration in one kind, openly used in any church, it is good reason he be believed. But if he, after all these vaunts, having published such a book as all the world as it is supposed is not able to answer, have hitherto brought no such, neither example nor proof, then may we justly think, there is nothing to be brought at all; but that, by his eloquence and fair speech, he seeketh to abuse the simplicity and ignorance of his reader.

Concil. Basil.
[In append.
Hæc sanctus.

The council of Basil, above one hundred and thirty years past, made no conscience to grant the use of both kinds

unto the kingdom of Bohemia; and this council now presently holden at Trident, upon certain conditions, hath granted the same to other kingdoms and countries⁵³; and were it not, they should seem to confess the church of Rome hath erred, they would not doubt to grant the same freely to the whole world. None of them all can tell, neither when, nor where, nor how this error first began. Some think it sprang only of a certain superstition and simplicity of the people. But whencesoever it first began, as Tertullian writeth of the forwardness that he saw in certain of his time, it must now needs be maintained and made good against the truth. His words be these: *Consuetudo initium ab aliqua ignorantia, vel simplicitate sortita, in usum per successionem corroboratur, et ita adversus veritatem vindicatur. Sed Dominus noster Christus veritatem se, non consuetudinem, cognominavit. Viderint ergo, quibus novum est, quod sibi vetus est. Hæreses non tam novitas, quam veritas revincit. Quodcunque adversus veritatem sapit, hoc erit hæresis, etiam vetus consuetudo: "Custom, either of simplicity or of ignorance, getting once an entry, is inured and hardened by succession, and then is defended against the truth. But Christ our Lord called himself the truth, and not custom. Let them take heed therefore, unto whom the thing seemeth new, that in itself is old. It is not so much the novelty of the matter as the truth, that reproveth an heresy. Whatsoever savoureth against the truth, it is an heresy, be the custom thereof never so old."*

Mansi. xxix.
413.]
Conc. Tri-
dent.

Steph. Gard.
in the Devil's
Sophistry.

Tertull. de
Virginib.
Velandis.
[sub init.
p. 172.]

To come near the matter: "Unity," saith M. Harding, "is the substance of this sacrament; and whoso receiveth not the same in unity, receiveth a testimony against himself." As this is true, and avouched by St. Augustine, and of our part not denied, so is it also true that St. Ambrose⁵⁴ writeth: *Indignus est Domino, qui aliter mysterium celebrat, quam ab eo traditum est. Non enim potest devotus*

† Ambros.
1 Cor. xi.
[li. app. 149.]

⁵³ [Vid. Def. of Apol. p. 39. ed. 1611, where a similar statement is made. In the margin is a note by the editor. "Sessione 6. apud

"Chemnitium, p. 150. ed. Fran-
"cof. A. D. 1578. nam in ipso con-
"cilio frustra quaeras."]

⁵⁴ [For the future, all references

esse, qui aliter præsumit, quam datum est ab authore: “He is unworthy of the Lord that doth otherwise celebrate the mystery than it was delivered of the Lord: for he cannot be devout that taketh it otherwise than it was given of the author.” But this excuse, under the pretence and colour of unity, seemeth to import some default. For what? Think these folk, that unity cannot stand without the breach of Christ’s institution? or that the apostles and holy fathers, that ministered the communion under both kinds, were not in unity? or that there was never unity in the church for the space of a thousand four hundred and mo years after Christ, until the council of Constance, where this matter was first concluded? Herein standeth that mystical unity, that one bread is broken unto all, and one cup is delivered unto all, equally without difference; and that, as Chrysostom saith in the reverend sacrifice, there is no difference between the priest and the people, but all is equal⁵⁵. But our adversaries have herein forced a difference between the priest and the people without cause, and say, There must needs be such a difference.

Chrysost. in
2 Cor. hom.
18. [x. 508.]

Johan. Sled-
danus, lib. 9.
[Bohun. Tr.
p. 187.]

Gerson in
Tractatu
contra Hære-
sim commu-
nicandi
Laicos sub
utraque Spe-
cie. [i. 528.]

Gabriel Biel.

And when the French king, who until this day receiveth still in both kinds, had moved his clergy, wherefore he might so do more than others, they made him answer: “For that kings are anointed as well as priests.” Gerso saith, that, if laymen should communicate under both kinds as well as priests, *dignitas sacerdotis, non esset supra dignitatem laicorum*: “the dignity of the priest should not be above the dignity of laymen⁵⁶.” And Gabriel Biel extolleth the priest above our lady, and all hallows, because he may communicate under both kinds, and they cannot⁵⁷. And so have they altered the sacrament of

to works which have been already noted more than once as spurious will be distinguished by the mark †.]

⁵⁵ [See this passage quoted in the original, at p. 337.]

⁵⁶ [Gerson. “. . . Quod tanta esset “dignitas laicorum circa sumptio-

“nem corporis Christi quanta sacerdotum.”]

⁵⁷ [Biel. There is a passage in Biel, lect. iv. b, in which the priest is said to be superior to the virgin, by virtue of his consecrating the host. Jewel however seems to have another passage in view.]

equality and unity, and made it a sacrament of difference and dissension.

“The fruit of the sacrament,” saith M. Harding, “hange-eth not of the forms of bread and wine.” This is a strange form of speech unto the ignorant, that knoweth not what these forms mean. Beware, good reader, for under this word there lieth a snare. St. Paul five [four] times in one 1 Cor. xi. place calleth it bread; but this man saith, It is the “form,” the “appearance,” and “show of bread:” but he would have thee believe, that indeed it is no bread.

We know well, the fruit of the sacrament standeth not, neither in the forms, nor in the bread or wine, which are outwardly received with the bodily mouth, but in the flesh and blood of Christ, which only are received spiritually into the soul.

He addeth further: “Whole Christ is under either kind; therefore he, that receiveth in one kind only, hath no wrong.” If any ancient doctor had said the same, it might the rather have been believed. But M. Harding, of false principles of his own, thinketh he may boldly gather boldly the like conclusions. These toys are sufficient to please vain fantasy, but they are not sufficient to content a godly conscience. But doth M. Harding so surely know, that whole Christ is in either kind, and did Christ himself not know it? Or if Christ did know it, was not he able to break his own ordinance, and to provide for this inconvenience, as well as others? We know, and it is our belief, that Christ’s whole humanity, both flesh and blood, is in heaven. But that the same humanity of Christ is in the sacrament, in such gross sort as is supposed by our adversaries, notwithstanding many bold vaunts thereof made, yet was it hitherto never proved. And although this matter be moved by M. Harding out of season, as being no part of this question, yet I think it not amiss briefly to signify by the way, what the old catholic fathers have thought of it.

Consentius demandeth this question of St. Augustine, Lib. Epist. epist. 146. [ii.] “Whether the body of Christ, being now in heaven, have 767.] in it blood or no?” Here, to leave St. Augustine’s answer,

it is easy for any man to consider, if Consentius had been persuaded, as M. Harding would seem to be, that Christ's body hath blood in the sacrament, he would never have moved this question of the body of Christ, that is in heaven. To leave these new fantasies, whereof it doth not appear that ever the old catholic doctors made any report, we must understand, that the bread is the sacrament of Christ's body, and the wine is the sacrament of his blood. So saith Beda: ... *Panis ad corpus Christi mystice, vinum refertur ad sanguinem*: "The bread in mystical manner hath relation to the body of Christ, the wine hath relation unto his blood." So likewise saith St. Paul: "The bread that we break, is it not the communication of the body of Christ? and the cup of the blessing which we bless, is it not the communication of the blood of Christ?" St. Paul saith not, each part is in other: but each hath a peculiar signification by itself.

But if it were so, as M. Harding and certain others of late days have grossly imagined, yet notwithstanding, the people, taking but one kind only, receiveth injury, as M. Harding may see by Alexander of Hales⁵⁸, and Durandus, and other of his own doctors. Alexander's words be these: *Licet illa, sumptio, quæ est in accipiendo sub una specie, sufficiat, tamen illa, quæ est sub duabus, est majoris meriti*: "Although that order of receiving the sacrament which is

⁵⁸ [The work of Alexander de Ales, from which Jewel quotes, is the Summa. Two works are extant, which bear this name; in some respects resembling each other, but differing widely in others. The first, and as it would appear the original and genuine production of Alexander, the same to which reference is made here and elsewhere, is become very scarce. The editor is indebted to the master and fellows of Balliol College for the use of the copy which is in their library, in four vols. quarto, printed at Pavia, A.D. 1489. The other work, bearing the name of Summa, and perhaps an expurgated edition of

the original work, is in the Bodleian, printed at Cologne, 1622. It corresponds generally in the first part with the Balliol copy, but in the subsequent parts, particularly the 4th, (on the sacraments,) the number and order of the quæstiones are quite different.

In both edd. the name of the author is spelt Ales, and not Hales, as might have been expected from the name of his birthplace, the village of Hales in Gloucestershire.

The references at p. 195 and p. 273, (which are printed in Italics as not having been verified) are quite correct.]

Beda in Lucam cap. 22. lib. 6.

Alexand. 4. qu. 53. m. 1.

under one kind be sufficient, yet the other which is under both kinds is of greater merit." And immediately after: *Sumptio sub utraque specie, quem modum sumendi tradidit Dominus, est majoris efficaciam, et majoris complementi*: "The receiving under both kinds, which order the Lord delivered, is of greater strength, and of greater fulness."

And the same Alexander again saith: *Totus Christus non continetur sub utraque specie sacramentaliter: sed caro tantum sub specie panis et sanguis sub specie vini*: "Whole Christ is not contained under each kind by way of sacrament, but the flesh only under the form of bread, and the blood under the form of wine." The like might be reported out of Durandus and others. Here M. Harding's own doctors confess, that the people, receiving under one kind, receiveth not the full sacrament, nor the blood of Christ by way of sacrament; and that their doing therein is of less strength and merit than the doing of the priest. Wherefore M. Harding in saying, "The people receiving only under one kind taketh no injury," doth the people double injury.

But to pass over these scholastical subtle points, it becometh us to know, that Christ the Son of God appointed the sacrament of his body to be given in bread, and the sacrament of his blood to be given in wine. These be the holy mysteries of Christ's body and blood. We may not here account what may be in either of them by the drift of vain fantasy, but rather we ought to consider, what Christ in the first institution hereof did, and what he commanded to be done. Neither do we here condemn the church, as it pleaseth M. Harding unjustly to charge us, but we wish and pray to God, that his whole church may once be reformed after the example and institution of Christ, without whom the church is no church, neither hath any right or claim without his promise, nor any promise without his word.

Now whereas M. Harding saith: "The reasons that we make for the maintenance of Christ's institutions are so slender;" if he had first weighed his own, perhaps he would the more favourably have reported ours. I mean

Alexandr. 4.
qu. 40. m. 3.
art. 2.

not the reasons that others of that side have taken of men's beards, of fear of the palsy and shaking, or other diseases, or inconveniences that may happen, but even of the same, that he hath here planted in the first rank and entry of his cause. The first is this :

“It is a sacrament of unity ; therefore, if it be abused, we may seek no redress.”

The second is this : “The fruit of the sacrament dependeth not of the forms of bread and wine ; therefore, we may break Christ's institution.”

The third is this : “Whole Christ,” as M. Harding saith, “is in either part of the sacrament ; therefore, there is no wrong done in barring the people from one kind.” Certainly these reasons seem very slender, and specially to countermand the plain word of God. The sentence that St. Basil useth in this case is very terrible : “Whoso forbiddeth the thing that God commandeth, and whoso commandeth the thing that God forbiddeth, is to be holden accursed of all them that love the Lord.”

*Basil. Moral.
Summa ca.
14.*

M. HARDING : *Second Division.*

Now concerning the outward forms of bread and wine, (47) their use is employed in signification only, and be not of necessity, so as grace may not be obtained by worthy receiving of the sacrament, unless both kinds be ministered. Therefore in consecrating of the sacrament, according to Christ's institution, both kinds be necessary ; forasmuch as it is not prepared for the receiving only, but also for renewing and stirring up of the remembrance of our Lord's death. So, inasmuch as the sacrament serveth the sacrifice, by which the death and oblation of Christ is represented, both the kinds be requisite ; that by divers and sundry forms, the blood of Christ shed for our sins, and separated from his body, may evidently be signified. But inasmuch as the faithful people do receive the sacrament, thereby to attain spiritual grace and salvation of their souls, diversity of the forms or kinds, that be used for the signification only, hath no further use nor profit. But by one kind, because in it whole Christ is exhibited, abundance of all grace is once given ; so as by the other kind thereto over added, (which giveth the same, and not another Christ,) no further augmentation of spiritual grace may be attained. In consideration of this, the catholic church, taught by the Holy Ghost all truth, whiles in the daily sacrifice the memory of our Lord's death and passion is celebrated,

The 47th un-
truth. For
the bread and
wine signify
the body and
blood of
Christ, the
whiteness,
the round-
ness, and
other out-
ward forms
signify no-
thing.

for that it is necessary therein, to express most plainly the shedding and separating of the blood from the body that was crucified, hath always to that purpose diligently used both kinds of bread and wine : but in distributing of the blessed sacrament to Christian people, hath used liberty, (which Christ never imbarred by any commandment to the contrary,) so as it hath (48) ever been most for the behoof and commodity of the receivers ; and hath ministered sometimes both kinds, sometimes one kind only, as it hath been thought most expedient, in regard of time, place, and persons.

The 48th untruth. For the church never thus ministered the sacrament unto the people in any open congregation within the space of six hundred years.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here is much talk and no proof. I grant, the priest, if he minister the communion orderly, and as he should, doth renew the memory of Christ's passion, according to his own commandment, "Do this in my remembrance." Yet all this concludeth not directly, that therefore Christ's ordinance may be broken. Neither is it yet so clearly proved, that the priest in his mass representeth the separation of Christ's blood from his body. For, beside that there is no ancient doctor here alleged for proof hereof, I might well demand, by what words, by what gesture, or to whom doth he represent this separation? His words be strange ; his gesture secret ; the people neither heareth nor seeth aught, nor knoweth what he meaneth. And being granted, that the separation of Christ's body and blood is represented in the holy mysteries, yet how knoweth M. Harding, that the priest ought more to represent the same than the people? Doubtless Christ's blood was shed indifferently for all the faithful, as well for the people as for the priest, between whom and the people, as I have before shewed out of St. Chrysostom, in this case there is no difference. For whereas M. Harding taketh the name of sacrifice for some show of proof in this matter, it behoveth him to know, that not only the portion received by the priest, but also the portion that is distributed unto the people, is of the old fathers called a sacrifice. St. Augustine hath these words : " In Carthage the manner was, that hymns should be said at the altar out of the book of

Chrysost. in 2. ad Cor. hom. 18. [x. 568.]

Retract. lib. 2. [l. 45.]

Psalms, either when the oblation was made, or when the thing that was offered, was divided unto the people⁵⁹.”

† Clemens
epist. 2. [ad
Jacob. Fr.
Domini.]

By these plain words we may see, that both the priest and people received one sacrifice. And Clemens (as M. Harding calleth him, the apostles' fellow) saith thus: *Tanta in altario holocausta offerantur, quanta populo sufficere debeant*: “Let there be so many sacrifices offered at the altar, as may suffice for the people.”

And whereas it is further said, that the priest by receiving both parts in several, expresseth, as it were, unto the eye, how Christ's body and blood were done asunder, the scriptures and ancient fathers have taught us otherwise, that not any gesture of the priest, but the very ministration of the holy communion, and the whole action of the people, expresseth unto us the manner and order of Christ's death.

1 Cor. xi. 26.

St. Paul saith: “As often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shall declare the Lord's death until he come.” And this St. Paul writeth not only to the priests, but also to the whole congregation of the Corinthians.

De Con. dist.
2. Cum fran-
gitur.

And in like sort writeth St. Augustine touching the same: *Cum frangitur hostia, et sanguis de calice in ora fidelium funditur, quid aliud quam Dominici corporis in cruce immolatio, ejusque sanguinis de latere effusio designatur?*

“When the oblation is broken, and the blood from the cup is poured into the mouths of the faithful, what thing else is there signified, but the offering of the Lord's body upon the cross, and the flowing of his blood from his side?” Thus it is clear, that the separation of Christ's body and blood is represented as well by the people as by the priest. Wherefore to devise a difference without cause, and of the same to conclude an error, it is double folly.

“The diversity of forms and kinds,” saith M. Harding, “serveth for signification only, and hath no further use nor profit.” Notwithstanding this saying were otherwise

⁵⁹ [St. August. Retract. “... “libro, sive ante oblationem, sive
“morem, qui tunc apud Car- “cum distribueretur populo quod
“thaginem cæperat, ut hymni ad “fuisset oblatum.”]

“altare dicerentur de Psalmorum

true, yet the issue thereof seemeth dangerous. It is our part to be obedient, and not to discuss or rectify God's commandments, and to say any thing, that Christ the Son of God hath appointed us to do, is utterly void of use and profit. As for the liberty of the church that is here claimed, if we should demand where and when it was granted, perhaps the charter would not be found. The liberty of the church is not to be against God, nor to control any his ordinance. Neither hath M. Harding yet proved, that the church within six hundred years after Christ, in open congregation and assembly of people, (which is the state of this question,) ever used any such kind of liberty.

In these words M. Harding hath privily couched sundry arguments, which of what value or force they be, I pray thee, gentle reader, to understand.

The first is this : The priest consecrateth the sacrament : therefore, the people is not bound to receive in both kinds.

The second is this : The priest offereth the sacrifice and representeth the separation of Christ's body and blood : *ergo*, it is sufficient for the people to receive in one kind.

The third is this : The church hath her liberty : *ergo*, she is not bound to Christ's institution.

Alas, how slenderly hang these things together ! Yet these are the arguments that, as it is supposed, are never able to be answered.

M. HARDING : *Third Division.*

As touching the words of Christ, *Bibite ex hoc omnes*, " Drink ye all of this," they pertain to the apostles only, and to their successors. For to them (49) only he gave commandment to do that, which he did in his supper, as Clement saith⁶⁰ : To them only, saying, " Do this in my remembrance," he gave commission to consecrate, offer, and to receive the sacrament in remembrance of his death and passion, by the same words ordaining them priests of the new testament. Wherefore this belongeth not to the lay people, neither can it justly be gathered by this place, that they are bound of necessity, and, under pain of deadly sin, to receive the sacrament under both kinds.

The 49th untruth. For these words pertained as well to the people as to the priests, as shall appear.

Here M. Harding altereth the case.

Ante passionem nobis solis præcepit hoc facere, inquit apostoli apud Clementem. lib. 8. Constit. Apostolicarum, cap. ult.

⁶⁰ [See p. 169.]

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When I read these words of M. Harding's, I am stricken with horror, to consider the terrible judgment of God. It is much to be feared, that he, that is led away of this sort, offendeth not of ignorance, for so were the fault the more pardonable, but against the manifest known truth, and against the Spirit of God. For whereas Christ saith, "Drink ye all of this," if he will follow the letter, the words be plain, that all should drink. If he will leave the letter and take the meaning, St. Paul hath opened it. For, writing unto the whole congregation at Corinth, he saith
1 Cor. xi. 26. thus: "As often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall declare the Lord's death until he come." If he doubt St. Paul, yet the very practice and continual order of the primitive church fully declareth what Christ meant. And they say, *Consuetudo est optima interpret legis*: "Custom is the best interpreter of the law." If he will take neither the words of Christ, nor Christ's meaning, then I know not how to deal with him.

Once again he bringeth forth Clement, the apostles' fellow. And what Clement? Verily even the same that ministered and delivered the holy communion to the faithful that then were in Rome, under both kinds, as appeareth by the long usage of that church, even as Christ delivered it to his disciples; and M. Harding is not able to shew, that the same Clement ever ministered otherwise. He seeth and knoweth, that the word *omnes* is against him; the meaning against him; the practice of the church against him; his own Clement against him. Yet he beareth his countenance so, as if all were with him. To be short, if Christ, when he said, "Drink ye all," meant not that all should drink, why did St. Paul and all the apostles, and the whole primitive church, expound it and practise it, as though he had meant so? And if he meant so, why doth M. Harding deceive the world, and say, "he meant not so."

But Clement saith, "Christ spake these words, 'Do this in my remembrance,' only unto the apostles." "There-

fore," saith M. Harding, "these words, 'Drink ye all,' pertain to the apostles only, and to their successors." Understand, good reader, that Clement, in the place here alleged, speaketh not one word, either of one kind or of both; but only saith thus: "That Christ appointed his apostles to the office of the holy ministration," which he calleth the spiritual oblation. Therefore thou mayest see, that M. Harding, shewing thee one thing for another, and of the same concluding what him liketh, cannot seem to deal plainly. Spiritualis
hostia.

The argument, that hereof is gathered, standeth thus: Clement saith, that Christ gave only unto his apostles the office of the ministry, and authority to offer the spiritual sacrifice; *ergo*, these words, "Drink ye all of this," pertain nothing to the people. Here is a very faint conclusion. For by force of this reason, he may take from the people both parts of the sacrament, as well as one, and so leave them no sacrament at all.

M. HARDING: *Fourth Division.*

And this understood they which above one hundred years past, (50) changing the old custom of the church, of receiving the communion under one kind, by their private authority, would needs usurp the cup also. For seeing themselves not to have sufficient proof and warrant for their doing of these words, "Drink ye all of this," the better to bolster up their newfangled attempt, they thought it better to allege the words of Christ in St. John: The 50th un-
truth. For
they changed
not, but re-
stored the
old custom.

John vi. 53. "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall not have life in you;" which words, for all that our new masters of forty years past will to be understood of the spiritual, and not of the sacramental eating, as it may be and is taken for both, of the doctors viewed apart; yet in all that chapter, there is no mention of the cup nor of wine at all. Wherefore they, that cry so much on the institution and commandment of Christ, cannot find in all the scriptures, neither commandment where he gave charge the sacrament so to be given, neither so much as any example where Christ gave it under both kinds to any other than to the apostles. Whereas, contrariwise, it may be shewed of our part, that the sacrament was given under one kind only to the two disciples that went to Emmaus; for that the bread, which Christ there took, blessed, brake, and gave to them, was not simple and common bread, but the sacrament of the body and

blood of Christ. For so Chrysostom^a, Augustine^b, Bede^c, and Theophylact^d, with one accord do witness. It appeareth also, that the communion under one kind was used at Jerusalem among Christ's disciples, by that St. Luke writeth in the Acts of the Apostles^e of the breaking of the bread. If M. Jewel here think to avoid these places by their accustomed figure *synecdoche*, among his own sect haply it may be accepted; but among men of right and learned judgment, that shift will seem over weak and vain. Now to conclude touching the sixth chapter of St. John, as thereof they can bring no one word mentioning the cup or wine, for proof of their both kinds, so it sheweth, and not in very obscure wise, that the form of bread alone is sufficient, whereas Christ saith: *Qui manducat panem hunc, vivet in æternum*: "He that eateth this bread, shall live for ever."

^a In Matt. hom. 17.
^b De Consensu Evangel. lib. 3. cap. 25. [iii. pt. 2. 141.]
^c In Lucam
^d In Lucam
^e Acts ii.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

In these words M. Harding chargeth not only us, but also the apostles of Christ, and all the fathers of the primitive church, with great oversight; who in their times ministered the holy sacrament unto the vulgar people, as it is now supposed by these men, without any example of Christ, and without commission.

Touching the institution of Christ, I have already said so much, as unto a quiet mind may seem sufficient. Yet for further declaration, I would demand of M. Harding, what thing he requireth to Christ's institution. If "words," Christ's words be plain; if "example," Christ himself ministered in both kinds; if "authority," Christ commanded his disciples, and in them all other ministers of his church, to do the like; if "certainty of his meaning," the apostles, endued with the Holy Ghost, so practised the same, and understood he meant so; if "continuance of time," he bade the same to be continued until he come again. If neither the words, nor example, nor commandment of Christ, nor the understanding and practice of the apostles, can warrant us Christ's institution, alas what warrant then have they, that, being utterly void of all these things, only stay themselves, as it is confessed by the

Steph. Gard.
 in the Devil's
 Sophistry.
 [fol. 139,
 140.]

best of that side, by the simple devotion of the people? When Christ had delivered both kinds unto his disciples, he said unto them, "This do ye," the same that ye see I

have done. But where did Christ ever say, Minister unto yourselves one way, and another way unto the people; or, Receive ye in both kinds, and let all the rest receive in one?

Although these things be plain and evident of themselves, yet, that the folly of these men may the better appear, it shall be good to hear the report of one of their own doctors touching these matters. One Gerardus Lorichius, Gerardus Lorichius in 7. parte Canonis. in a book that he wrote, *De Missa publica proroganda*, hath these words: *Sunt pseudocatholici, qui reformationem ecclesiæ quoquo modo remorari non verentur. Hi, ne laicis altera species restituatur, nullis parcunt blasphemis. Dicunt enim, Christum solis apostolis dixisse, Bibite ex eo omnes. Atqui verba canonis habent, Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes. Hic dicant, oro, num et hoc ad solos dictum sit apostolos. Ergo laicis et a specie panis est abstinendum: quod dicere est hæresis, et blasphemia pestilens, et execrabilis: consequitur ergo, utrunque verbum dictum esse ad omnem ecclesiam:* “They be false catholics,” saith this man, “that are not ashamed by all means to hinder the reformation of the church. They, to the intent the other kind of the sacrament may not be restored unto the lay people, spare no kind of blasphemies. For they say, that Christ said only unto his apostles, ‘Drink ye all of this.’ But the words of the canon” (of the mass) “be these: ‘Take and eat ye all of this.’ Here, I beseech them, let them tell me, whether they will have these words also only to pertain unto the apostles. Then must the lay people abstain from the other kind of the bread also. Which thing to say, is an heresy, and a pestilent, and a detestable blasphemy. Wherefore it followeth, that each of these words was spoken unto the whole church.” Thus far Lorichius, an earnest defender of transubstantiation, of the pope’s supremacy, and of private mass: lest M. Harding should say, he were one of Luther’s scholars, and so except against him, as being a party. And Julius, sometime bishop of Rome, hearing of certain that used to dip the bread in the wine, and so to deliver it to the people, had no way to reform them, but only by Christ’s institution. For thus

De Con. dist.
2. Cum omne.

he saith: *Quod pro complemento communionis, intinctam tradunt eucharistiam populis, nec hoc prolatum ex evangelio testimonium receperunt*: "Whereas for accomplishment of the communion, they dip the sacrament and deliver it unto the people, they have not received this witness of the gospel." He addeth further: *Seorsum enim panis, et seorsum calicis, commendatio memoratur*: "For the delivery of the bread and the delivery of the cup are mentioned asunder." And thus he speaketh of the ministration of the sacrament, that is due not only to the priests, but also to the people.

"The learned men of Bohemia saw they could have no hold of Christ's institution, and therefore to maintain their newfangled attempt," as it pleaseth M. Harding to term it, "they were fain to take the words of Christ out of the sixth chapter of John: 'Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall have no life in you.'" But "these words in the sixth chapter of St. John," saith M. Harding, "our new masters will have expounded of the spiritual, not of the sacramental eating." Of the Bohemians, I cannot see why they should be called newfangled. Their request was none other, but that they might continue the order of the primitive church, which Thomas of Aquine saith had continued in divers churches from the apostles until his time, for the space of a thousand and three hundred years, without controlment⁶⁰. And it may ill become a Christian man, and a scholar of the apostolic see, to call the doing of Christ, and of his disciples, "newfangled." Touching their reasons made in this behalf, I need not to speak. God's name be blessed, they have prevailed with the best learned of the world. Whatsoever their premises seem to M. Harding, their conclusion was this, that no mortal creature should presume to disallow the ordinance of the immortal God.

Part. 3. qu.
80. art. 12.

⁶⁰ [Aquinas, after stating the arguments in favour of the necessity of receiving under both kinds, proceeds to *conclude* against it, "*sed contra est multarum ecclesiarum usus, in quibus populo*

"*communicanti datur corpus Christi sumendum, non autem sanguis.*" Jewel's statement therefore appears to be an *inference* from the words of Aquinas.]

“But our new masters,” saith M. Harding, “must needs have these words of St. John expounded of the spiritual eating.” If it be either the violence of nature, or the manner of his catholic doctrine, that driveth M. Harding thus to taunt, he must be borne withal; notwithstanding it agreeth not with his promise. As touching the understanding of the words of Christ in the sixth of St. John, they are not all new masters, that have so taken them. For, to leave St. Augustine, Origen, and others of that age, Nicolaus Lyra, a man of latter years, saith, the said words of Christ must needs be taken spiritually, and none otherwise. Thus he saith: *Ista intelligi debent de manducatione et potatione spirituali. Quia sequitur, Qui manducat meam carnem, et bibit meum sanguinem, in me manet, et ego in eo. Quod B. Augustinus exponens ait: Hoc est manducare illam escam, et bibere illum potum, in Christo manere, et Christum manentem in se habere: quod nihil aliud est, quam esse in charitate Christi:* “These words must be taken of the spiritual eating and drinking. For it followeth: ‘He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.’ Which thing St. Augustine expounding, saith thus: ‘This is the eating of that food, and the drinking of that drink, for a man to dwell in Christ, and to have Christ in him dwelling;’ which thing is nothing else, but to be in the love of Christ.” Here we see, that Nicolas Lyra, a man that lived two hundred years ago, and therefore no very “new master,” expoundeth these words of the spiritual eating.

Nicol. Lyra
in Psalm. cxi.
[al. Psalm.
cx. tom. iii.
1300.]

Yet M. Harding saith, “The same place may be taken also of the sacramental eating.” But Lyra thinketh no, and therefore addeth further: *Hoc verbum nihil directe pertinet ad sacramentalem vel corporalem manducationem. Nam hoc verbum fuit dictum diu, antequam sacramentum eucharisticæ esset institutum. Ex illa igitur litera, de sacramentali communionem non potest fieri argumentum efficax:* “These words pertain not directly unto the sacramental or corporal eating. For it was spoken long before the sacrament was ordained. Therefore out of this letter, there

Nicol. Lyra
in Psalm. cxi.
[ibid.]

cannot be made any good argument for the sacramental communion.”

Likewise one Michael Væhe, one of late years, a man of M. Harding's own side, touching the same matter, writeth thus : *Infirmum est argumentum : quæ enim de spirituali manducatione dicta sunt, ille ad sacramentalem torquet* : “ This,” saith he, “ is but a weak reason : for the words, that be spoken of spiritual eating, he applieth to the sacramental eating.” Here may M. Harding see, besides St. Augustine, Origen, and other old catholic fathers, whose words I have not alleged, what men he hath called “ new masters.” Nicolas Lyra was an Englishman⁶¹, and lived two hundred years before Luther. Michael Væhe was of late years, and wrote namely against Luther⁶². Verily if Christ and his apostles were now conversant in the world, unless they would forsake their own doctrine, they should be called “ new masters” too, as well as others.

Michael Væhe tract. 5. contra Lutherum.

And notwithstanding these words in the sixth chapter of St. John be spoken and taken of the spiritual eating, as it is already proved, yet are they oftentimes by the old fathers applied unto the sacrament : but undirectly, as it is above noted by Lyra. To allege the places, specially being so many, and not unknown unto the learned, it would be tedious. Christ's being at Emmaus, and the disciples breaking of bread at Jerusalem, because it hath pleased M. Harding to bring them twice, shall be afterward answered in their places.

The reasons, that M. Harding hath here gathered, be these : “ In the sixth chapter of St. John there is no mention made of the cup or wine ; *ergo*, the people may receive under one kind.” This reason is very weak ; for he may as well conclude of the same words ; *ergo*, the priest may

⁶¹ [Cave in the Append. of vol. i. says that Nicolaus de Lyra, (Doctor planus et utilis,) was born at Lyre in Normandy, and not in England, as Bale, &c. had asserted. His writings were so little in accordance with Romish errors, that

it was said of him, “ Si Lyra non lyrasset, Lutherus non saltasset.” Watkins Biog. Dict.]

⁶² [The editor has not succeeded in discovering any notice of this author, or even his name, in any of the usual writers.]

receive under one kind : which he himself saith is gainst Christ's institution. He might far better have concluded the contrary. The lay people being faithful and godly, by faith, and in their hearts do indeed and verily drink the blood of Christ. Therefore they may drink the sacrament of the same. And as Eckius a doctor of that side saith: "The people drinketh in the person of the priest." Therefore, they may drink in their own person, as well and without danger.

Eckius, in
Locis com-
munibus.
[art. 10.]

Another reason is this : It doth not appear that Christ ever ministered in both kinds, but only to his disciples ; *ergo*, the people may receive in one kind. I marvel what luck M. Harding hath to such conclusions. For what necessary sequel can there be, either from the apostles to the people, or from both kinds to one kind, or from an affirmative to a negative ? The sum of the reason standeth thus : The apostles are commanded to receive both kinds ; *ergo*, the people is not commanded to receive both kinds. The weakness whereof is evident and sheweth itself. It will much rather and better follow thus : The people is commanded to receive as the apostles received, for there is expressed no difference. The apostles received in both kinds : *ergo*, the people is commanded to receive in both kinds. And thus, notwithstanding it be here stoutly avouched that we have neither example nor institution, yet I trust it doth well appear, that we have both the example of Christ that ministered the sacrament in both kinds, and also Christ's institution, that bade his disciples to do the same.

M. HARDING : *Fifth Division.*

Thus our adversaries have nothing to bring out of the scriptures against the use of the catholic church, in ministering the communion under one kind. And yet they cease not crying out upon the breach of Christ's express commandment. And M. Jewel, for his part, in his first answer to D. Cole, saith, that the council of Constance pronounced openly against Christ himself⁶³. But forasmuch as they are so hot in this point, I will send them to Martin Luther himself, their patriarch, that either by his so-

⁶³ [Vid. p. 103.]

briety in this matter they may be somewhat colded, or by his and his scholars' inconstancy herein be brought to be ashamed of themselves. Though the places be well known, as oftentimes cited of the catholic writers of our time, against the gospellers, yet here I think good to rehearse them, that the unlearned may see how themselves make not so great a matter of this article, as some seem to bear the people in hand it is. Luther writeth to them of Bohemia these very words: *Quoniam pulchrum quidem esset, utraque specie eucharistiæ uti, et Christus hac in re nihil tanquam necessarium præcepit; præstaret pacem et unitatem, quam Christus ubique præcepit, sectari, quam de speciebus sacramenti contendere:* "Whereas it were a fair thing," saith he, "to use both kinds of the sacrament, yet for that Christ herein hath commanded nothing as necessary, it were better to keep peace and unity, which Christ hath every where charged us withal, than to strive for the outward kinds of the sacrament." Again his words be these, in a declaration that he wrote of the sacrament: *Non dixi, neque consului, neque est intentio mea, ut unus aut aliquot episcopi, propria autoritate alicui incipiant utramque speciem porrigere, nisi ita constitueretur et mandaretur in concilio generali:* "Neither have I said, nor counselled, nor my mind is, that any one, or mo bishops, begin by their own authority to give both kinds (of the sacrament) to any person, unless it were so ordained and commanded in a general council."

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

It grieveth M. Harding that we should say, the council of Constance decreed against Christ himself; and therefore he sendeth us to Luther himself, that, seeing his inconstancy, we may be ashamed of ourselves. And thus, with one poor syllable, he thought it good merrily to refresh himself; and yet, touching inconstancy, wherein he so triumpheth against D. Luther, he seemeth utterly to have forgotten himself. For it is known to the world, that D. Luther, in all his life, never changed but once, and that from manifest error to the open confessed truth. But M. Harding, upon how good occasions I will not say, hath changed his doctrine and whole faith, twice within the space of two years. And so much would I not now have touched, saving only to put him in remembrance of himself.

That the determination of the council of Constance was against Christ, besides Gerardus Lorichius, a doctor of M. Harding's own school, who affirmeth it in vehement words, what can there be so plain, as that St. Paul writeth

unto the Corinthians? "That I received of the Lord, the same have I delivered unto you." After he mentioneth each kind apart, and sheweth, that, as Christ took the bread, so he also took the cup; and that the apostles received both at Christ's hands, not only for themselves, but also to the use and behoof of the people. Therefore whereas M. Harding crieth so often against us, that the delivery of the cup unto the people is no part of Christ's institution, if he had considered these things well, or had conferred herein with the old catholic fathers, he would have better advised himself. For instead of many, for shortness sake, to allege but one, St. Cyprian's words in this matter be very plain: ... *Quidam vel ignoranter, vel simpliciter, in calice Dominico sanctificando, et plebi ministrando, non hoc faciunt, quod Jesus Christus Dominus et Deus noster, sacrificii hujus author et doctor, fecit et docuit...*: "Some there be, that in sanctifying the cup, and delivering it unto the people, do not that thing that Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, the author and teacher of this sacrifice, both did and taught." And addeth further: "If any man be in this error, seeing the light of the truth, let him return again unto the root, and unto the original of the Lord's tradition." And after in the same epistle: "We keep not the thing that is commanded us, unless we do the same that the Lord did." In these few words St. Cyprian saith, "the Lord both did it and taught it to be done;" he calleth it "the Lord's tradition;" he calleth it, "the Lord's commandment." And here cannot M. Harding steal away in the mist, and say, St. Cyprian meant all this of the cup that the priest consecrateth for himself. For his very words be plain to the contrary: *In calice Dominico sanctificando, et plebi ministrando*: that is, "In sanctifying the Lord's cup, and ministering it unto the people." And if St. Cyprian might well write thus against the heretics called *aquarii*, which in the holy ministration would use no wine, but instead thereof did consecrate water, and ministered it unto the people, much more may we say the same against our adversaries, which consecrate and minister unto the people no cup at all. Wherefore at

1 Cor. xi. 23.

Cyprian. lib.
2. Epist. 3.
[ad Cæcil.
p. 104.]ad originem
Traditionis
Dominicæ.Quod man-
datum est.
[ib. p. 107.]

[Cyprian.
ibid. p. 110.]

the end of the same epistle he concludeth with these words :
 “ Not to do that thing that the Lord did, what is it else
 than to cast off his word, and to despise his discipline, and
 to commit not worldly, but spiritual, robbery and adultery,
 while as a man, from the truth of the gospel, stealeth away
 both the sayings and doings of the Lord, and corrupteth
 and defileth God’s commandments ? So is it written in the
 prophet Jeremy : ‘ What is chaff in comparison of corn ?
 Therefore will I upon these prophets, saith the Lord, that
 steal my words each one of them from his neighbour, and
 deceive my people in their lies, and in their errors.’ ”

[Jerem. xxiii.
[28. 30.]

The words, that Luther wrote to them of Bohemia, and
 the others here reported, were written by him before God
 had appointed him to publish the gospel ; and therefore
 are no more to be alleged against him for that he wrote
 afterward, as note of inconstancy, than M. Harding’s ser-
 mons, preached openly in the time of king Edward, are to
 be alleged against that he writeth now.

M. HARDING : *Sixth Division.*

The 51st un-
 truth, joined
 with a slan-
 der. Never
 man spake
 more reve-
 rently of the
 oblation of
 Christ upon
 the cross.

Thus he wrote, before he had conceived perfect hatred against
 the church. But after that he had been better acquainted with
 the devil, and of him, appearing unto him sensibly, had been in-
 structed with arguments against the sacrifice of the mass, (51) that
 the memory of our redemption by Christ wrought on the cross
 might utterly be abolished, he wrote hereof far otherwise : *Si
 quo casu concilium statueret, minime omnium nos vellemus utraque
 specie potiri : imo tunc primum, in despectum concilii, vellemus
 aut una, aut neutra, et nequaquam utraque potiri, et eos plane
 anathema habere, quicumque talis concilii autoritate potirentur
 utraque* : “ If in any case the council would so ordain, we would
 in no wise have both the kinds : but even then, in despite of the
 council, we would have one kind, or neither of them, and in no
 wise both ; and hold them for accursed, whosoever by authority
 of such a council would have both.” These words declare what
 spirit Luther was of. They shew him like himself. Whosoever
 readeth his books with indifferent judgment, shall find, that
 sithence the apostles’ time never wrote man so arrogantly, ne so
 despitefully against the church, nor so contrarily to himself. Which
 marks be so evident, that whosoever will not see them, but suffer-
 eth himself to be carried away into error, hatred of the church,
 and contempt of all godliness, either by him, or by his scholars,
 except he repent and return, he is guilty of his own damnation,

utterly overthrown, and sinneth inexcusably, as one condemned by his own judgment. But for excuse hereof, in his book of the Captivity of Babylon, he confesseth that he wrote thus, not for that he thought so, nor for that he judged the use of one kind unlawful, but because he was stirred by hatred and anger so to do. His words do sound so much plainly: *Provocatus, imo per vim raptus*: "I wrote this," saith he, "otherwise than I thought in my heart, provoked, and by violence pulled to it, whether I would or no." Here I doubt not, but wise men will regard more that Luther wrote when his mind was quiet and calm, than when it was enraged with blustering storms of naughty affections.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

There is nothing so easy as to speak ill. There was nothing further off from Luther's mind, than, upon any determination of any council, to minister the sacrament under one kind, and so to break Christ's institution into halves. But he thought it not meet, that God's truth immortal should hang of the authority of a mortal man, and stand for true no further than it should please a man to allow of it. Notwithstanding, such interest and authority the pope hath claimed to himself, forcing the world to believe, as he himself writeth, "That he hath all right and law in the closet of his breast." And one Sylvester Prierias, governor of pope Leo's palace, was not ashamed nor afraid to write these words: ...*A doctrina Romanæ ecclesiæ, et Romani pontificis, sacra scriptura robur et auctoritatem trahit...*: "The holy scripture taketh strength and authority of the church and bishop of Rome." This was the thing, that D. Luther misliked, and thought intolerable. And therefore he said he would have God's word received, only because it is God's word, and spoken by him; not because it is authorized by a council; and, if the council would allow the ministration in one kind, then, he said, he would use both because Christ in his institution appointed both. But if the bishops in the council would agree upon both kinds, as a matter standing wholly in their pleasures, as though they had full power to control or to ratify the will of God, then, he said, he would have no regard unto the authority of such a council, that setteth itself above

In 6. de
Const. Licet
Roman.

Sylvester Prierias, Magister Palatii. (Dial. contr. M. Luther. sub init. Fund. 3.)

God, but rather would use one kind only, or none at all. For this cause M. Harding reproveth D. Luther so bitterly, and calleth him arrogant, because he would not have God's will subject to the will of man.

Acts xvi. [3.] Yet it appeareth, that St. Paul in the like case did the like. For, notwithstanding he had circumcised Timothy, yet when he saw certain come in that would needs force the same upon Titus also, and so make it necessary, he withstood them stoutly, and would not yield. Thus he writeth: "Neither was Titus, that then was with me, compelled to be circumcised, for the coming in of certain false brethren, which came upon us to try out our liberty, that we have in Christ Jesus, to the intent to bring us into bondage. Unto whom we gave no place by yielding, no not for any time, that the truth of the gospel might remain among you."

Euseb. lib. 2. cap. 2. [1. 47.] Eusebius in his story saith, there was an old law in Rome, that no emperor should consecrate a god, unless the same god had been first allowed by the council. Tiberius being emperor, when he heard of the wonderful works that were wrought by Christ in Jewry, thought therefore he was a god, and promoted a bill unto the council, that Christ might be proclaimed, and taken for a god. But the council was otherwise bent, and would allow him for no God. Tertullian laugheth at their folly.

Tertull. in Apologetico. [c. 5. p. 6.] His words be these: *Apud vos de humano arbitrio divinitas pensitatur. Nisi homini Deus placuerit, non erit Deus. Homo jam Deo propitius esse debet*: "Amongst you the divinity and state of God is weighed by man's judgment. Unless God please man, God (amongst you) shall be no God. Now therefore man must be good and favourable unto his God." The like folly seemeth to be in them, that think God's truth is no truth, unless the consent of a council allow it to be truth. To this same purpose Luther wrote a book unto the knights of the order of Russia [Prussia], after they had obtained from the pope a dispensation to marry, notwithstanding their vow. He chargeth them, "that in any wise they marry not by warrant of that dispensation, otherwise," he saith, "they offend God, and

be worse than adulterers, as having more regard unto man, than unto God : and having God's own dispensation, as if it were not sufficient, would seek further for the dispensation of a man⁶⁴."

Luther wrote not this in the despite of any godly council, no more than the prophet Esay, when he said : *Inite concilium, et dissipabitur* : "Go, gather your council, and it shall be broken." But he could not suffer to see God's glory so defaced, that a company of men should presume to allow or disallow his truth, as if it were not true in itself, but must fall or stand only at their pleasure.

The rest, that followeth, is nothing else but unseemly slander. But God be blessed, that hath delivered that godly man from lying tongues.

But Luther, saith M. Harding, was contrary unto himself. Even so Marcion the heretic charged St. Paul, that he spake against the ceremonies, and yet himself shaved his head at Cenchreæ, and observed the ceremonies ; that he would not circumcise Titus, and yet had circumcised Timotheus ; that he would sometime defend the law, and sometime reprove the law ; and so was evermore contrary to himself. And he, that had M. Harding's spirit, perhaps would no more doubt to find fault with St. Paul for inconsistency, than with Luther. If Luther were ever contrary to himself, yet might no man worse charge him in that behalf than M. Harding. But Luther evermore followed God's calling, and never returned back unto his vomit, neither fought against his own conscience, nor against the manifest known truth. And therefore, although he were contrary unto himself, as passing from error unto truth, yet was he not contrary unto God.

M. HARDING : *Seventh Division.*

Now to put this matter, that Luther judged it a thing indifferent, whether one receive the sacrament under one kind or both, more out of doubt, Philip Melancthon, his scholar, and nearest of his council, writeth : *Sicut edere suillam, aut abstinere a suilla,*

⁶⁴ [This letter of Luther's will be found in Walch's edit. of his works in German, see vol. xix. 2164, 2165. The editor has not discovered it in the Latin editions.]

sic alterutra signi parte uti medium esse: "That as it is a thing indifferent to eat swine's flesh, or to forbear swine's flesh, so it is also to use which part of the sign a man listeth." By the word "sign," he meaneth the sacrament, liking better that strange word than the accustomed word of the church, lest he might perhaps be thought of the brethren of his sect in somewhat to join with the catholics.

Bucer also is of the same opinion, who in the conference that was had between the catholics and protestants, for agreement in controversies of religion at Ratisbon, confirmed and allowed this article by his full consent, with these words: *Ad controversiam, quæ est de una aut utraque specie, tollendam, cum primis conducturum, ut sancta ecclesia liberam faceret potestatem, sacramentum hoc in una, vel in utraque specie sumendi. Ea tamen lege, ut nulli per hoc detur occasio, quem usum tantopere retinuit ecclesia, temere condemnandi, aut invicem judicandi*: "That the controversy for the one or both kinds may be taken away, it shall be very well done, that holy church made it free, to receive this sacrament in one or both kinds: yet under such condition, as hereby no occasion be given to any body, rashly to condemn the use which the church hath so long time kept, nor to judge another⁶⁵." Soothly he which would have it free, and at liberty, to receive the sacrament under one or both kinds, and holdeth opinion, that the old custom of the one kind only is not to be condemned, seemeth plainly enough to confess, that nothing hath been instituted or commanded of Christ, touching this matter, as necessary to salvation.

Thus we may see plainly, that they which have divided themselves from the mystical body of Christ, that is, his church, who were of greatest learning and judgment, make it a matter indifferent (as it is indeed of itself left to the liberty of the church) whether the sacrament be ministered under one kind, or both. And thus much hath been confessed against M. Jewel and his sect, not only by the learned adversaries of the church in our time, but also by a learned man of Bohemia, above sixscore years past. His name is John Przyxsam, of whose writings some are set forth in print. This learned man, whereas he endeavoured to prove the use of both kinds of the words of Christ written by St. John, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall not have life in you," at length uttereth these words according to the eloquence of his time: *Veruntamen hic Deum timens, et mores impios aliorum præcavens, fateor, quod quaslibet personas de ecclesia communioni fidelium sub utraque specie repugnantes, damnare aut hæreticare non in-*

In lib. de Profession. Fidei Catholicae, cap. 19.

⁶⁵ [A compromise, nearly in these terms, was suggested in the "liber propositus ad compositionem religionis," offered by the emperor at Ratisbon—Acta Colloquii Ratispon. per Buceram, Argentor. 1542; but it does not appear to have received the full assent of the protestants. See Sleidan, Reform. book 14.]

tendo: "But here having the fear of God before mine eyes, and being well ware I follow not the wicked conditions of others, I grant, that what persons soever of the church repine against the communion of the faithful people under both kinds, I intend not to condemn them, nor to hold them for heretics." But if it be the commandment of God, that the sacrament be received of all under both kinds, why should he be forbidden by the fear of God, to condemn those that withstand that order of communion, seeing that whosoever goeth against God's commandment is worthy to be condemned? Therefore by his testimony the use of one or both kinds is indifferent.

Thus we are able to allege Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, and that learned Bohemian, for the indifferency of the communion, to be ministered either under one kind or both: whereby I mean not, that the use of the sacrament is so left to every man's liberty, as he that listeth may require both kinds, and another may content himself with one kind. Not so. Every man is bound to follow the order of the church: but the church is not bound of necessity, by God's commandment, to minister it under both kinds to the laity.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

To prove that the half communion is a thing indifferent, he bringeth forth the authority of Melancthon, Bucer, and a certain learned man of Bohemia, some of them falsely alleged, and some without any allegation at all. Neither doth he bring them to the intent to take them for his authors, and to follow them: for they neither in their books, nor in the order of their churches, ever consented to the breach of Christ's institution. But herein he bewrayeth his want of old doctors; for, having the authority of them, he would never have alleged any of these.

In Melancthon he misliketh much the manner of his speech, in that he calleth the sacrament a sign, "which word," as he saith, "is strange, and not the accustomed word of the church." Saving that he seeketh occasions and quarrels without cause, as his wont is, otherwise he knoweth, that a sacrament hath been called a sign, in all times and ages of the church.

Petrus Lombardus thus defineth a sacrament: *Sacramentum est sacræ rei signum*: "A sacrament is the sign of a holy thing." And as it is thought, the very substance and nature of a thing cannot be better known, than by the

Aug. de Doctrina Christiana, lib. 3. cap. 6.

definition. St. Augustine saith : *Signa, cum ad res divinas adhibentur, sacramenta vocantur* : “ Signs, when they be applied to godly things, be called sacraments.” And again, writing of the difference that is between the sacraments of

In Johan. tract. 45. [iii. pt. 2. 598.]

the old law, and of the new, he saith thus : *In signis diversis, eadem fides* : “ The signs being divers, the faith is

August. contra Adimantum, cap. 12. [viii. 124.]

one.” And writing against one Adimantus, he saith : *Non dubitavit Dominus dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis sui* : “ The Lord doubted not to say, ‘ This is my body,’ when he gave the sign of his body.” Like-

Chrysost. in Matt. homil. 83. [vii. 783.]

wise saith Chrysostom : *Si mortuus Jesus non est, cujus symbolum ac signum hoc sacrificium est ?* “ If Jesus died not, whose token and whose sign is this sacrifice ?” And lest any man should be deceived in the meaning of this word “ sign,” St. Augustine himself hath expounded it

Aug. de Doctrina Christiana, lib. 2. [iii. 19.] De Con. dist. 2. Signum est.

thus : *Signum est res, præter speciem, quam ingerit sensibus, aliud quiddam faciens ex se in cognitionem [al. cogitationem] venire* : “ A sign is a thing, that, besides the sight itself which it offereth unto the senses, causeth of itself some other certain thing to come into knowledge.” Hereby it may appear, that this word “ sign” is not so strange as M. Harding would have it seem, nor so unaccustomed unto the church. Although it mislike him, that we should do as the old fathers did, yet he might give us leave to use such words and phrases as the old fathers used.

“ But,” saith he, “ Melancthon and Bucer accounted it a thing indifferent.” Indeed these godly learned men, when they saw, that through the malice of their adversaries they could not obtain, that Christ’s institution might universally be received, yet they desired at the least, it might be left free, without restraint, for every church to do therein as they should think good, and that without murmur, or offence of others. And thus far forth their desire was, it might be judged free ; not that they thought Christ had not ordained the sacrament to be ministered unto the people in both kinds, or that in itself it is indifferent, but that the faithful of God might indifferently and freely use it, without controlment, and that it should not be judged heresy, to do as Christ hath commanded.

So the godly fathers at the beginning, when they could not persuade the princes of the world, with their people, to receive the gospel, yet they thought they were gainers, and gave God thanks, when they might have place and liberty for themselves, freely and with quiet conscience to meet together, and to preach the gospel.

This liberty M. Harding cannot like withal. He would have it free for the whole church to determine of it ; but not for every church particular. This is a shift to deceive the ignorant. For he knoweth well, that all other churches throughout the world, from the first planting of the gospel until this day, do still minister the holy communion in both kinds, as Christ commanded ; and that Christ's institution was never openly and by consent broken, but only in the church of Rome : which church also is not universal, but mere particular ; and that the same breach, in the same church of Rome, sprang not of any consent of bishops, or other learned men, but, as it is proved before, only of the simple devotion of the people. And doth M. Harding think the people may safely break Christ's institution, without any general council, and may not safely return again to the same, without a general council ? Verily there needeth no council, whereas nothing is done by council.

Touching the indifferency of this matter, whereupon M. Harding hath built this whole treaty, and in what sort the breach of Christ's institution may seem a thing indifferent, I know no better answer, than that is already made by St. Cyprian, who in the like case maketh answer thus : *Si quis de antecessoribus meis...non hoc observavit et tenuit, quod nos Dominus [facere] exemplo et magisterio suo docuit, potest simplicitati ejus de indulgentia Domini venia concedi : nobis vero non poterit ignosci, qui nunc a Domino admoniti et instructi sumus, &c. :* " If any of my predecessors have not followed and kept that thing which the Lord, by his example and commandment, hath taught us, he for his simplicity may be pardoned : but (if we wilfully offend) there is no pardon for us, that are already warned and instructed of the Lord..... We give God thanks, that whiles

Cyprian. lib.
2. epist. 3.
[ad Cæcili-
um, p. 109.]

[p. 110.]

he instructeth us what we shall do for the time to come, he

forgiveth us that is past, because we have erred of simplicity⁶⁶." Thus far forth the breach of God's ordinance may be borne withal, by the judgment of St. Cyprian. But he addeth further : *Post inspirationem vero, et revelationem factam, qui in eo quod erraverat, perseverat, prudens et sciens, sine venia ignorantiae peccat, præsumptione atque obstinatione superatus* : " After that God hath once opened and revealed (his truth), whoso continueth still in his error, willingly and wittingly offendeth, without hope of pardon, as being overcome with presumption and wilfulness⁶⁷."

Cypr. ad Ju-
balianum, de
Hæreticis
Baptizandis.
[p. 133.]

M. HARDING : *Eighth Division.*

And whereas it was ministered in both kinds at Corinth, as it appeareth by St. Paul, and in sundry other places, as we find most evidently in the writings of divers ancient fathers, yet the church hath been moved by divers and weighty causes, to take order, that the people should receive their communion under one kind, not only in the council of Basil, but also in that of Constance, and long before them, above a thousand years, in (52) the first council of Ephesus, as many do probably gather, and namely, Urbanus Regius, a doctor of Luther's school, confesseth in his book *De Locis Communibus*. One cause, and not the least, was, that thereby the heresy of Nestorius might the rather be extinguished, who, amongst other errors, held opinion, (53) that under the form of bread in the sacrament, is contained the body of Christ, without his blood ; and under the form of the wine, his blood only, without his body. Many other causes moved those fathers to take that order, for the avoiding of many inconveniences dangers and offences, which might happen in the use of the cup, as unreverence of so high a sacrament, whereof Christian people at the beginning had a marvellous care and regard : the loathsomeness of many that cannot brook the taste of wine : the difficulty of getting, and impossibility of keeping, wine from corruption, in countries situated near to the North Pole, in that clime, where is known to be great extremity of cold, beside a number of the like. So that it had been besides reason, to have bound all to the necessity of both kinds.

The 52nd un-
truth. For
there was no
such canon
touched, or
once moved
in that coun-
cil.

The 53rd un-
truth. For
Nestorius
never dream-
ed of any
such folly.
Weighty con-
siderations,
wherefore
Christ's in-
stitution
should be
broken.

⁶⁶ [The latter part of this quotation does not follow immediately, but is taken from p. 110. "Quare " si in lumine Christi ambulare " volumus, a præceptis et monitis " ejus non recedamus, agentes " gratias, quod, dum instruit in " futurum quid facere debeamus, " de præterito ignoscit quod sim- " pliciter erravimus."]

⁶⁷ [It will be perceived by the marginal reference, that this passage is from another of St. Cyprian's epistles ; Jewel's words would seem to imply, that it was also in the Epistle to Cæcilius. The sentence closes at "peccat," and then follows, "Præsumptione enim et " obstinatione quadam nititur, cum " ratione superetur."]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

He granteth that St. Paul at Corinth, and sundry other holy fathers, in their several churches, ministered the sacrament in both kinds. He might as well have said, all the apostles, and all the holy fathers, saving for hindering of his cause. "But the church afterward upon good causes," as it is here alleged, "took order to the contrary, and namely to confute the heretic Nestorius."

Here must thou mark, good Christian reader, the question is, WHETHER M. HARDING'S HALF COMMUNION WERE EVER MINISTERED OPENLY TO THE PEOPLE IN THE CHURCH, WITHIN THE SPACE OF SIX HUNDRED YEARS AFTER CHRIST? For proof hereof he allegeth, that this order was allowed in the councils of Constance and Basil, the former whereof was begun and holden in the year of our Lord a thousand Anno 1414. four hundred and fourteen, and the same neither general, nor ever generally received. And what force can he find herein to prove his purpose? "It is also probably gathered," saith M. Harding, "that the same order was taken a thousand years before, in the first council of Ephesus." Here he is driven utterly to leave his learning, and, as he commonly doth, only to hold by bare guess. But if this new device were brought in to confute the heretic Nestorius, why then took it place first in the councils of Constance and Basil, a thousand years after that Nestorius was dead, and his heresy quite forgotten? If it were so ordered in the council of Ephesus, why is there no act or mention thereof extant in that council, nor any learned man, within a thousand years after, to record the same?

"But Urbanus Regius, a doctor of Luther's school, confesseth it." First, Urbanus Regius departed this life not above twenty years ago; and therefore is a very young witness, to testify a thing done so long before. Besides this, the book of common places, that is abroad in his name, is nothing else but a heap of things gathered together by long reading, as the manner of students is, out of divers and sundry books, and that as well of the one side as of the other, only for help of memory, and increase

of knowledge. Neither was that book ever corrected or published by him, but only delivered to the printer, as it was, by his widow, after his death, as appeareth by Pomeranus, that dedicated that book to the prince of Mensburg. And therefore these collections do witness his diligence, but not his judgment. As touching that note concerning the council of Ephesus, it may be thought he had it out of Alardus, or Michael Væhe, or some other like writer of this age.

“Nestorius amongst other errors,” saith M. Harding, “held opinion, that, under the form of bread in the sacrament, is contained the body of Christ without his blood, and under the form of wine, the blood only without his body.” Why should this man thus delight himself to uphold one falsehood with another? First he saith, “The council of Ephesus decreed against both kinds.” This is untrue, and was never yet proved. Next, some cause must be devised, that should lead the fathers to that decree. Which, as it is here surmised, was this error of Nestorius. A cause, that never was, is good enough to prove the effect, that never was. Thus is M. Harding driven, not only to forge new doctors, and new decrees of councils, but also to imagine new heresies, such as were never heard of before; even in like sort, and to like purpose, as by some it is supposed, that Aristotle sometime imagined strange and monstrous opinions to be taught by Democritus, Parmenides, Melissus, and other old philosophers; not because they had ever taught or written so indeed, but to the end to find occasion of talk, and the better to set abroad his own learning. If it be true, that is surmised by Nestorius, then M. Harding’s whole defence standeth but upon an heresy; if it be untrue, as indeed it is, then it standeth upon an open falsehood; and so, whether it be true or false, it hath a very weak foundation.

As for Nestorius, it is known he was a wicked and a blasphemous heretic, and was worthily condemned by sundry holy fathers and councils. Philastrius, Epiphanius, and St. Augustine, have written namely of his errors; the council of Ephesus, the council of Chalcedon, Cœlestinus,

Gelasius, Leo, bishops of Rome, Cyrillus bishop of Alexandria, have ript up and condemned all the branches of his heresies. Yet none of them all ever charged Nestorius with this new heresy of M. Harding's making. If there had been in it any show of truth, M. Harding, as he is eloquent, would have laid out all the circumstances, when this strange error first began, where, and how long it continued, who wrote against it, and by whom and in what council it was condemned. Verily this great silence declareth some want. It must needs be a very strange heresy, that never had neither beginning, nor ending; nor defender, nor reprover; nor mouth to utter it; nor ear to hear it; nor pen to write it; nor time to last in; nor place to rest in. And, if all this had been true of Nestorius, yet had it been no reason, that, for any one man's private error, Christ's institution should be broken.

But, that the vain folly and manifest falsehood of these men may appear, understand, good reader, that whereas Nestorius dwelt, and his heresy took place, in those countries they have evermore kept Christ's institution in both kinds; but in these countries, whereas neither the name of Nestorius was ever heard of, but only unto a few, nor his heresy ever received, there have they made great provisoes against Nestorius, yea a thousand years after Nestorius was dead.

The rest of the causes, which he calleth so weighty, are scarcely worth any answer. "Some men do loathe wine: some people can hardly get, some can hardly keep wine: *ergo*, there must be made a law general, that the whole world shall communicate in one kind." If the conclusion had been, that such as have these impediments, or wants, might so communicate, it had been more tolerable. For, as it is well noted by Pomponius, "Laws must touch things that happen commonly, and, for the most part, not things that happen to few, or seldom." Otherwise the like reason may be made for the priests; Some priests, by mean of disease, can taste no wine: some in certain countries, can hardly get, some can hardly keep wine: therefore it were well provided, that all priests should minister under one kind. Certainly, whereas wine may be provided for

De Legib. et
Senatuscons.
et longa con-
suetudine.
ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖ-
στον.
ἐκ παραλό-
γου.
[tom. 1.]

the priest, there may also wine be provided for the people. For it were strange to hear, that a cart or a whole ship should come laden only with one bottle of wine into a country.

Cornel. A.
grippa de
van. scient.
[cap. 60.]
Volaterran.
[Geograph.
l. 7. p. 210.]

Some say, that the priests in Russia, for lack of wine, used to consecrate in metheglin; some other say, that Innocentius the Eighth, for the like want, dispensed with the priests of Norway, to consecrate without wine. It were no reason to bind the whole church to the necessity or imbecility of a few. For otherwise the same want and impossibility, that M. Harding hath here found for the one part of the sacrament, may be found also for the other. For Arrianus *de Rebus Indicis*, and Strabo in his Geography, have written, that there be whole nations and countries that have no bread. Therefore it should seem necessary by this conclusion, that, in consideration of them, the whole church should abstain from the other portion of the sacrament also, and so have no sacrament at all.

Arrianus lib.
8. [p. 344.
355.]
Strabo.

M. HARDING: *Ninth Division.*

Now in very deed, if we would grant our adversaries, which in no wise we do not grant, that it hath been commanded of Christ, the lay people should communicate under both kinds, by these words, "Drink ye all of this," yet, this notwithstanding, the exact straitness of God's ordinance may without sin in cases be omitted, in such things which be not necessarily to be observed of themselves, or of the prescript of the law of nature; so that great and weighty causes (the rule of charity exactly observed) require the same. For evident proof of this, we have examples both of the Old, and also of the New Testament. Did not God command, that none should eat of the shewbread, but the priests only? David ate thereof, and yet Christ cleareth him of all blame. The law of circumcision, so straitly commanded, was, for the space of forty years, by the people of Israel quite omitted, while they passed from Egypt to the Land of Promise, and God found no fault with them for it. God gave the law of keeping holy the sabbath day without exception. The Maccabees notwithstanding stuck not to arm themselves against Antiochus, and to spend that day in the field in their defence, having no scruple of conscience for breach of that law. Many of the like examples we find in the Old Testament. But let us come to the New Testament, and to the sacraments of the time of grace. In due consideration of which, we may find, that Christ hath scarcely commanded any outward thing, the moderation qualifying and ordering whereof he hath not left to his church, as, according to

Levit. xxiv. 9.

1 Sam. xxi. 6.

Mark ii. 26.

Gen. xvii. 13.

xxxiv. 14.

Exod. xx. 10.

1 Mac. ii. 41.

the condition of the time, it hath been seen most expedient for the common preferment, and edifying of the same: so that notwithstanding there be no swerving from the scope and principal intent, and no creature defrauded of that good, which by the outward things is to be attained.

Touching the sacrament of baptism, though nothing be said of the teaching of them that should be baptized, neither of the dipping of them into the water, which Christ's charge in this behalf given seemeth plainly to require, "Go you," saith he to his apostles, "and teach all nations, baptizing them," &c. and yet the church hath not feared to baptize infants, that be without capacity of teaching; and for the due administration of this sacrament, to many, hath thought pouring or sprinkling of water upon them sufficient. Though this be not spoken of, I say, it is much to be considered to this purpose, that the apostles sticked not for a time to alter and change the very essential form of words, with which Christ would this sacrament to be ministered. For, whereas he commanded them to baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, they baptized in the name of Jesus Christ (54) only, intending thereby to make that to be of more fame and celebrity. So to return to the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, whereof we treat, no man can deny, but many things were at the institution of it done by the example of Christ, and by him commanded, which now be not observed; and yet in that respect no fault is found.

The 54th untruth. A foul deprivation of the scriptures.

Christ washed the apostles' feet, and gave them an express commandment to do the same, with these most plain words: "If I that am your Master and Lord have washed your feet, you also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that, as I have done, you do so likewise;" which commandment of Christ, according to the outward letter, verily bindeth no less than these words, "Drink ye all of this;" yet this commandment is not kept, but clean grown out of use. Though it appear by St. Bernard, who calleth it *magnum sacramentum*, "a great sacrament," and long before, by report of St. Cyprian, that Christ did not only wash his apostles' feet, but commanded also by solemn request, and ordained, that the apostles afterward should do the same. Whether this ordinance of Christ hath been abolished, for that it should not be thought a rebaptization, as it may be gathered of St. Augustine, or for any other cause, it forceth not greatly. But this is much to be marvelled at, that this, so earnestly commanded, is so quietly and with such silence suffered undone, and, in the ministrations of the sacrament, the use of the cup so factiously and with so much crying out required. Neither in many other rites and ceremonies, we do not as Christ did. Christ celebrated this sacrament after that he had supped; we do it in the morning, and fasting. Christ sat at the table with his twelve apostles; neither sit we at a table, neither think we it necessary to observe such number. Christ brake the bread; we

Matt. xxviii.
19.

John xiii. 14.

Bernard. in
Serm. de
Coena Domi-
ni. [i. 898.]

† In Serm.
de Unctione
Chrismatis.
Ad Janua-
rium, cap 18.
[ii. 141.]

think it not necessary to break the host, that is to be delivered to the faithful participants. Here is to be noted, that St. Cyprian rebuking them, which thought sprinkling or pouring of water not to be sufficient for baptism, declareth, that the sacraments be not to be esteemed according to their extreme and rigorous observation or administration of all the extern elements, but rather according to the integrity and soundness of faith of the giver, and of the receiver; and that divine things, used in a compendious sort, confer, and give nevertheless to the right believers their whole virtue, lib. 4. epist. 7. Many other commandments of God concerning outward things might here be rehearsed; which notwithstanding by little and little in the church have been omitted, as the forbearing of strangled things and blood, which was commanded by God in the Old Testament, and, according to the pleasure and advice of the Holy Ghost, decreed by the apostles in the New Testament. Yet, forasmuch as concerneth outward things, both this and many other the like have in process of time grown out of observation, and have without any scruple of conscience been abrogated. [Cyprian, p. 156.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

The best stay that these men can lay hold upon, is to deny Christ's institution. And therefore M. Harding saith here, "In no wise we do not grant it;" which is an argument of good courage, but of small proof. But he addeth further: "If it were Christ's institution, yet notwithstanding by the authority of the church, and upon good consideration, it might be broken." His reasons be these: In the Old Testament, David did eat the shewbread, notwithstanding it were forbidden; the people in the wilderness ceased from circumcision, notwithstanding it were commanded; the Maccabees fought and defended themselves upon the sabbath day, notwithstanding God had appointed that day to rest. In the New Testament, we baptize infants, that can receive no teaching, and sometime we think it sufficient to sprinkle them or to pour them over; and the apostles, contrary to Christ's institution, baptized in the name of Jesus "only." If M. Harding could have brought any such example or authority as was required, such poor helps should not have needed. For these allegations are partly true, partly false; partly not agreeable to that we have in hand, neither in place, nor in time, nor in

the end, nor in the manner of doing, nor in other circumstances; and therefore make little to this purpose.

“David took of the shewbread:” but he was forced thereto by extremity of famine; neither did he ever decree, that it should be lawful for all others to do the like.

“The people ceased from circumcision in the wilderness:” but they had God’s special dispensation so to do, as it is noted by Lyra, for that they were in continual travel from place to place, and people being newly circumcised could abide no labour; yet made they no law, that circumcision should quite be abolished.

The Maccabees might lawfully defend themselves upon the sabbath day. For, as Christ expoundeth the law, “Man is not made for the sabbath, but the sabbath is made for man.” And therefore the Jews did ill, that being besieged upon the sabbath day, as Dion saith, stood still, and yielded themselves unto their enemies. Yet did not the Maccabees proclaim, that it should be lawful upon the sabbath to go to the field.

Touching baptism, first we teach the fathers, and afterward we baptize them and their children; and this is no breach of Christ’s commandment. For, after we be once become God’s people, God hath promised, “That he will be our God, and the God of our children;” and by the prophet Ezekiel he saith, “Your children be my children.” They, that sprinkled them that they baptized, used both the word and also the element or kind of water, that was commanded; neither doth it appear, that Christ gave any commandment of dipping the party into the water. But these men take quite away from the people, both the element and kind of wine, and also the words of consecration.

Last of all, in that he saith, “The apostles, contrary to the institution, baptized in the name of Christ ‘only,’” beside the mere sophistication of the matter, he also falsifieth the words, putting that behind, that St. Luke set before.

And that thou mayest the better perceive the fraud, I must do thee, Christian reader, to understand, that, in the time of the apostles, some that were baptized received the Holy

1 Sam. xxi. 6

Josh. v. 5.

1 Mac. ii. 41.

Matt. xii. 8.
[Mark ii. 27.]Dion. [Hist.
Rom. lib. 49.]Ezek. xvi.
20, 21.M. Harding
falsifieth the
words of
St. Luke.

Ghost in sensible signs, and were able immediately, some to speak sundry tongues, some to work other miracles. Some others received no such miracle, but baptism only ;

Acts viii. 15, 16. as they of Samaria, that were baptized by Philip. Therefore, saith St. Luke, Peter and John “prayed for them, that they also might receive the Holy Ghost” in visible signs, as well as others. “For the Holy Ghost, until that time, was come upon none of them, but only they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus ;” by this word “only,” excluding nothing else, but the outward miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost.

Only.

But M. Harding transposeth and shifteth St. Luke’s words at his pleasure, and placeth this word “only” in the end, and thereby excludeth the essential form of baptism, as if they had been baptized in the name of Christ only, and so not in the name of the Father, and of the Holy Ghost. This error must needs hold by the canvassing of the scriptures.

To baptize “in the name of Christ,” is to baptize according to the order, institution, and commandment of Christ. Neither do these words, “in the name of Christ,” import that baptism was ministered in the name of Christ only, and in none other name beside, no more than these words, “Paul the servant of Jesus Christ,” do import, that Paul was the servant of Christ only, and so not the servant of God the Father, nor of the Holy Ghost ; or these words, that Paul spake unto the keeper, “Believe in the Lord Jesus,” do discharge him from believing in the other two persons of the holy Trinity. Doubtless he must be very bold with the scriptures of God, that will presume hereby to prove, either that the apostles altered the essential form of baptism, or that they proclaimed them heretics, that in baptizing would follow Christ’s institution.

Acts xvi. 31.

The objection of washing of feet is common, and hath been often answered. “St. Bernard calleth it a sacrament.” I grant. But St. Bernard is a doctor but of late years, and therefore his authority herein must weigh the lighter. Neither doth he so call it according to the nature and common definition of a sacrament. For neither was there

In Serm. de Coena Domini. ni. [1. 898.]

any certain element namely chosen, nor any special words appointed to make it a sacrament, nor any promise of grace thereto annexed. Only he calleth it a sacrament by a general kind of taking. And in that meaning St. Hilary saith: "The sacrament of prayer: the sacrament of fasting: the sacrament of fulness: the sacrament of thirst: the sacrament of weeping"⁶⁸. And St. Bernard in another place in like sort saith: "The sacrament of a painted cross." And in this place he saith, that the washing of feet betokeneth the washing and purging of venial sins, which signification he calleth a sacrament.

But Christ saith: "I have given you an example, that, as ye have seen me do, ye also do the like." "Therefore," saith M. Harding, "this commandment bindeth as well as the other, 'Drink ye all of this.'" How may a man trust M. Harding in the dark, that will thus deceive him in the light? For he knoweth, that the washing of feet was neither institution of Christ, nor any part of the sacrament, nor specially appointed to be done by the apostles, nor the breach thereof ever deemed sacrilege, as Gelasius writeth of this disorder of the half communion. Whether the apostles for any time after Christ's resurrection observed it or no, it appeareth not. Neither is there any thing, to my remembrance, written of it. As we may perceive by St. Paul, it was an office more belonging unto women, than unto men. And it seemeth by St. Augustine, that this ceremony in the church had relation unto some other cause, and not unto the institution of Christ, neither to the example or practice of the apostles. For thus he writeth unto his friend Januarius touching the same: "If thou demand, upon what consideration this ceremony of washing feet began first, notwithstanding I have well thought of it, yet can I find nothing that seemeth more likely than this: for that the bodies of them that had appointed to be baptized" at Easter, "being ill cherished by

Hilar. in
Matt. can. 5.
11—13. [pp.
630. 668.]
Hilar. de Tri-
nit. lib. 10.
[p. 1052.]
Bernard. de
bonis defen-
dendis.

De Con. dist.
2. Comperi-
mus.

1 Tlm. v. 10.

Aug. ad Ja-
nuar. ep. 118.
[ll. 127.]

⁶⁸ [Hilar. in Matt. can. 5. "Orationis sacramentum"—can. 12. "Sacramentum et esuritionis et satietatis absolvit." Hilar. de

Trinit. lib. 10. "... Qui sacramentum fletus, sitis, atque esuritionis ignoret...."]

reason of the Lenten fast, would have had some loathsomeness in the touching, unless they had been washed at some time before : and that therefore they chose this day chiefly to that purpose, upon which day the Lord's supper is yearly celebrated⁶⁹." Here St. Augustine saith, it was the fulsomeness of the bodies, and loathsomeness of the senses, that first began this ceremony, and not the institution or commandment of Christ. But as touching the ministration of the communion in both kinds, it is most certain, that the apostles used it, and that Christ commanded it to be used still until his coming.

With what indifferent judgment then can M. Harding thus compare these things together ; a sacrament with no sacrament : an institution with no institution : a thing that in the primitive church was every where used, with that thing, whereof no proof can be made, that upon Christ's commandment it was ever used ? Neither did Christ therefore so abase himself, to wash his disciples' feet, to the intent they according to the letter should do the same : but in himself to shew them a perfect example of humility.

Matt. xx. 21. For they were yet in a deep dream, that Christ should come like a king with all worldly majesty, and that they should be princes, and sit with him to rule the world. Therefore to break them out of this sleep, he took upon him this vile and servile office, that they might see, that his coming was to serve them, and therefore might learn humility by his example, one of them to serve another.

Matt. xviii. 2. In like manner Christ set a child before his disciples, and Matt. x. 14. willed them all to be as children. He bade them to shake

⁶⁹ [It does not appear, that St. Augustine is here speaking of washing the *feet* (that word not occurring in the passage)—he alludes rather to the custom of bathing the whole body on the Thursday before Easter. " Si autem quæris, cur etiam lavandi mos ortus sit, nihil mihi de hac re cogitanti probabilius occurrit, nisi quia baptizandorum corpora per observationem quadragesimæ sordidata, cum offensione

"sensus ad fontem tractarentur, nisi aliqua die lavarentur : istum autem diem potius ad hoc electum, quo cœna Dominica anniversarie celebratur." In the sentence immediately preceding, he had said, "... jejunia simul et lavacra tolerare non possunt," which might be true of bathing the whole body, but could hardly apply to washing the feet. Bingham also interprets this passage in the same way. Ant. book xii. c. 4.]

off the dust from their shoes, and to carry neither rod nor scrip about them, and to salute no man upon the way; [Luke x. 4.] not that they should practise these things according to the rigour of the words, but to the intent that by the same they might be induced to a deeper understanding. Such was the sacrament and meaning of the washing of feet.

The reasons that follow are of like value. For Christ said not, Do this after supper, or sitting, or at a table, or being so many together. Neither did the apostles ever so understand his words. But when he had ministered the sacrament unto his apostles in both kinds, he bade them do the same that he had done; and so they understood his words, and ministered the sacrament unto the people in both kinds accordingly.

The words of St. Cyprian, here alleged, are spoken of sprinkling or pouring on water over them that were baptized: which is but a ceremony, and therefore ought to be at liberty, and is not of the substance of baptism. Neither doth it follow, "We may break a ceremony; *ergo*, we may break the substance of Christ's institution." This reason rather maketh against M. Harding and his fellows. For if "ceremonies should be used freely and without rigour," as St. Cyprian saith, why then be they so precise in their oil, their balm, their lights, and other things of like value, that, be the abuse thereof never so great, yet they will remit nothing? And, if they be so precise and so earnest in ceremonies and devices of their own, how much more ought we to be earnest in matters touching the essential form of the institution of Christ!

M. HARDING: *Tenth Division.*

I trust no man will gather of that I have said here, that it is none offence to do against God's commandment. My meaning is far otherwise. Neither say I, that this saying of Christ in Matthew, "Drink ye all of this," or that in John, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall not have life in you," or other commandments of Christ, be not to be kept; but this is that I say, and that every catholic man saith, that the universal church doth better understand which are the commandments of Christ, and how they ought to be kept, than Berengarius, Wickliffe, Hus, Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, Cranmer,

Peter Martyr, or any their scholars and followers, which now be sundry sects. As for example, God hath thus commanded: "Thou shalt not swear;" and, "Thou shalt not kill;" and, "If ^{Matt. v.} thine eye cause thee to offend, pull him out and cast him away ^{Exod. xx.} from thee." Whereas certain sects of heretics, as namely they which be called "Waldenses" and "Picardi," by their construction hereof have maintained opinion, that no oath ought to be given or made in no case or respect; likewise that in no case or respect a man may do another to death; and also that, after the outward letter of the gospel, sometime a man is bound to pull out his eye and cast it from him: which thing hath been done by some of the Picardes, as it is reported, as though else God's commandment were not kept: this hath so been understood by the catholic church, confessing nevertheless these to be God's commandments, as in time, in place, and in certain cases, a man might and ought without breach of commandment, both swear and kill, and likewise keep his eye in his head; and therein offend God nothing at all. So the catholic church understandeth, "Drink ye all of this," to be Christ's commandment, and of necessity to be observed; but of priests only, I mean of necessity; and that when in the sacrifice of the church is celebrated the memory of Christ's death, which in that degree be the successors of the apostles, to whom that commandment was specially given, when they were consecrated priests of the new testament; who so did drink indeed, as St. Mark witnesseth, *Et biberunt ea* ^{Mark xiv.} *eo omnes*: "And they drank all of it." To these only and to none other, the (55) catholic church hath ever referred the necessity of that commandment. Else if the necessity of it should pertain to all, and because Christ said, "Drink ye all of this," if all of every state and condition ought to drink of this cup of necessity, how is it come to pass, that our adversaries themselves (who pretend so strait a conscience herein) keep from it infants and young children, until they come to good years of discretion; specially whereas the custom of the primitive church was, that they also should be partakers of this sacrament, as it may plainly be seen in St. Dionyse, Cyprian, Augustine, Innocentius, Zosimus, and other ancient fathers? What better reason have they to keep the infants from the cup, than the anabaptists have to keep them from their baptism? If they allege their impotency of remembering the Lord's death, the anabaptists will likewise allege their impotency of receiving and understanding doctrine, that Christ's institution in this behalf seemeth to require.

Thus the adversaries of the church themselves do agnise, that the use of the cup in the sacrament pertaineth not to all of necessity. So have they neither godly charity to join with the church, neither sufficient reason to impugn the church.

The 55th untruth. For the catholic or universal church never understood it so: but only the church of Rome, which is both late and mere particular.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

The best defence to colour disobedience, is to improve God's commandment. Therefore saith M. Harding, "The half communion is no breach of Christ's institution. For Christ never commanded, that the whole communion should be ministered unto the people in both kinds. And that," saith he, "the church knoweth better than Luther, or Cranmer, or such others." Whatsoever ordinary light the church hath, she hath it not of herself, but of God's holy word, that "is a lantern unto her feet." And it is no Christian modesty, to make such boasts of the gifts of God. God's holy "Spirit bloweth where it thinketh good." Daniel alone saw the innocency of Susanna: the judges and elders saw it not. Paphnutius alone was heard against all the rest of the Nicene council^a. St. Hierom alone is received against all the whole council of Chalcedon^b. And, forasmuch as M. Harding delighteth himself with odious comparisons without cause, why may not a man likewise say, The primitive church in the time of the apostles and other catholic doctors and old councils, that ministered the whole sacrament unto the people in both kinds, understood Christ's institution as well as did afterward the council of Constance, in which council, holden fourteen hundred years after Christ and more, it was determined, that the laity should content themselves only with the half communion in one kind? But therefore hath God given his holy scriptures, that the church should be directed and never err. And St. Augustine saith: *Dominus semper veraciter judicat: ecclesiastici autem iudices, sicut homines, plerumque falluntur*: "The Lord always judgeth truly: but the ecclesiastical judges, for that they be men, are oftentimes deceived."

The examples of killing, swearing, pulling out of eyes, eating of blood and strangled things, that are here brought in, stand more for a countenance, than for proof of the matter. Touching the first, God saith unto the private man, "Thou shalt not kill;" but unto the magistrate he saith, "Thine eye shall not spare: Thou shalt not suffer the wicked sorcerer to live." This case was never doubt-

Psalm xix.
105.

John iii. 8.
Dan. xiii.
[Susanna.]

a Sosome-
nus, lib. 1.
cap. 22. [cap.
23. ff. p. 41.]
b 36. Quest.
2. Tria legi-
tima.

August. con-
tra Cresco-
nium Gram-
maticum,
lib. 2. cap. 21.
[ix. 422.]

Exod. xx. 13.
Levit. xx. 27.
Deut. xviii.
10, 11.

Jerem. iv. 2.
Matt. v. 34.

ful ; or if it were, let M. Harding shew, in what council it was determined. Touching oaths, it is forbidden, that any shall swear unadvisedly or without just cause, and so to abuse the name of God ; but otherwise, to swear before a judge, in the way of judgment, justice, and truth, God himself hath commanded.

Euseb. lib. 6.
cap. 7. [cap.
8. l. 264.]

Extrav.
Comm. de
Major. et
Obed. Unam
Sanctam.

The pulling out of the eye is an allegory, wherein by a figure or manner of speech one thing is conceived of another ; and Christ's meaning is, that whoso will follow him, must pull out and cast from him his affections, his goods, and his friends, for the gospel's sake, yea though he love them as his eyes. And if the Picard took it otherwise, it was an error of simplicity, much like the error of Origen, and certain others, who, as it is written of them, grossly, and according to the letter, gelded themselves for the kingdom of heaven ; or the error of the bishop of Rome, who upon small occasion of these words, *Ecce duo gladii hic* : " Behold here be two swords," claimeth unto himself both the spiritual and also the temporal sword, and so the whole jurisdiction of all the world.

The forbearing of blood and strangled meats began among the faithful in the time of the apostles, not as of God's commandment, or to continue for ever, but only of charity, to bear with the weakness of the Jews, until they might grow to a perfect knowledge in Christ ; during which weakness, this charitable order among the rest of the faithful Christians continued still, as may appear by Tertullian, by Arnobius, by Eusebius, by Œcumenius, and others. But after that the Jews were thoroughly persuaded, that all creatures of God were clean, this forbearing, which began only for their sakes, had an end.

Jerem. iv. 2.

Ephes. v. 29.

But how can M. Harding apply these things to his purpose ? Or how can he hereby warrant the manifest breach of Christ's institution ? The church in every of these orders was directed and guided by God's word. Touching killing, God saith unto the magistrate : " Thou shalt not suffer the wicked to live." Touching swearing, God saith : " Thou shalt swear in truth, in judgment, and in justice." Touching pulling out of our eyes, St. Paul saith : " No man ever

hated his own flesh, but doth nourish and cherish it." And touching blood, and strangled meats, Christ saith: "The thing that entereth into the mouth, defileth not the man." And St. Paul saith: "Every creature of God is good." Therefore the church in these cases devised no new thing of herself, nor brake any of God's ordinances, but only followed the word of God.

Now of the other part, let M. Harding shew, what word of God the church of Rome had to follow, in the ordering of the half communion. Where did Christ or his apostles ever say, Let not the people receive the whole sacrament, as it was ordained at the first, but let it be sufficient for them to receive one portion? If there be no such commandment to be shewed, then be not these cases like. And if the cases be not like, why doth M. Harding deceive the world, and compare them thus together, as though they were like? What? Troweth he, there is no difference between obeying God's commandment, and breaking God's commandment? Or thinketh he, because it was lawful for Abraham, having God's commandment, to have slain his son Isaac, that therefore it was lawful for him to slay Ishmael also, having no commandment? It is a dangerous doctrine to say, 'The church is omnipotent, and may allow or disallow God's commandments without difference, at her pleasure.' For, as it is discreetly noted by the emperors Valentinian and Martian, "Whosoever, after the truth is once found, seeketh further, he seeketh for a lie, and not for the truth"⁷⁰.

Gen. xxii. 2.

In Edicto
Imperat.
Valentin. et
Martian. in
Chalced.
Con. act. 3
[Mansi vii.
475.]

"But to minister unto the vulgar lay people in both kinds," saith M. Harding, "was not Christ's institution." Thus he saith, and saith it often, and only saith it. Other authority than his own he bringeth none. The reason that moveth him, I ween, is this: for that there was no lay people at that banquet with Christ, but the apostles only. But this reason would spoil the lay people, not of one part only, but of all together. Surely one Lorichius, a doctor

⁷⁰ [. . . ὁ γὰρ τι μετὰ τὴν εὐρεσιν τῆς ἀληθείας διερευνόμενος περαιτέρω, ψεῦδος ζητεῖ. This is one of the mottos on the title-page of the "Replie."]

De Missa
publica pro-
roganda.

of M. Harding's own side, saith thus: *Ipsius sacramenti institutio vult, ut omnes una manducemus et bibamus*: "The very institution of the sacrament willeth, that we all eat and drink together." M. Harding's doctor saith: "It is Christ's institution." M. Harding himself saith: "It is not Christ's institution." Whether of them two a man may believe, I leave it to others. Howbeit in the mean time, while these doctors can better agree, it cannot be denied, but Christ ministered unto his disciples the whole sacrament in both kinds, and gave them in charge, in plain express words, to do the same. But of the half communion in one kind, Christ neither gave them charge, nor spake any one word at all. If M. Harding will reply, that Christ's words in this case be doubtful, and may be diversely taken, yet is that objection already answered. For

De Legibus
et Senatus-
consult. et
longa consue-
t. Si de. [tom.
i.]

the law saith: *Si de interpretatione legis quæretur, in primis inspiciendum est, quo jure civitas retro in hujusmodi casibus usa fuerit. Optima enim est legum interpretatio consuetudo*: "If question happen to be moved touching the meaning of a law, first of all we must see, what order hath been used in the like cases in times past. For the custom and practice of the people is the best expounder of the law." Now it appeareth plainly, that the custom and practice of the purest church in the time of the apostles, and others old catholic fathers, was to minister unto the people in both kinds; whereof we may conclude, that the same was Christ's institution and very meaning. But if M. Harding will apply the authority of custom unto his purpose, for that the common practice of the church of Rome, for a few late years, hath been to the contrary, that therefore this was Christ's meaning, this objection is also soon answered.

De Rebus
dubis.
In ambiguo.
[tom. ii.]

For both law and common reason saith: *In ambiguo sermone non utrunque dicimus, sed id duntaxat quod volumus*: "In a doubtful speech we speak not both the things (that may be gathered), but that thing only that we mean." Now if Christ meant both the order, that was practised by the apostles and old fathers, and also the contrary order, that of late hath been practised in the church of Rome, then had Christ at one time, and in the uttering of one sentence,

not only two, but also divers and contrary meanings, and so, by M. Harding's judgment, Christ must needs construe his own words in this wise: "'Drink ye all of this:' I mean, let priests only drink of this. 'Drink ye all:' I mean, some may not drink. Drink ye all: I mean contrary, Drink ye not all. And when I say, Do ye the same that I have done, my meaning is otherwise, Do not the same that I have done." O, M. Harding, it is an old saying: *Maledicta glossa, quæ corrumpit textum*: "Cursed be that glosing construction, that destroyeth the text."

Ye say, "The priests are bound of necessity to receive both kinds, but the lay people is not bound." And so ye conclude, that Christ ordained two sundry communions, the one not like the other; the one for the priests, the other for the people. And therefore, by your advice, we must correct St. Hierom, that saith: "The Lord's supper ^{† Hieron. 1. Cor. 11. [v. 997.]} must be common to all ⁷¹:" and likewise Chrysostom, that saith: "In the holy mysteries there is no difference between the priest and the people." ^{Chrysost. 2. Cor. 13. [x. 568.]} For it is now otherwise agreed, that the Lord's supper may not be common unto all, and that in the mysteries there must be a difference between the priest and the people.

The objection, that is made of keeping children from the communion, is but childish, and nothing to the matter. For in so doing we divide not the mysteries, nor break any part of Christ's institution, no more than when, by order of excommunication, we remove the wicked from the whole use of the sacrament.

For, notwithstanding it appear by St. Augustine, St. Cyprian, and others, that infants in the primitive church in sundry places were admitted to the holy communion, yet afterward, upon good advice, they were justly removed from it; because that, being in that age, they were not thought able to examine and prove themselves according to the doctrine of St. Paul: and so to eat of that bread, and to drink of that cup. In like sort in the law of Moses, notwithstanding all menchildren were commanded to be

⁷¹ [See p. 160.]

circumcised, yet none were admitted to eat the passover, but only such as could demand what it meant.

“The church,” saith M. Harding, “is the interpreter of God’s mind. The church knoweth, that this was not Christ’s institution.” Verily if the church know it now at last, she hath been long in learning this lesson. For the old catholic church, as it is well known, took it far otherwise, and that following the plain words of God, whereby God’s ordinary way is to reveal his mind, and, because Christ ministered unto his disciples in both kinds, and commanded them to do the same, therefore that church understood him, even as his words sounded, and ministered unto the people the whole communion in both kinds.

Now whereas M. Harding saith: “The church of Rome of late years hath more secret intelligence of God’s mind than the elder church had at any time before ;” methinketh he imagineth Christ thus to say to his apostles: “Do the same to others, that ye have seen me do to you. For a time it shall be lawful: after it shall not be lawful. Now it is my institution: the time shall come, when it shall be no longer my institution. After fourteen hundred years there shall be a certain council of five hundred bishops, and eight hundred monks and friars: there shall be terrible contention, whether the pope be above the council, or the council above the pope. One pope shall be deposed, another shall be erected against him: and so two popes at one time. The one shall excommunicate and curse, and seek all means to depose the other. Kings and princes shall be in parts. The whole world shall be troubled. Then shall these matters be concluded. That I command, they shall break; that I bind, they shall loose.” Unless M. Harding give such exposition to Christ’s words, he cannot be greatly relieved by them. Thus have we reason sufficient to open the error of M. Harding’s church; and godly charity, to join with the old catholic church of the apostles and holy fathers, which, we doubt not, was the church of God.

M. HARDING : *Eleventh Division.*

And although herein we could be content, infants not to be spoken of, yet it may easily be proved, that the communion under both kinds hath not ever been general. And as we do not condemn it, but confess, it might be restored again by the authority of the church lawfully assembled in a general council, upon mature deliberation before had, and a wholesome remedy against the inconveniences thereof provided; even so are we able to shew good authority for the defence of the one kind now used in the church.

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M. Harding would have us put God's word to daying⁷¹, and none otherwise to be obedient to Christ's commandment, than if a few bishops gathered at Trident shall allow it. But we may answer such a council, as king Agesilaus sometime answered the Macedonians, through whose country he desired to have passage against his enemies. For when they had sent him word, that the matter was great, and that therefore they would well consider of it; "Let them consider," said he, "while they list: but in the mean time I will pass through." If the council, upon advice, will restore again the whole communion, why then doth pope Leo call it, "The heresy of the Greeks and of the Bohemians⁷²?" Or why doth Gerson entitle his book, *Contra Hæresim communicandi laicos sub utraque Specie?* "Against the Heresy of communicating the Lay People under both Kinds?" I trow, councils be not called to restore the world to heresies. The great inconveniences, that M. Harding would have a general council to make provisoes for, are noted by Gerson, the greatest promoter of the council of Constance, and are these :

The liquor might be shed ;

It cannot be carried about without danger ;

In winter it would soon sour, and turn to vinegar ;

⁷¹ [Daying (old Eng.)=arbitration; daysman=umpire; see Job ix. 33; day=judgment; see I Cor. iv. 3. marg. Engl. Transl. The form 'daying' is not noticed by Todd, Nares, or Richardson.]

⁷² [There is a bull of Leo X. in

the eighth sess. of the Later Council, in which he speaks of the "diuturna et multiplex hæresis "Bohemorum." But it seems uncertain, whether this is the bull referred to by Jewel.]

In Bulla Leonis 10.

Gerson. [ed. 1514. Pars 1. Lit. J. et Lit. Q.]

In summer it would putrefy, and breed worms ;
 It would be loathsome for men to drink ;
 In some countries it is hard to be gotten ;
 The lay people should touch the cup ;
 Some of them have beards : some have palsies ;
 The dignity of the priest and layman should be all one.

These and otherlike inconveniences are such as Christ and his apostles never knew ; yet the council that is now holden at Trident, upon mature and solemn deliberation, hath pronounced and published, "If any man will say, that these be not just causes, why the people should stand content with the half communion, accursed be he."

[Vid. Chem-
 nitii Exam.
 Concil. Tri-
 dent. p. 136.]

And notwithstanding the bishops in that council have already yielded, that certain countries and kingdoms may use the whole communion, according to Christ's institution, yet have they added so fond conditions unto the same, that all men may see they sit there only for a countenance to mock the world.

M. HARDING: *Twelfth Division.*

And because M. Jewel beareth the world in hand, nothing can be brought for it of our side ; some places I will allege here, that seem to me very evidently to prove, that the use of both kinds hath not always been thought necessary to all persons, and that the communion under one kind hath been practised and holden for good within the six hundred years after Christ, that he would so fain bind us unto.

a St. Luke
 nameth nei-
 ther "form,"
 nor "only,"
 b In the year
 of our Lord
 1414.

Here may be alleged first the example of our Lord himself, out of Luke xxiv. which is spoken of before ; where it is declared, that he gave the sacrament unto the two disciples at Emmaus under the form^a of bread only ; which place ought to have the more weight of authority, in a catholic man's judgment, because it is brought by the council of Constance^b, and also by the council of Basil, for proof of the communion under one kind. That it was the sacrament, the ancient doctors do affirm it plainly, and the words, conferred with the words of our Lord's supper, do agree. And that it is not needful of our own head to add thereto the administration of the cup, as our adversaries do by their figure synecdoche, it appeareth by that those two disciples declared to the twelve apostles, assembled together in Jerusalem, how they knew our Lord *in fractione panis*, in breaking of the bread to them, which cannot be taken for the wine. And as soon as they knew him in breaking of the bread, he vanished away from their sight, ere that he took the cup into his hands,

and blessed it, and gave it unto them, (56) as it appeareth evidently enough to St. Augustine, to Bede, and to all other that be not wilfully opiniative.

The 56th untruth. For neither St. Augustine, nor Bede, nor any other ancient father hath any such word, but rather the contrary.

Again, what need is it to use violence in this scripture, and join unto it a patch of our own device, by so simple a warrant of a figure, sith that, according to the mind of the learned fathers, Christ gave here to the two disciples, not a piece of the sacrament, but the whole sacrament, as it is proved by the effect of the same: and the effect presupposeth the cause. For St. Augustine confesseth by that sacrament of bread, (so he calleth it,) *Unitate corporis participata, removeri impedimentum inimici, ut Christus possit agnosci*: "That thereby they were made partakers of the unity of Christ's body, that is to say, made one body with Christ, and that all impediment or let of the enemy, the devil, was taken away, so as Christ might be acknowledged." What more should they have gotten, if they had received the cup also?

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If I would speak only by authority, and prove nothing, as M. Harding's wont is, I might answer all this matter in three words:

First, that the bread, that Christ break at Emmaus, was common table bread, and not the sacrament.

Secondly, that albeit some writers seem to call it the sacrament, yet none of them saith, it was ministered in one kind, as M. Harding by his slender guesses would seem to gather.

Thirdly, although he were able to prove, that Christ so ministered at that time, and in that place, yet were all this nothing to prove his purpose. For we join issue of the people: he answereth of the priests. I speak of the church: he speaketh of an inn. And to conclude: by this example it appeareth, that Christ himself received in one kind; which one thing overthroweth all that M. Harding hath built.

And because he maketh himself so sure and certain, that Christ at Emmaus ministered the sacrament, it may please him to remember, that even the same doctors that he hath here alleged, and divers others of late years, upon good consideration have said, it was not the sacrament. St. Augustine saith, the breaking of bread there was hospitality,

Aug. in Ca-
teu. in 24
Luc.

and entertaining of strangers. His words be these: *Quia hospitalitatem sectati sunt, eum, quem in expositione scripturarum non agnoverunt, in panis fractione cognoscunt*: "Because they were given to hospitality, they knew him in the breaking of bread, whom they knew not in the expounding of the scriptures." Which thing St. Gregory

Greg. in E-
vang. homil.
23. [l. 1538.]

uttereth in plainer manner: *Mensam igitur ponunt, panes cibosque offerunt, et Deum, quem in scripturarum expositione non cognoverant, in panis fractione cognoscunt*: "They lay the table, and set forth bread and meat, and God, whom they knew not in the expounding of the scriptures, they know in the breaking of bread." It were hard to say, the setting forth of bread and meat upon a table in an hostery, was the ministration of the sacrament. And to leave Beda and others, that follow the same exposition, Dionysius, one of late years, and therefore led away with many errors, according to the weakness of that time, saith thus: *Accepit panem et benedixit: non tamen in suum corpus convertit, sicut in cæna: sed ut moris est benedicere cibum*: "He took bread and blessed it: but he turned it not into his body, as he did at his supper: but only as the manner is, to say grace, or to bless the meat." So likewise saith

Dionys.
[Carthus.]
in 24. Luc.

Antonius Julianus: *Accepit panem, benedixit, fregit, et porrigebat illis, sicut consueverat ante passionem*: "He took bread, blessed it, brake it, and gave it unto them, as his manner was before his passion."

Anton. Julla-
nus in Post-
illa majori.

Lyra saith, they knew him, for that he brake the bread so even, as if he had cut it with a knife. By these writers it appeareth, it was common bread that Christ gave to his disciples, and not the sacrament.

Nicol. Lyra.
[in loc.]

And whereas M. Harding allegeth St. Augustine to the contrary, if he had considered the words of one William Wideford, a doctor of his own side, which he useth against Wickliffe, I reckon, either he would have better advised himself, or else would have refused his own doctor. Wideford's words be these: *Hic dico, quod non habetur ex textu,*

Wil. Wide-
ford contra
Wiclevum.
[in Fascicu-
lo, p. 198.]

73 [This passage is found in the Postilla Major, and also totidem verbis in the Commentary of Lyra; but without naming Ant. Julianus, (of whom no notice occurs in the usual works of reference.)]

vel ex Glossa Lucae xxiv. vel per antiquos doctores, quod ille panis, quem Christus fregit post resurrectionem, ... fuit consecratus, vel sacramentalis..... Ideo inepte, ... et consequenter dico, quod falso allegat auctoritatem Augustini: “This I say, it cannot be gathered neither by the text of St. Luke, nor by the Gloss, nor by the ancient doctors, that the bread, that Christ brake after his resurrection, was the consecrate or sacramental bread. And therefore, I say, that foolishly, and by consequence that falsely, he allegeth St. Augustine to this purpose.”

“The two councils of Constance and Basil, thus understood the words of St. Luke; and that,” saith M. Harding, “in a catholic man’s judgment ought to weigh much.” The former of these two councils was holden but of late days, above fourteen hundred years after Christ, and the weight of them is already determined by others. For all the dominic friars, and all others, that held with Thomas of Aquine, which thought themselves to be the best learned that were then alive, utterly refused the council of Basil, and said, it was never lawfully called together.

Ludovic.
Vives in 20.
de Civit. Del.
cap. 26.

And Albertus Pigghius saith, that both these councils, as well that of Basil as the other of Constance, “decreed against the order of nature, against the manifest scriptures, against the authority of all antiquity, and against the catholic faith of the church.”

Pigghius in
Hierarchia.
[lib. 6. c. 2.
p. 402.]

These be the two councils, that M. Harding would have to weigh so deeply in a catholic man’s conscience. Neither can it justly be replied, that any of these were Lutherans. For the dominic friars were a hundred years before Luther ever preached; and Albertus Pigghius wrote namely and of purpose against Luther. Verily these councils seem overlit, to weigh down all the old councils of grave and catholic fathers that were before them. Touching the authority of councils, because they seem oftentimes to vary, Gelasius [*i. Isidorus*] thought it best to take up the matter thus: *In gestis conciliorum, quotiescunque discors sententia invenitur, illius concilii sententia magis teneatur, cujus antiquior et potior extat auctoritas:* “Whensoever contrariety in sentence is found in the acts of councils, let the sentence

Dist. 50.
Domino
sancto.]

of that council be taken, that hath the elder and better authority." If this determination of Gelasius be good, there is no cause why these two so late councils should weigh down any catholic man's conscience, specially against so many contrary councils as have been before. Doubtless it is a marvellous case, that either of these two councils should at last see that thing in the words of St. Luke, that the council of the apostles could not see.

Yet, to help M. Harding forthward, let us grant St. Augustine understood these words of the sacrament. Indeed he calleth it in the same place *sacramentum panis*, "the sacrament of bread," meaning thereby, that the substance of bread in the same remaineth still; but he calleth it not, "the form or shadow of bread," as M. Harding doth. But let us grant it was the sacrament.

Now have an eye, good reader, to M. Harding's fingers, and mark how he juggleth with St. Augustine's words. S. Augustine saith: *Per sacramentum panis unitate corporis participata*; these plain words it liketh M. Harding to English thus: "Thereby they were made partakers of the unity of Christ's body, that is to say, made one body with Christ." Alas, this was no part of St. Augustine's mind. Beware, good reader, this man seeketh ways to deceive thee. Lyra himself confesseth, that these words of St. Augustine have, *mysticam interpretationem*, "a mystical understanding," and may not be taken neither of the sacrament, nor of Christ's natural body, but of his body mystical, which is the church: and that whosoever is partaker or member of the church, knoweth Christ; whosoever is without the church, knoweth not Christ. But who can better report the same, than St. Augustine himself? His words be these, plain and clear, and in the same place; howbeit M. Harding thought good to dissemble them: *Nec quisquam se Christum agnovisse arbitretur, si ejus corporis particeps non est, id est, ecclesiae: cujus unitatem in sacramento panis apostolus commendat, dicens, Unus panis, unum corpus multi sumus*: "Let no man think he knoweth Christ, unless he be partaker of his body, that is to say, of the church: the unity of which church the apostle com-

Aug. de Con-
sensu Evang.
lib. 3. c. 25.
[il. pt. 2. 142.]

[Ibid. p. 141.]

mendeth in the sacrament of bread, saying, 'We being many, are one bread, and one body.'" The church was that body, whereof the two disciples were made partakers and members, and so came to the knowledge of Christ.

Now, notwithstanding we have granted that St. Augustine expoundeth this place of the sacrament, yet doth not St. Augustine say, that Christ ministered the half sacrament to his disciples in one kind only. But saith M. Harding, "Luke speaketh only of the bread; *ergo*, there was no wine."

This argument may be good in M. Harding's divinity, but it is of small force in good logic.

"As for your synecdoche, whereby of the part ye understand the whole," saith M. Harding, "it is but a patch of your device, and will not serve." Yet St. Augustine, St. Gregory, Bede, Julianus, Dionysius, Lyra, Wideford, and others that understand these words of St. Luke of hospitality, must needs crave the warrant of a figure, and, under the name of bread, must needs conceive meat and wine also; otherwise there had been a very simple, and a dry feast. Now, if M. Harding can allow them the figure of synecdoche, why may not he as well allow us the same? It is a manner of speech commonly used in all the scriptures.

"But Christ straightway vanished from their sight, upon the breaking of the bread; and therefore had no leisure to deliver the other portion; neither is there any mention made of the cup." O what miserable straits these men be driven into! To make up their tale, they are glad to say, that Christ lacked leisure. "But there is nothing written of the cup." I grant. Neither is there any thing there written, that Christ did consecrate the bread. And this place is privileged above all others. We must conceive no more of it, than is spoken. Then was there a sacrament without consecration. Neither is there any thing there written, that either Christ himself or the disciples did eat the bread. Thus hath M. Harding, with much ado, found out at last, not a communion of one kind, that he sought for, but a communion of no kind at all. And so have we

a sacrament without sacrament, and a communion without communion.

What shall I say further? If I grant M. Harding his whole demand, yet hath he won nothing against me; but very much against himself. For the question is moved of lay people: M. Harding bringeth examples of Christ and two disciples, who were of the number of the seventy and two, that were sent abroad to preach the gospel, and therefore it may well be thought, they were ministers, and not of the lay sort. Lyra and others think, the one of them was St. Luke himself. Epiphanius thinketh it was Nathanael. Therefore M. Harding may well gather hereof, that priests may receive in one kind: which thing he will in no wise grant. But he can conclude nothing against the people. Such luck hath he to allege matter against himself.

Lyra in Lucam, cap. 24.
Epiphan. contra Sathumilianos. [p. 69. ed. 1622.]

M. HARDING: *Thirteenth Division.*

Here might be alleged the place of Acts ii. where mention is made of the communion of breaking of the bread, the cup not spoken of: which the heretics called Waldenses did confess, that it must be understood of the sacrament, *In Confessione ad Uladislaum*: and likewise the place of Acts xx. and specially that

[In Fasciculo Grat.]

The 57th untruth. For Chrysostom understandeth it of common meat.

of Acts xxvii.: (57) where Chrysostom and other fathers understand the bread that St. Paul, in peril of shipwreck, took, gave thanks over, brake, and ate, to be the holy sacrament.

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He thought it not good to recite the words, as knowing they would not greatly serve his purpose. "That the two former places were meant of the sacrament, it appeareth," saith he, "not only by the Waldenses, but also by the exposition of the old fathers." Yet could none of them, in either of these places, ever find out the half communion in one kind. "But here is no mention of the cup: *ergo*," saith M. Harding, "the communion was ministered in bread alone." A learned man, before he conclude so unadvisedly, should foresee what would follow. M. Harding granteth, as shall hereafter appear, that if a priest do communicate in one kind alone, he committeth sacrilege: for so it is determined by Gelasius. Now let us lay these two

verities of M. Harding's both together. The first is, If a priest minister in one kind, he committeth sacrilege; the second is, The apostles were priests, and ministered only in one kind: for here is no manner mention of the cup. These both be M. Harding's premisses. Hereof it must necessarily follow, and cannot be avoided, that the apostles of Christ committed sacrilege. But what will not these men grant, to win their purpose?

M. Harding's conclusion, that the apostles of Christ committed sacrilege.

The weight of M. Harding's argument is taken, as they name it in schools, *ab autoritate negative*⁷⁴: and unless it be in consideration of some other circumstance, it is so simple, that a very child may soon answer it. For as he saith here, "There is no mention made, but of breaking of bread: *ergo*, there was no cup:" so might he also say, "There is no mention made, but of breaking of bread: *ergo*, there was not Christ's body." Or thus: Jacob went down into Egypt with threescore and ten souls: *ergo*, in his company he had no bodies. Certainly as the soul in that place importeth the whole man, even so, in the other place, the breaking of bread importeth the whole ministration.

Gen. xlvi. 27.

As for the breaking of bread in Acts xxvii, which place, as it is avouched, Chrysostom understandeth of the sacrament, verily M. Harding was therein much overseen. For the text is clear: if St. Paul gave the sacrament, being at that time in the ship, he gave it only unto infidels, that knew not Christ. And Chrysostom's exposition, even in the same place, is plain to the contrary. For thus he enlargeth St. Paul's words, that he spake to the mariners: [*Chrysost. in Act. tom. ix. 401.*] *Obsecro vos, ut sumatis cibum: hoc enim ad salutem vestram fuerit: hoc est, ne forsan fame pereatis, cibum sumite*: "I pray you take some sustenance. It is behovefull for you, that ye so do. That is to say, take some meat, lest perhaps ye die for hunger." Now let M. Harding either say these words are spoken of the sacrament, or confess that he hath made untrue report of his doctor.

M. Harding misreporteth St. Chrysostom.

⁷⁴ [See p. 288, note 21.]

M. HARDING : Fourteenth Division.

The 58th untruth. For St. Paul never ministered the communion so.

The 59th untruth. For immediately before, he saith, "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of Christ's blood?"

It is not to be marvelled at, albeit St. Paul delivered to the Corinthians the institution of our Lord's supper under both kinds, that yet upon occasion given, and when condition of time so required, (58) he ministered the communion under one kind, sith that (without doubt) he took that holy mystery under one kind for the whole sacrament, as we perceive by his words, where he saith, *Unus panis, et unum corpus, multi sumus, omnes qui de uno pane participamus* : "One bread, and one body, we (being many) are, all that do participate of one bread." (59) Where he speaketh nothing of the cup. And likewise by his words, where he speaketh disjunctively, as the Greek and the true Latin text hath : *Quicumque manducaverit panem, vel biberit calicem Domini indigne, reus erit corporis et sanguinis Domini* : "Whosoever eateth the bread or drinketh of the cup of our Lord unworthily, he shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord." Whereon dependeth an argument of the contrary, that whosoever eateth this bread worthily, or drinketh this cup worthily, he eateth and drinketh righteousness and life.

1 Cor. x. 16.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

"It is no marvel," saith M. Harding, "though St. Paul ministered sometimes in one kind." But it is much to be marvelled, that any Christian man durst ever thus boldly to publish open error under the name of St. Paul. What would not these men take in hand to prove, that dare thus to allege St. Paul himself against himself, and that without any testimony or word of St. Paul? "Yes marry," saith M. Harding, "St. Paul saith, we being many, are one bread, and one body : and speaketh nothing of the cup." Here, by the way, M. Harding chargeth St. Paul with manifest sacrilege. For it is already confessed by all them of that side, that it is sacrilege, if a priest, such as St. Paul was, do minister and receive the sacrament under one kind.

M. Harding chargeth St. Paul with sacrilege.

"But," he saith, "there is nothing spoken of the cup." What may we think hereof? Whether is this man himself blind, or thinketh he all others to be blind? Is there nothing there spoken of the cup? O, good Christian reader, mark the dealing of this man, and beware of him. Unless thou consider well the places that he allegeth, he may soon deceive thee. Thus lie St. Paul's words : "The cup of the

1 Cor. x. 16.

blessing, which we bless, is it not the communication of the blood of Christ? The bread that we break, is it not the communication of the body of Christ? For we being many, are one bread, and one body, all that be partakers of one bread." Here St. Paul distinctly nameth both parts together, and the cup before the bread. "Yet," saith M. Harding, "there is nothing spoken here of the cup." If he have dealt faithfully herein, thou mayest trust him further for the rest. Verily St. Hierom noteth it thus: † *Ideo de calice primum dixit, ut posset postea de pane latius disputare*: "Therefore St. Paul spake first of the cup, that he might afterward entreat more at large of the bread."

M. Harding misreporteth St. Paul's words.

† Hieronymus in 1 Cor. 10. [v. 995.]

"Further," saith M. Harding, "St. Paul useth a disjunctive, as appeareth both by the Greek, and also by the true Latin text." Such diligence and circumspection, in searching the scriptures for defence of a truth, is much to be commended. For there may be oftentimes great weight in one letter, as appeareth by sundry disputations between the Christians and the Arians. But this man seeketh so narrowly, only to find some covert for his error. St. Hierom, Anselmus, Haimo, and many others, both in the text and in the exposition of the same place, use the copulative. Notwithstanding to grant M. Harding his disjunctive, yet if he be so skilful in the Digest, as in other places of his book he would seem to be, he might soon remember, that the very discretion of the law hath determined, that sometimes disjunctives stand instead of copulatives, sometimes copulatives instead of disjunctives: *Sæpe ita comparatum est, ut et conjuncta pro disjunctis accipiantur, et disjuncta pro conjunctis*.

De Verb. et Rerum Significatione. [Conjunctiones, tom. iii.]

But if M. Harding have so good eye to one little disjunctive, and mean uprightly, why doth he so blindly pass by so many copulatives in the selfsame place all together? For St. Paul saith, "As often as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup;" and again, "Let a man examine himself, and so eat of that bread, and drink of that cup;" and again, "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation." Here be four copulatives together. And by these it were

1 Cor. xl. 26. 28, 29.

Likewise also
the cup.

Tertull. ad-
versus Praxe-
am. [c. 20.
P. 511.]

good reason, that M. Harding should expound his disjunctive: specially for that St. Paul, recording the institution, useth a copulative; and the order of the primitive church, and the exposition of St. Hierom, and others, is agreeable to the same. In such cases Tertullian hath given a good rule:.....*Oportet secundum plura intelligi pauciora. Sed proprium hoc est omnium hæreticorum: nam quia pauca sunt, quæ in sylva inveniri possunt, pauca adversus plura defendunt, et posteriora adversus priora suscipiunt*: "It is meet, that we expound the fewer places according to the mo. But this is the very cast of all heretics. For because there be few things to be found in the wood, or, in the multitude, therefore they defend a few things against many, and things lately devised, against the first." Thus doth M. Harding, as we plainly see; "and this," saith Tertullian, "is the very cast of all heretics."

M. HARDING: Fifteenth Division.

For this purpose we have a notable place in the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, which St. Hierom saith he saw in the library of Cæsarea, and translated it. This place is cited by St. Hierom, in his book, *De Ecclesiasticis Scriptoribus, in Jacobo fratre Domini*: the words touching the communion, that St. Hierom rehearseth, agree thoroughly with those of St. Luke, chap. xxiv. *Matthæus sic refert: Dominus autem, &c.*: "Matthew reporteth thus: When our Lord had given his shroud unto the bishop's servant, he went to James, and appeared to him: for James had made an oath, that he would not eat bread from that hour he drank of the cup of the Lord, until he saw him raised from the dead." It followeth a little after: *Afferte, ait Dominus, mensam et panem. Statimque addit: Tulit panem, et benedixit, et fregit, ac dedit Jacobo Justo, et dixit ei, Frater, comede panem tuum, quia resurrexit Filius hominis a dormientibus*: "Bring the table, and set on bread, quoth our Lord: and by and by it is added, He took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to James the Just, and said unto him, My brother, eat thy bread: for the Son of man is risen again from the dead." No man can doubt but this was the sacrament. And wine was there none given, for any thing that may be gathered. For it is not likely that St. James had wine in his house then, forasmuch as Egesippus, who was not long after him, witnesseth of him, that he never drank wine, but at our Lord's supper.

[Hieron. iv.
pt. 2. p. 102.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

What shall need long answer to him that allegeth nothing? Here is no word spoken of the sacrament, no more than when Christ did eat of the broiled fish, and of the honeycomb. And other proof thereof there is none brought, but words and boldness. For show and countenance of somewhat, there is brought forth the Gospel of St. Matthew, and that written in Hebrew, as though St. Matthew had written two Gospels, in two sundry tongues: and not only two, but also diverse. I know it is thought of some, that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, and by report of Theophylactus, St. John the Evangelist translated the same into Greek. But that there should be any contrariety or diversity of story, or matter, as M. Harding seemeth to mean, I have not heard.

But St. Hierom, in the place here alleged, as he not once nameth the sacrament, so he speaketh not one word of St. Matthew. Which thing addeth some more distrust to M. Harding's dealing. St. Hierom only nameth the Gospel of the Hebrews, which, he saith, he himself translated both into Greek and Latin, and is often alleged by Origen. But Eusebius accounteth it for no Gospel, but only among the bastard scriptures⁷⁵.

Howbeit, whatsoever the credit of the book be, thus it is written: "Christ took bread, and blessed it, and brake it." "Here," saith M. Harding, "no man can doubt but it was the sacrament." I see well he would fain have it so. Yet is there here, neither by the Hebrews' Gospel, nor by St. Hierom, any one word spoken of the sacrament. Neither had St. James vowed, that he would not minister or receive the communion, but that he would eat no common bread, before he had seen Christ risen again from the dead. As for the blessing of the bread, it was not a thing peculiar to the sacrament, but a general manner that Christ observed, whensoever he used God's creatures, as it may appear throughout the story of the Gospels. That Christ

⁷⁵ [Eusebius says, that *some* the Hebrews amongst the spurious persons reckoned the Gospel of books.]

Luke xxiv.
42, 43.

Hieronymus
de Ecclesi-
asticis Scrip-
toribus.
[tom. iv. pt.
2. p. 102.]

Eusebius lib.
3. cap. 24.
[cap. 25. vol.
1. 118.]

should then minister the sacrament, it is but M. Harding's guess. No old writer ever saw so much before, no not St. Hierom, that wrote the story. Yet M. Harding, as though he had learned it in the third heaven, saith, "It is so plain, that no man may doubt of it."

But be it the sacrament: "*ergo*," saith M. Harding, "there was but one kind." And how may that be proved? Now must one guess help another. "For it is likely," saith M. Harding, "that there was no wine in the house." And why so? "Because St. James drank no wine." If guesses go for arguments, this matter is done. Howbeit, it seemeth a very silly guess, to say, "St. James drank no wine: *ergo*, he had no wine in his house." Verily the same Egesippus, that saith St. James never drank wine, saith also, "That he never was anointed, never wore woollen cloth, never ate flesh in all his life."

Hereof, by M. Harding's logic, we may conclude, that he had neither ointment, nor woollen cloth, nor flesh in his house. Yet is there here another greater inconvenience. St. Hierom saith, that St. James continued bishop in Jerusalem the space of thirty years, until the seventh year of Nero; if it be true that is here avouched, that in all his life he never drank wine, but only at Christ's last supper, then must it follow, that being bishop in Jerusalem the space of thirty years, he never said mass; which thing M. Harding may not well grant; or else that he consecrated in one kind, which thing by Gelasius is adjudged sacrilege. Which way soever M. Harding turn himself, into one of these inconveniences he must needs fall.

Again, if here be mention indeed of the sacrament, and no wine to be had in St. James's house, then did Christ himself receive in one kind, to whose example, as these men say, bishops and priests are bound to stand. Therefore let them no longer defraud the people, but by Christ's example, let both bishops and priests content themselves with the half communion, as well as others.

Egesippus
ap. Abdiam,
lib. 6.
[p. 70.]

Hieron. de
Ecclesiae
Scriptoribus.
[tom. iv. pt.
2. p. 102.]

M. HARDING : *Sixteenth Division.*

But, because perhaps our adversaries will cast some mist over these allegations, to darken the truth with their cloudy glosses, which be clear enough to quiet and sober wits, that give ear to the Holy Ghost, speaking to us by the mouth of the church ; I will bring forth such witnesses and proofs for this purpose, out of ancient fathers, as by no reason or sophistical shift they shall be able to avoid. Many of the places that I alleged in the article before this, for private communion, may serve to this purpose very well, and therefore I will not let to recite some of them here also.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

God wot, it were great wrong to cast a mist over darkness. But M. Harding having alleged such matter for his half communion, as he himself seeth may be easily answered, and William Wideford, a doctor of his own learning, saith, "is foolishly and falsely brought in, to serve this turn ;" yet he would not pass it over without some bravery. But now will he bring in such authorities, so clear, so forcible, and so invincible, as cannot possibly be avoided. Howbeit, God be thanked, these authorities be neither so weighty nor so strange. I knew them all, and had weighed them well, before I spake any thing in that behalf. Here he doubleth a great many things, before by him alleged for his private mass, indeed serving as well to the one purpose as to the other.

Wil. Wideford, contra Wiclevum. [in Fasciculis p. 198.]

M. HARDING : *Seventeenth Division.*

Melciades, that constant martyr of Christ, and bishop of Rome, ordained, that sundry hosts, prepared by the consecrating of a bishop, should be sent abroad among the churches and parishes, that Christian folk, who remained in the catholic faith, might not through heretics be defrauded of the holy sacrament. Which can none otherwise be taken, than for the form of bread only, because the wine cannot so conveniently be carried abroad from place to place, in small quantity, for such use, much less any long time be kept without corruption.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This argument hangeth only upon lack of carriage. For if it were possible to devise a way, that the sacrament might be carried about in both kinds, then were this guess soon

answered. For otherwise Melciades speaketh not one word of the communion in one kind. Now that the carriage of both kinds is not impossible, the examples of antiquity do well declare. St. Hierom writeth thus of Exuperius the bishop of Toulouse in France: *Nihil illo ditius, qui corpus Domini in canistro vimineo, sanguinem portabat in vitro*: "There was no man richer than he that carried the Lord's body in a wicker basket, and his blood in a glass." Likewise Justinus Martyr, declaring the order of the church in his time, saith thus: *Illis, quæ cum gratiarum actione consecrata sunt*⁷⁶, *unusquisque participat: eadem ad eos, qui absunt, diaconis dantur perferenda*: "Of the things that be consecrate," (that is, the bread, water and wine,) "every man taketh part: the same things are delivered to the deacons, to be carried unto them that be away." Here have we found not only a possibility, but also a common usage and practice of carrying the sacrament in both kinds. This is the first invincible argument, that all the world cannot answer.

Hieronym.
ad Rusticum
Mon. [iv. pt.
2. p. 778.]

Justinus
Martyr in
Apologia 2.
[al. i. p. 83.]

M. HARDING: Eighteenth Division.

This canon is
neither found
in the Greek,
nor extant in
the first edi-
tion, nor
alleged by
Gratian.

The council of Nice decreed, that in churches where neither bishop nor priest were present, the deacons themselves bring forth and eat the holy communion. Which likewise cannot be referred to the form of wine, for cause of souring and corruption if it be long kept.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This latter clause, (*ipsi proferant et edant*;) "Let them bring it forth themselves and eat," neither is in the Greek, nor in the decrees, nor in the former edition of the councils. Certain words somewhat like are found in Ruffinus in this sort: *Præsentibus presbyteris, diaconi ne dividant eucharistiam, sed, illis agentibus, solum ministrent. Si vero presbyter nullus sit in præsentibus, tunc demum etiam ipsis liceat dividere*: "In the presence of the priests, let not the deacons divide or minister the sacrament, but only serve

Ruffinus
libro x. cap.
6. [can. 20.]

⁷⁶ [To shew that Jewel is right in explaining these words (τὰ εὐχαρισθηθέντα) to be the bread, water and wine, refer to an earlier passage in the same page. Οἱ διάκονοι

διδόασιν ἐκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσιν ἀποφέρουσι.]

the priests in their office. But if there be no priest present, then let it be lawful for the deacons to minister." Here is very small help for M. Harding's purpose, unless perhaps he will say, that *proferre* or *dividere*, is "to minister in one kind." But if he think this a very fond translation, as it is indeed, then this authority might have been spared.

M. Harding upon occasion of these words would have men believe that the deacon, in the absence of the priest, went to the pix, and took out the sacrament and received it. But Ruffinus speaketh not one word neither of taking forth of the sacrament, nor of the receiving of the deacon, but of dividing or ministering to the people. And his meaning seemeth to be this, that, in the absence of the priest, the deacon might consecrate, and so serve the people. Which thing, notwithstanding it seem in some part contrary to another canon of the same council, namely in the presence of a priest, yet that it was so used in the primitive church, it appeareth by most manifest and certain proofs. St. Ambrose imagineth St. Laurence, being a deacon, thus to say unto Sixtus [Xystus] the bishop, when he saw him led to his martyrdom: *Experire, utrum idoneum ministrum elegeris, cui commiseris Domini sanguinis consecrationem*⁷⁷: "O father, try whether thou have chosen a fit minister, unto whom thou hast committed the consecration of the Lord's blood." By these words we see, that deacons then used to consecrate. Therefore Eutropius was not well advised, when he without cause corrupted

Canon. 18.

Ambr. Offici.
or. lib. 1. cap.
41. [ll. 55.]

Eutropius.

⁷⁷ [In the Bened. this passage is stopped differently. "Experire certe utrum idoneum ministrum elegeris. Cui commisisti Domini sanguinis consecrationem, cui consummandorum consortium sacramentorum, huic sanguinis tui consortium negas?" See the note of the Bened. upon this passage, in which, after shewing that the Roman edition of Ambrose (contrary to all the MSS. and Edd.) reads "dispensationem," they argue against the protestant insinuation of wilful corruption at Rome, and lay the

blame, if any, upon Eutropius (this being also the account given by Hospinian, lib. v. Hist. Sacram. cap. 6.); and they then endeavour to explain away and to repudiate the inference deduced from this passage by Hospinian (loc. cit. and lib. i. Hist. Sacr. c. 23.), and by others, viz. that it was lawful for the deacon, in the absence of the priest, to consecrate the elements. Grotius supported Hospinian's view. See this passage well treated in Bingham, book ii. ch. xx. §. 8. p. 290. vol. i. Straker's edition.]

and altered St. Ambrose's words, and for *Dominici sanguinis consecrationem*, read *Dominici sanguinis dispensationem*. For it followeth immediately in St. Ambrose: *Et consummandorum consortium sacramentorum*: that is, "The fellowship of perfecting the sacraments."

Folio 356.
Authen. De
Eccl. divers.
Capitulis.

And the emperor Justinian in his Authentics, *De ecclesiasticis diversis Capitulis*: "Let the bishop appoint unto the women, that be under his government, such priest or deacon as they shall choose to make answer unto them, or to minister unto them the holy oblation."

Concl. An-
cyran. can. 2.
[il. 513.]

The same also may evidently be gathered by the second canon of the council Ancyrane; the words be: *Diaconi similiter, qui immolaverunt, honorem quidem habeant: cesare vero debent ab omni sacro ministerio, sive a pane, sive a calice offerendo, vel prædicando*: "Let the deacons that have offered" unto idols "keep their estate still. But they must give over all holy ministry, both of offering the bread and wine, and also of preaching"⁷⁸.

Bergomen.
in Honorio.
[Suppl.
Chron. lib. 9.
p. 218.]

This part of the deacon's office was afterward in sundry decrees abrogated. First, Bergomensis in the Life of Honorius saith: "It was decreed by Zosimus bishop of Rome, that the deacon should not minister in the presence of the bishop or priest." And long before that time, order was taken in the council holden at Arles in France, that deacons should not minister the sacrament at all. The words be: *De diaconis, quos cognovimus multis locis offerre, placuit id minime fieri debere*: "Touching deacons, of whom we hear say, that they make the oblation in many places, we have thought it good, that they do so no more."

Concl. Are-
lat. I. cap. 15.
[il. 473.]

M. Harding will not deny but these be proofs sufficient, that the deacons in those days used to minister the holy communion. Therefore the meaning of the council of Nice, is not that the deacon should go to the pix, and take the sacrament reserved, as M. Harding seemeth to gather upon a false text, being neither in the Greek, nor in the former setting forth of the councils, nor alleged by Gratian: but that the deacon in the absence of the priest might consecrate the holy mysteries, and deliver the same unto the

⁷⁸ [On this canon of the council of Ancyra, see Bingham, vol. i. 288.]

people, as may well be gathered by the words of Ruffine. But let us grant M. Harding, that the sacrament was reserved; yet hath he gotten very small advantage for his half communion. For if he would say thus:

The sacrament was reserved;

Ergo, it was reserved in one kind;

the sequel of his argument would be too weak. No logic could make it good.

I grant, the holy mysteries were sometimes kept in the primitive church upon sundry occasions; but they were kept in both kinds, as manifestly appeareth by Nicephorus, and by the first epistle of complaint sent by Chrysostom unto Innocentius. This being true, as it cannot be denied, that the sacrament was reserved in both kinds⁷⁹, what then hath M. Harding gotten by this invincible argument, for his half communion in one kind?

Nicephor.
lib. 13. cap.
19. [il. 391.]
Chrysost.
Epist. 1. ad
Innocenti-
um. [il. 519.]

M. HARDING: *Nineteenth Division.*

Where oftentimes we find it recorded of the fathers, that Christian people in time of persecution received of the priests at church, in fine linen cloths, the sacrament in sundry portions, to bear with them, and to receive it secretly in the morning before other meat, as their devotion served them, for the same cause; and in respect of other circumstances, it must of necessity be taken, only for the kind or form of bread. The places of Tertullian and St. Cyprian be known. Tertullian, writing to his wife, exhorteth her not to marry again, specially to an infidel, if he die before her, for that, if she do, she shall not be able at all times for her husband to do as a Christian woman ought to do. "Will not thy husband know," saith he, "what thou eatest secretly before all other meat? And in case he do know it, he will believe it to be bread, not (60) him who it is called." St. Cyprian writeth in his sermon *De Lapsis*, "That when a woman had gone about with unworthy hands to open her coffer where the holy thing of our Lord was laid up, she was made afraid with fire that rose up from thence, as she durst not touch it." Which doubtless must be taken for that one kind of the sacrament.

The 60th un-
truth. Stand-
ing in the
false trans-
lating of Ter-
tullian.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

The matter that hangeth in question between us, is whether the people being assembled together in the church, at any time within the space limited, received the

⁷⁹ [See Bingham, book xv. c. 4. §. 11.]

communion under one kind. M. Harding answereth me, not of the order of the church, but of several men and private houses. Thus he flieth that thing that should be proved; and the thing that needeth no proof, as nothing pertinent unto the matter, he proveth only by conjecture.

M. Harding
falsifieth
Tertullian,

In the place of Tertullian he useth a manifest corruption, as I have already shewed⁸⁰.

His conjectures be these: "Women received the sacrament in a linen cloth; Tertullian's wife received it at home before meats; St. Cyprian saith, A woman kept it at home in a chest: *ergo*, the sacrament was ministered in one kind." These be cold guesses and no proofs. To say, "They had the bread: *ergo*, they had not the wine," is a very faint reason, and hangeth only of ignorance, for that M. Harding knoweth not, in what order these things were kept. But that women and others kept the sacrament and carried it about them, and that in both kinds, it is evident, and cannot be denied,

Gregory Nazianzen thus writeth of his sister Gorgonia:

Nazian. in
Funere Gor-
goniæ. [l.
229.]

Εἶπον τι τῶν ἀντιτύπων τοῦ τιμίου σώματος, καὶ αἵματος, ἡ χεὶρ ἐθυσάυρησεν, τοῦτο καταμιγνύσα τοῖς δάκρυσιν, &c.: "If her hand had laid up any portion of the tokens of the precious body and of the blood, mingling it with her tears," &c. Here Nazianzen, contrary to M. Harding's judgment, saith, she had laid up both parts. And what should I stand long to heap examples? M. Harding's own Amphilochius, of whom he seemeth to make so great account, among other his fables, whereof he hath good store, saith: "That a certain Jew came and received among the faithful, and privily carried part of either kind home with him." How or wherein, it is not written. Yet will it not follow—M. Harding cannot tell wherein the Jew carried home the wine; therefore Amphilochius' tale is not true.

Amphilochi-
us. [in Vita
Basili cap.
7.]

Now, if M. Harding had his own request, yet is he far off from his purpose. For if he would reason thus: "One woman received the half sacrament in one kind at home: *ergo*, the people received in like sort openly in the church;"

⁸⁰ [See ante, pp. 239, 240.]

(which is the thing that should be proved;) this argument would hardly hold.

To be short, these three examples here alleged are nothing else but mere abuses of the sacrament. And therefore, as it appeareth by St. Cyprian, God shewed himself by miracle to be offended with it⁸¹, fraying the woman, that so had kept it, with a flame of fire. And it was decreed in the council holden at Cæsaraugusta in Spain: "That if any man received the sacrament, and eat not the same presently in the church, he should be accursed for ever"⁸². Thus M. Harding's reasons hold only by guess, grounded upon abuse, and being granted, yet are not able to prove his purpose.

Cyprian, de
Lapsis, serm.
5. [p. 189.]

Concil. Cæ-
saraugust.
cap. 3. [lib.
634.]

M. HARDING: *Twentieth Division.*

The examples of keeping the holy sacrament under the form of bread only, to be in a readiness for the sick and for others in time of danger, that they might have their necessary victual of life, or voyage provision with them at their departure hence, be in manner infinite. Here one or two may serve instead of a number. For though M. Jewel maketh his vaunt that we have not one sentence or clause for proof of these articles, which he so defaceth with his negative; yet I will not accumulate this treatise with tedious allegation of authorities. St. Ambrose, at the hour of death, received the communion under one kind, kept for that purpose, as it appeareth by this testimony of Paulinus, who wrote his Life. And because it may be a good instruction to others to die well, I will here recite his words: "At the same time as he departed from us to our Lord, from about the eleventh hour of the day, until the hour that he gave up the ghost, stretching abroad his hands in manner of a cross, he prayed: we saw his lips move, but voice we heard none. Horatus a priest of the church of Vercelles, being gone up to bed, heard a voice three times of one calling him, and saying to him: 'Arise and haste thee, for he will depart hence by and by.' Who going down gave to the saint our Lord's body, which taken and swallowed down he gave up the ghost, having with him a good voyage provision, so as the soul, being the better refreshed by the virtue of that meat, may now rejoice with the company of angels, whose life he led in the earth, and with the fellowship of Elias."

⁸¹ [This does not seem to have been St. Cyprian's meaning. See ante, p. 245, note ⁸⁴.]

⁸² [See ante, p. 239, note ⁷³.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

It is no vaunt to say the truth. Neither did I deny, that ever any one man received the communion in one kind. For I knew all these examples, and the weight of them. Neither is it so hard a matter for a man to know them. But this is the only thing that I denied: THAT YOU ARE NOT ABLE TO BRING ANY ONE SUFFICIENT AUTHORITY OR EXAMPLE, THAT EVER THE WHOLE PEOPLE RECEIVED THE COMMUNION IN THE OPEN CHURCH UNDER ONE KIND. Hereupon resteth that strange negative, wherewithal ye are so grieved. This is it, that ye should prove, and yet hitherto have not proved. Ye say, ye will not accumulate examples, as though ye had enough to spare. Yet have ye gotten together sick folk, women, infants, madmen, conjectures, guesses, miracles and fables; and have spared nothing that might be found, although it made nothing to your purpose. Such is the store of your examples.

Touching Paulinus, that, as it is supposed, wrote this Life of St. Ambrose, I will say nothing as of myself, but only refer you to Erasmus, whose judgment ye would seem sometime not to dislike. Thus he saith: *Idem est artifex, qui tam multa contaminavit in scriptis Hieronymi et Augustini*, &c.: "It is the same craftsman, that hath corrupted so many things in the writings of St. Hierom and St. Augustine, a man even made to such purpose. He had the story of St. Ambrose's life written by some other. Unto the same he set a jolly preface of his own: he wove in a great many talks between parties, and thereunto framed a conclusion, and patched on a sort of miracles.... Compare the very phrase and manner of speech of the true Paulinus with this fellow's rags," &c.

This is that Paulinus, whom M. Harding hath chosen for his author.

Touching the matter, if it be granted, it neither relieveth M. Harding's purpose, nor hindereth ours. For if St. Ambrose straight upon receiving of the bread yielded up the spirit, and therefore did not receive the cup, which thing

Erasm. in
præfatione in
Ambrosium.
[ed. Basil,
1527.]

notwithstanding is not yet proved, yet will it not follow, that this was the common order of the church. What example of dying well M. Harding hath here found, I cannot see: unless he mean that the sacrament, only because it is received, hath power to work salvation, and to cause a man to die well: which is a dangerous doctrine, and by M. Harding already refused. For as much as may appear Articulo 20. by the story, neither did St. Ambrose in that case call for the sacrament, nor utter any kind of word, nor understood what he received; but only lay speechless, and, as soon as he had swallowed the bread down, gave up the ghost. But this Paulinus in the same story noteth one special sentence of St. Ambrose, much had in remembrance and commended by St. Augustine in his old age, and here dissembled by M. Harding, whereof a man may take great comfort, and indeed learn a good lesson to die well. For he said lying in his deathbed: *Non sic vixi, ut pudeat inter vos vivere: nec mori timeo, quia bonum habemus Dominum:* “Neither have I so lived, that I am ashamed longer to live amongst you: nor am I afraid to die, for that we have a gracious Lord.”

M. HARDING: *Twenty-first Division.*

Dionysius Alexandrinus about the year of our Lord 200, as Eusebius Cæsariensis reciteth, manifestly declareth, how that an old man called Serapion, was houseled under one kind at his end. This Serapion, after that he had lain speechless three days, sent for the sacrament. The priest, for sickness not able to come himself, gave to the lad, that came of that errand, a little of the sacrament, commanding him to wet it, and so being moisted to pour it into the old man's mouth. Thus much is expressed by the words there, as the Greek is to be construed. The lad, being returned home, moisted with some liquor that divine meat to serve the old man withal, lying now panting for desire to be dismissed hence, and to haste him away to heaven, and poured it into his mouth. For that this old man's mouth and throat had long been dry by force of his sickness, the priest, who had experience in that case, providently gave warning to moist the sacrament with some liquor, and so together to pour it into his mouth. Which was so done by the lad, as Dionysius expresseth. Now if the form of wine had then also been brought by the lad to be ministered, there had been no need of such circumstance to procure the old man a moisture to swallow down that holy food.

Eccles. Hist.
lib. 6. cap. 44.
[l. 316, 317.]

Ἀποβρέξαι
κελεύσας
καὶ τῷ πρε-
σβύτρῳ κατὰ
τοῦ στόμα-
τος ἐπιστά-
ξαι. [p. 318.]

And that this was the manner of ministering the sacrament to old men at their departing, it appeareth by record of Theodoretus, who writeth in his Ecclesiastical Story, how one Bassus an arch-priest ministered unto an old man called Simeones, of great fame for his holiness. "Bassus," saith he, "as he visited his churches, chanced upon holy Simeones, that wonder of the world lying sick, who through feebleness was not able to speak nor move. When Bassus saw he should die, he giveth him his rites before." But after what sort it is to be marked. *Spongia petita Simeoni os humectat atque eluit, ac tum ei divinum obtulit sacramentum*: "He calleth for a sponge," saith Theodoretus, "and therewith moisteth and washeth Simeones' mouth, and then giveth him the holy sacrament." If at that time the receiving of the sacred cup had been in use, such procuring of moisture for the better swallowing down of the sacrament under one kind had been needless.

Amphilochius, that worthy bishop of Iconium in Lycaonia, of whom mention is made in the article afore this, writeth in the Life of St. Basil, that a little before he gave up his ghost, he received a portion of the holy sacrament, which long before he had caused to be kept, to the intent it might be put in his grave with him at his burial. Which no man can cavil to be any other, than the form of bread only.

The burying
of the sacra-
ment.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

M. Harding, rather than he would seem to answer nothing, answereth one thing for another. The question is, of the usage and order of the church: his answer is of Serapion's deathbed, as though there had been no churches yet erected in those days.

This Serapion, for open idolatry by him committed, was excommunicate from the church, and utterly cut off from the company of the faithful, and that in such extreme sort, for the greater terror of others, that during his life he should never be admitted again. Notwithstanding which extremity, upon good proofs and tokens of repentance, lest the party should be utterly swallowed up with despair, the church oftentimes, with charitable discretion, remitted some part of that rigour: as may appear by St. Cyprian, St. Augustine and others, and by Dionysius that wrote this story.

St. Augustine speaking of the times of persecution, "Do not we consider," saith he, "in what multitudes the people in such dangers resorteth to the church, some desiring they

August. ad
Honorat.
epist. 180.
[li. 833.]

may be baptized, some that they may be reconciled from excommunication, some that they may be admitted to shew their repentance (for their open crimes); every man desiring comfort, every man desiring the participation of the sacrament? In which case if there be no minister to be had, what misery then followeth them that depart this life either unbaptized or else bound (in their sins)!" Likewise St. Cyprian saith: "In this extreme case of death, the party excommunicate should not tarry to be reconciled by the bishop (in the presence of the church, as the order was then), but discharge himself before any deacon, and so depart unto the Lord in peace." Therefore the priest understanding the state the old man Serapion, being excommunicate, stood in, and being not able for sickness to go himself, lest he should depart comfortless in desperation, in token that he was reconciled unto the church, sent unto him the sacrament by the lad, and sent it not in one kind only, but in both. For such was the order of the church then, as it appeareth well by the story of Exuperius, and by Justinus, and others. And the boy that carried the sacrament, for more ease of the old man in that case, was warned by the priest to moist the bread in the sacramental wine that he brought with him, like as Bassus also did unto Simeones; whom M. Harding highly commendeth for his holiness, notwithstanding he were the founder of the Messalians, and therefore as he afterward saith, the first parent of the sacramentary heresy⁸³. And what hath M. Harding herein found for his half communion? He will say, "The boy was commanded to dip the bread, and Bassus was fain to wash Simeones' mouth; *ergo*, they received in one kind." Verily Serapion's boy were soon able to answer this argument. For what sequel is this in reason: "The sick man's mouth was dry; *ergo*, he could not receive the cup?" Who would make such reasons but M. Harding? Of this ground he might better reason thus: "The sick man's mouth was dry; *ergo*, he could not receive the bread." In my judgment, the scouring

Hieronym.
ad Rusticum.
[iv. pt. 2. p.
778.]
Justinus,
Apologia 2.
[al. 1. p. 83.]
Theodoret.
[Hæret. Fabul.] lib. 4.
cap. 11. [iv.
243.]

⁸³ [Messalians, see ante, p. 320.]

of the sick man's mouth hath small force to take from him the sacrament of Christ's blood, and so to prove the half communion.

As for the fable of M. Harding's Amphilochius, it were great wrong to answer it otherwise than as a fable. For thus it is: "The bread had been kept by the space of seven years or more; St. Basil in his deathbed called for it, and received it, to the intent," as M. Harding saith, "it might be buried with him⁸⁴." The former part hereof, to say, either that the sacrament was kept the space of seven years, or that, at the end of so long time, it was fit to be received of a sick man in his deathbed, is mere folly. But to say, as M. Harding here saith, that the body of Christ, being now immortal and glorious, and at the right hand of God, may be laid in the grave and buried, is manifest and wicked blasphemy. Abdias saith, that St. Matthy [Matthias] the apostle, when he was stoned to death, desired that two of the first stones might be buried with him for a witness against them that so used him; who, although he be full of like fables, yet hath he some reason in his fables: but M. Harding's Amphilochius hath none at all.

Now, for view of M. Harding's proofs, good reader, consider this: I demand of the laity; he answereth of St. Ambrose, and St. Basil, which were bishops. I demand of the whole people; he answereth of several men. I demand of the usage of the church; he answereth of persons excommunicate, that were without the church. I demand of sufficient and certain proofs; he answereth me by guesses and fables. And these be his invincible arguments, that no man can answer.

M. HARDING: *Twenty-second Division.*

The 61st untruth. Without any colour or show of truth.

It hath been a (61) custom in the Latin church from the apostles' time to our days, that on Good Friday, as well priests, as other Christian people, receive the sacrament under the form of bread only, consecrated the day before, called the day of our Lord's supper, commonly "Maundy Thursday," and that not without signification of a singular mystery; and this hath ever been judged a good and sufficient communion.

⁸⁴ [Amphilochius, see ante, p. 315. seqq.]

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

This may well be called a Good Friday's argument⁸⁵, it cometh in so naked without witness. Indeed M. Tonstall saith, it hath been used of old in the Latin church, but he durst not say from the time of the apostles, as M. Harding here saith. Yet for augmentation of matter of his side, I will say further: the first council Arausicane, holden sometime in France, and Innocentius the First, have added hereto the holy Saturday, which now is called Easter-eve, and say it is a tradition of the church, that in those two days the sacrament in any wise be not ministered. The like whereof is written by Socrates of Good Friday, and the Wednesday before.

Tonstall. de Eucharist. [lib. 1. p. 47.]

Concil. Arausicanum 1. [v1. 443—6.]

Socr. lib. 5. cap. 21. [li. 295.]

The singular mystery hereof, M. Harding holdeth secret as a mystery. Innocentius saith: "It is because the apostles ran their way that day, and hid themselves." Thomas of Aquine and Gerson say: "Because if any had consecrate that day while Christ lay dead, the body had been without blood, and the blood without the body." Others say: "If the sacrament that mean while had been kept, it would have been dead in the pix."

Innocent. 1. [ep. 1.] ca. 4. Thom. 3. par. de Euch. qu. 76. art. 3. Gerson contra Floret. lib. 4. Tho. 3. par. qu. 81. art. 4. Innocent. 3.

Hugo⁸⁶ Cardinalis saith:..... *Quinta feria duæ hostiæ consecrantur, et altera in crastinum reservatur, quod eleganter fit*, &c.: "Upon Shire Thursday⁸⁷ two hosts be consecrate, and the one of them is reserved until the next day, which thing is very trimly done. For Christ's passion is the truth, and the sacrament is a figure of the

Hugo Cardinal. in Evang. secundum Lucam cap. 23. [tom. 7. fol. 247.]

⁸⁵ [The editor confesses that he does not understand what is meant by a Good Friday's argument, unless it alludes to the controversy respecting the computation of Easter.]

⁸⁶ [Hugo Cardinalis. This was Hugo de Sancto Charo.—The title of the work from which Jewel quotes is, *Postillæ in totum Vetus et Novum Testamentum*, a copy of which, printed in 1504, (but wanting the sixth vol.) is in Merton college library, and has been kindly made accessible to the editor. The work will be found entire

in the Bodleian, printed 1533. The "*Speculum Ecclesiæ*" to which Jewel has referred correctly at p. 216, is by the same author, and the editor has at length succeeded in finding a copy in the Bodleian.]

⁸⁷ [Shire-Thursday, variously spelt, Sheer—Sheere—Sher—Shier—Chare—Thursday, (i. q. Maundy Thursday,) so called from the custom of shearing or shaving the beard on that day. See Nares' Glossary, and Dr. Wordsworth's *Eccl. Biography*, vol. i. p. 295, as cited by Nares.]

Eleganter.

same. Therefore, when the truth is come, the figure giveth place." These be the greatest mysteries that I could ever learn touching this matter.

"But this," saith M. Harding, "was ever counted a good communion." I grant. But ye have not yet proved, that this was your half communion. For if ye say, They consecrated the day before: *ergo*, they received in one kind only the day after; this would be no formal argument. For the Greek church all the Lent long used to consecrate the sacrament only upon Saturdays and Sundays, as it is noted in the council of Constantinople⁸⁸; and upon other days they used the communion of things consecrate before, and yet had they never until this day the communion under one kind. Yet notwithstanding, unto this manner of the Greek church M. Tostall resembleth the observation of Good Friday in the Latin church. So far is M. Harding off, from proving his purpose by Good Friday.

Sexta Syn.
(Const.) can.
52. [Quin.
Sext. xi. 968.]

Tostall. de
Eucharist.
[lib. i. p. 47.]

M. HARDING: *Twenty-third Division.*

And that in the Greek church also, even in the time of Chrysostom, the communion under the form of bread only was used and allowed, it appeareth by this notable story of Sozomenus, a Greek writer: which because it is long, I will here rehearse it only in English, remitting the learned to the Greek. "When John, otherwise named Chrysostom, governed the church of Constantinople very well, a certain man of the Macedonian heresy had a wife of the same opinion. When this man had heard John in his sermon declare how one ought to think of God, he praised his doctrine, and exhorted his wife to conform herself to the same judgment also. But, whenas she was led by the talk of noble women, rather than by her husband's good advertisements, after that he saw counsel took no place, 'Except,' quoth he, 'thou wilt bear me company in things touching God, thou shalt have no more to do with me, nor live any longer with me.' The woman, hearing this, promising feignedly that she would agree unto it, conferreth the matter with a woman servant that she had, whom she esteemed for trusty, and useth her help to deceive her husband. About the time of the mysteries, she, holding fast that which she had received, stooped down, making resemblance to pray. Her servant, standing by, giveth to her secretly that which she had brought with her in her hand. That, as she put her teeth to it

Hist. Eccles.
lib. 8. cap. 5.
in Græco. [ii.
p. 332]

⁸⁸ . . . ἡ τῶν προηγιασμένων λειτουργία. [Bruns. vol. i. 53. These words were in former editions

printed incorrectly and in an inverted order in the margin. See ante, p. 278, note 11.]

to bite it, hardeneth into a stone. With that the woman sore astonished, fearing lest some evil should happen unto her therefore, which came by the power of God, ran forthwith to the bishop, and bewraying herself, sheweth him the stone, having yet in it the prints of her bite, representing a strange matter and a wondrous colour; and so with tears of her eyes besought forgiveness, promising her husband she would consent and agree to him. If this seem to any incredible," saith Sozomenus, "that stone is witness, which to this day is kept among the jewels of the church of Constantinople." By this story it is clear, the sacrament was then ministered under one kind only. For, by receiving that one form, this woman would have persuaded her husband that she had communicated with him, and with that holy bishop. Else, if both kinds had then been ministered, she should have practised some other shift for the avoiding of the cup, which had not been so easy.

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I may not disgrace the credit of this story: albeit in Sozomenus and Nicephorus, of both whom the same is recorded, there be sundry things that may well be filed. But I see no cause yet, wherefore M. Harding should blow the triumph. For in all this long rehearsal there is not one word spoken of the communion under one kind. The bread, so changed into a stone, and kept for a memory among the jewels there, was a witness of the woman's dissimulation, and not of M. Harding's half communion. "Yet," saith he, "by this story it is clear, the sacrament was then ministered under one kind only. For, by receiving that one form, the woman would have persuaded her husband, that she had communicated with him. Else, if both kinds had then been ministered, she would have practised some other shift for the avoiding of the cup, which had not been so easy." Now truly here is but a cold conclusion, hanging wholly (as it may appear) only upon the flight of a woman's wit. For, as this woman had devised to deceive her husband in the bread, why might she not as well devise to deceive him in the cup? why might she not take the cup and feign that she drank, and yet drink nothing? Doubtless such dissimulation is sooner wrought in the cup than in the bread; and she, that durst so to dissemble in the one part of God's sacraments, would little fear to dissemble in the other.

Here we see the certainty of M. Harding's guesses. He reapeth the thing that was never sown, and gathereth of his authors the thing that was never spoken.

But, touching the truth of this whole matter, if a man list only to go by guess, as M. Harding doth, why may he not thus imagine with himself: If this woman would thus dissemble in a case so dangerous, what needed her to take the bread at her maid's hand, and specially at that time, in that place, and in the sight of the whole people? Or how could she so openly receive it without suspicion? Or why might she not have brought it in a napkin secretly about herself? The burden was not great; her feigning and hypocrisy had been the easier. And thus much to answer one guess by another.

But, that there was no such dismembering of the holy communion at that time, we may well understand both by St. Basil, Nazianzen, Gregory Nyssen, and others of that age, and also by these plain words of Chrysostom: *Est ubi nihil differat sacerdos a subdito: ut quando fruendum est horrendis mysteriis*: "In some cases there is no difference between the priest and the people: as when they must enjoy the reverend mysteries⁸⁹." Besides that, the Greek church never had this half communion, neither before that time nor never sithence. And therefore pope Leo the Tenth calleth the use of the whole sacrament according to Christ's institution, the Bohemians' and the Grecians' heresy.

Chrysost. in
2. Cor. hom.
18. [x. 568.]

M. HARDING: *Twenty-fourth Division.*

The place of St. Basil's Epistles *ad Cæsariam* cannot be avoided by no shift nor sophistry of the gossellers. These be his words: "All they, which live the solitary life in wilderness, where is no priest, keeping the communion at home, communicate themselves. And in Alexandria and in Egypt each of the people for the most part hath the communion in his house."

Here I might ask M. Jewel how they could keep wine consecrated in small measures, as should serve for every man's house apart, in those countries of extreme heat, specially in wilderness, where they had neither priest nor deacon, as in that place St. Basil writeth; for lack of whom they kept it in store a long

⁸⁹ [See the original printed in note ⁵¹, p. 337.]

time, that they might not be destitute of it at need. Again, here I might ask him, whether it was the form of bread only, or of wine also, which Christian men and specially women went devoutly to receive of the priests in their clean linen or napkins, to bear home with them, taking great heed, that no fragments of it fell down to the ground, as both Origen and also St. Augustine do witness. I think he will confess, that linen cloth is not a very fit thing to keep liquor in.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

The gospellers, whom M. Harding so often upbraideth with that name, as if he himself had no part in God's gospel, have little need to avoid that thing whereby they see themselves nothing hindered. For the question is moved of the whole congregation; answer is made of several persons. We speak of the order of churches; M. Harding answereth of forests and wilderness. Verily if he could find any thing to purpose in the church, he would not thus hunt the mountains; neither would he flee for aid into Egypt, if he could find any near at home.

The ground of this argument is the impossibility of keeping wine; which M. Harding hath hitherto uttered by the name of form. Now that it is come to souring, he calleth it wine. There is cunning in shifting of terms. But if there be no wine there remaining, as these men would persuade the world, what shall we call it then, that thus standeth in danger of souring? Certainly Christ's blood will not sour, and forms of wine, without substance, cannot sour; either of these both can as well abide the hot country as the cold. But Gelasius saith: "There remaineth in the sacraments the nature and substance of bread and wine."^[Bibl. Patr. tom. v. pt. 3. p. 671.]

Of preserving wines in hot countries, I will not reason. Notwithstanding, I remember Macrobius saith, that, as the country of Egypt is extreme hot, so the wines of the same be extreme cold, and therefore, as it may be supposed, the more durable. And, although the country of Naples be very hot, yet the wines thereof have been preserved the space of forty or fifty years, as it is mentioned by Plutarch⁸⁹,^{Macrobius. [Saturn. lib. 7. c. 8.] Plutarchus in Lucullo.}

⁸⁹ [There is some mistake in this reference to Plutarch.]

Athenæus,
lib. 1. [p. 27.]

Athenæus⁹⁰, and others. Howbeit, this is not much material. But, as the wine is in danger of souring, so is the bread in danger of moulding, as appeareth by sundry cautions of the mass therefore provided. Yet one question would well be here demanded—If the wine in the mountains of Egypt could not be kept in small quantities a few days, how then could the wine that Christ changed out of water, in Cana of Galilee, be kept at Orleans in France, as a relic, for the space of fifteen hundred and thirty years, ever sithence that time, until this day, and that still without souring? But let us yield, that wine in the mountains could not be kept; yet might it well be had, and kept in churches, at the least during the time of the communion: and that to this purpose is sufficient.

Vinum Archi-
trichlini.

The keeping of liquor in a linen cloth was M. Harding's conceit, more to solace himself withal, than much making to the matter. For otherwise, as the women received the bread in a cloth, so might they receive the wine in a vial, or some other like thing. And that they so did, it may well be gathered by the story of Gorgonia, Nazianzen's sister; by Exuperius, of whom St. Hierom writeth; and by the fable of the Jew, in M. Harding's own Amphilochius. And, for that M. Harding maketh such sport with "keeping liquor in a cloth," it was decreed in the council holden at Altisiodorum, "That the priest should put his oil in a chrismatory, and in linen," by these words: *Ut chrisma chrismario et linteo imponant*. I doubt not, but M. Harding thinketh a linen cloth will hold wine as well as oil⁹¹.

Nazian. in
Funere Gor-
goniæ. [l.
229.]
Hieronym.
ad Rusticum
Narbonen.
[iv. pt. 2. p.
778.]

Concil. Altis-
siodoren.
can. 6. [ix.
912.]

M. HARDING: *Twenty-fifth Division.*

Though I might bring a great number of other places, for the use of one kind, which, after the most common rule of the church, was the form of bread; yet here I will stay myself, putting the reader in mind, that the communion hath been ministered to some

⁹⁰ [All that Athenæus says in the first book about wines of Naples is, *ὁ ἐν Νεαπόλει Τρεβελλικὸς εὐκρατος τῇ δυνάμει, εὐστόμαχος, εὐστόμος.*]

⁹¹ [Concil. Autissiodor. can. 6.

Mansi reads, "... transmittat [chrisma] cum chrismario et linteo." Jewel has given the reading of Crabbe, "... transmittat et chrismario et linteo imponant."]

persons under the form of wine only, and hath been taken for the whole sacrament, specially to such, as for dryness of their throat, at their death, could not swallow it down under the form of bread. Whereas it appeareth by St. Cyprian, and also by St. Augustine, that the sacrament was given to infants in their time; we find in St. Cyprian, that when a deacon offered the cup of our Lord's blood to a little maid child, which, through default of the nurse, had tasted of the sacrifices that had been offered to devils; the child turned away her face, by the instinct of the divine majesty, saith he, closed fast her lips, and refused the cup. But yet, when the deacon had forced her to receive a little of the cup, the yeax⁹² and vomit followed, so as that sanctified drink in the blood of our Lord gushed forth of the polluted bowels. If the sacrament had been given to this infant under the form of bread before, she would have refused that no less than she did the cup, that the deacon then would not have given her the cup. And that this may seem the less to be wondered at, Johannes Teutonicus, that wrote Scholies upon Gratian, witnesseth, that, even in his time, the custom was in some places to give the sacrament to infants, not by delivering to them the body of Christ, but by pouring the blood into their mouths; which custom hath been, upon good consideration, abrogated in the church of Rome, and kept in the Greek church, as Lyra writeth upon St. John.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Whatsoever plenty of such examples M. Harding hath, if he had any better, he might well have spared these. Here he saith, "Some old men, for their age and drithe⁹³ were suffered to communicate of the cup only, as being not able to swallow the bread." A little before, he said, "That St. Ambrose, lying in his deathbed, received the bread only;" and that "St. Basil, in the like case, received the sacrament, being then stale and dry, of seven years keeping, and that alone, without wine." Seneca saith: *Proprium est luxuriæ, gaudere perversis*: "It is the property of wantonness, to delight in things out of order."

Infants, saith M. Harding, received in one kind, and thereto he allegeth the authority of St. Cyprian; which, although it made with him to this purpose, touching children, yet to other great purposes it maketh directly against him. For first, by that place of St. Cyprian, the holy communion was thought so necessary to all the faithful,

M Harding
is against
himself, and
speaketh
contraries.

Cypr. serm.
5. de Lapsis.
[p. 189.]

⁹² [Yeax or Yex—hiccough.]

⁹³ [Drithe—Drythe—old English for drought.]

H. Harding
allegeth St.
Cyprian
against him-
self.

that children and infants were not excluded ; which plainly overthroweth the private mass. Besides that, the whole people received in both kinds, as it is manifest by St. Cyprian's words ; which thing is contrary to M. Harding's half communion.

All this he granteth touching the people, wherein only I joined issue ; and maketh his whole plea upon an infant : and yet of infants, as he knoweth, I spake nothing. If all that he saith were proved true, yet hath he gotten but an infant of his side. But what if this infant received both kinds ? Verily there is nothing in Cyprian to the contrary.

Aug. [I.
Gennadii] de
Eccl. Dog-
mat. lib. 1.
cap. 52. [viii.
app. 78.]

And it appeareth by St. Hierom, St. Augustine⁹³, and other old writers, that they that were baptized, as well children as others, immediately received the holy mysteries in both kinds. St. Hierom, speaking of one Hilarius, saith thus : *Non potest baptismum tradere sine eucharistia* : " He cannot minister baptism without the sacrament of thanksgiving." St. Cyprian's words touching this matter be these :

Hieronym.
contra Luci-
ferian. [iv.
pt. 2. p. 302.]

[Cypr. Opp.
p. 189.]

Ubi solemnibus adimpletis calicem diaconus offerre presentibus cepit, et accipientibus cæteris, locus ejus advenit, faciem suam parvula, instinctu divinæ majestatis, avertere, &c. : " After the solemnity (of the consecration) was done, and the deacon began to minister the cup unto them that were present, and among others that received, her turn was come, the child, by the power of God's divine majesty, turned away her face," &c. Hereby we may well gather, that like as the priest, the deacons, and the people received, even so the child received too, without any manner innovation or difference.

He will say, " There is mention made but only of the cup. Therefore the child received not the other kind." This guess is over slender ; yet is it an ordinary argument with M. Harding. But it seemeth, he doth not well consider the inconvenience that thereof may follow. For so may he as well conclude, that the priest himself, and the deacons, and the whole people received only of the cup. For there is no mention at all made of the other portion.

⁹³ [This work, attributed to St. Augustine, is supposed to have been written by Gennadius of Marseilles. A.D. 495. Cave.]

“If the bread had been offered to the child, she would as well have refused that, as she did the cup.” This is another guess, without any necessary sequel. This effect followed when God would have it; of whose doings we can give no reason.

Lyra and Teutonicus lived at the least thirteen hundred years after Christ, wherefore their authority in this case must needs seem the less. Yet, for aught that I can see, Lyra is untruly alleged, as writing to another purpose. Teutonicus, in his gloss in the same place, manifestly corrupteth St. Augustine’s text. For whereas St. Augustine speaketh namely of children, and calleth them, *parvulos*, “little ones,” he saith in his gloss, *Hoc intellige de adultis*: “Understand this of men of ripe years.” Then to confirm his error, he allegeth a custom, but he knoweth not where; and proveth it also, but he knoweth not by whom. For thus he avoucheth it: *Secundum quosdam*: that is, “As some men say;” which was never good witness in any court. Wherefore M. Harding might have spared these doctors, without any prejudice of his cause.

[De Con.
dist. 4. 91
qui apud illos
hereticos.—
in Glossa.]

M. HARDING: *Twenty-sixth Division.*

The fourth council of Carthago decreed, if a man in sickness (who was enjoined public penance) do demand his housel, and ere he die, fall in a frenzy, or become speechless, that the sacrament be poured into his mouth. To take this for the form of wine, we are moved by the decree of the eleventh council Toletane. Where it is said, that the weak nature of man is wont at the point of death to be so far oppressed with drought, that it may be refreshed by no means, uneth sustained with comfort of drink. Then it followeth: “Which thing we see to be so, at departing of many, who being very desirous to receive their voyage provision of the holy communion, when the sacrament was given them, have cast it up again: not that they did this through infidelity, but for that they were not able to swallow down the sacrament delivered to them, but only a draught of our Lord’s cup.” Howsoever this be taken, it is plain by this council, as by many other ancient councils and doctors, that the manner of the catholic church hath been to minister the sacrament to the sick under one kind.

Can. 76.
[Mansi iii.
957.]

Can. 11. [xi.
143, 144.]

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These authorities answer themselves. Being every way granted, yet is M. Harding never the nere⁹⁴. The whole matter we stand upon is the open order and usage in the church. For proof hereof, here are brought in lunatics and madmen. It were a strange sight, to see a church full of such people. The substance of his argument resteth only upon this guess, "That the bread cannot be poured into the sick man's mouth;" and yet he may learn by the third council of Carthage, and by the abridgment of the council of Hippo, "That the sacrament was then put into dead men's mouths." Neither can I see what necessity is in this reason: "The man is frenetic, or lieth speechless, which was the suggestion of that council: *ergo*, he cannot receive the sacramental bread." If there be danger in the receiving, there is none more, than in the cup.

Concill. Carth.
3. can. 6. [iii.
88r.]

The canon of the council of Toledo, here alleged, is not an exposition of this council of Carthage, as M. Harding thinketh, but a declaration of a canon made in the first council of Toledo, as it is plain by these words: *In collatione nostri cœtus relectus est canon Toletani concilii primi, in quo præceptum est, ut, si quis acceptam a sacerdote eucharistiam non sumpserit, velut sacrilegus propellatur*: "In the conference of our council, there was read a canon of the council of Toledo, wherein it was ordered, that, if any man received not the sacrament delivered to him by the priest, the same should be excommunicate, as a wicked doer." This decree seemed very strait, specially for that a godly man, by mean of sickness, or other weakness of nature, might happen to refuse, or not to receive down the sacrament, but to cast it up against his will. Therefore the council, by way of declaration, determineth thus: That, if any man happen so to do by force of sickness, he shall not stand in danger of the law.

Conc. Toletan.
11. can. 11. [xi. 143,
144.]

Hereupon M. Harding concludeth thus: "It is plain by this council, and by many other councils and doctors," &c. Other council or doctor here is none named. This council

⁹⁴ [Old Engl. "... never the nere." Chaucer—quoted in Richardson's Dictionary.]

neither maketh any law touching this matter, nor declareth any order or manner of public ministration ; but only excuseth the invincible necessity and weakness of nature.

But touching the manner and order of the church, the same council in the selfsame place saith, that the whole sacrament was offered even to the sick : that the sick did sometime of infirmity cast it up again : which is a good argument, that they did receive it : and that infants did sometime the like : whereof we may gather, that infants then received the sacrament, and that in such sort, as others did.

Si quis acceptam Eucharistiam non sumpserit. Collatam a sacerdote Eucharistiam rejiciunt.

All these things considered accordingly, M. Harding might well conclude thus against himself : It was granted of special favour unto lunatics and madmen, and other sick persons, that, in consideration of their weakness, they might communicate under one kind without danger of the law ; therefore the rest, that were not so excepted, communicated under both kinds, and that by the very force of the law.

M. HARDING : *Twenty-seventh Division.*

Now, whereas some say, that the sacrament to be given under the form of bread, was first dipped in the blood of our Lord, and would have so used now also for the sick, and that it is so to be taken for the whole and entire sacrament, as though the sacrament, under the form of bread, were not of itself sufficient : let them understand, that this was an old error, condemned above twelve hundred years past, by Julius the First, that great defender of Athanasius ; who hereof in an epistle to the bishops through Egypt, wrote thus : *Illud vero quod pro complemento communionis intinctam tradunt eucharistiam populis, nec hoc prolatum ex evangelio testimonium receperunt, ubi apostolis corpus suum Dominus commendavit et sanguinem. Seorsum enim panis, et seorsum calicis commendatio memoratur* : "Whereas some deliver to the people the sacrament dipped, for the full and whole communion, they have not received this testimony pronounced out of the gospel, where our Lord gave his body and his blood. For the giving of the bread is recorded apart by itself, and the giving of the cup, apart likewise by itself." And whereas some afterward, in the time of Vitellianus, would have brought in again this abrogated custom, it was in like manner condemned and abolished, *in tertio concilio Bracarensi, can. 1.*

De Con. dist.
2. Cum omne
crimen.

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There have been many great abuses about the holy mysteries, not only of late years in the church of Rome,

whereof we justly complain, but also in the primitive church, even from the apostles' time. For some there were, that ministered in water only^a; some that ministered milk instead of wine^a; some bruised grapes into the cup^a, and so ministered; some ministered bread and cheese together^b; some dipped the sacrament of Christ's body in the sacrament of his blood^a. But neither this folly, whereof Julius speaketh, nor any otherlike old folly, was ever renewed by any of us. Indeed M. Harding, and all the rest of that side, have used to break the bread, and to dip the third part of it into the wine, and for the same have devised a solemn mystery. For some of them say, "It signifieth Christ's rising from the dead;" some, "The faithful that be yet alive;" some others, "The blessed, that be in heaven." And yet M. Harding knoweth that Julius calleth it, "a schismatical ambition, and a practice contrary to the apostles' doctrine."

We (both herein, and in all other cases like,) follow only Christ's institution; who, as the evangelists have written, and as Julius also recordeth, first gave the bread apart, and afterward the wine likewise apart; and said, not only, "Eat this," but also by express words, "Drink this." Yet Ivo saith, that for danger of shedding, sometimes the bread is dipped into the cup, and so delivered to the people.

This Julius, here alleged, standeth fully of our side; and therefore I marvel, that M. Harding would seek comfort at his hand. For, where he saith, *Porrigunt eucharistiam populis*: "They deliver the sacrament unto the people;" he importeth a communion: where he reproveth the error of dipping, and rectifieth the same by Christ's institution, "and commandeth both kinds to be given apart;" he signifieth the whole communion expressly in both kinds; and so quite overthroweth whatsoever M. Harding hath hitherto builded.

M. HARDING: *Twenty-eighth Division.*

Now I refer me to the judgment of the reader, of what opinion soever he be, whether, for proof of the communion under one kind, we have any word, sentence, or clause at all, or no; and whether these words of M. Jewel in his sermon be true or no,

^a De Con. dist. 2. Cum omne.

^b Aug. ad Quodvult-deum. [de Hæresibus, viii. 10.]

Ivo de divinis Officiis, ap. Cassandrum. [p. 76.]

Julius commandeth both kinds, contrary to M. Harding's doctrine.

where he saith thus : " It was used throughout the whole catholic church, six hundred years after Christ's ascension, under both kinds, without exception." That it was so used, yea six hundred years, and long after, we deny not ; but that it was so always, and in every place used, and without exception, that we deny ; and upon what grounds we do it, let M. Jewel himself be judge. If some of our allegations may be with violence wrested from our purpose, verily a great number of them cannot, the authority of the ancient fathers, who wrote them, remaining inviolated. Whereof it followeth, that after the judgment of these fathers, whereas Christ instituted this blessed sacrament, and commanded it to be celebrated, and received in remembrance of his death, (62) he gave no necessary commandment, either for the one, or for both kinds, (beside and without the celebration of the sacrifice,) but left that to the determination of the church. Now that the church, for the avoiding of unreverence, perils, offences, " and other weighty and important causes," hath decreed it^a in two general councils, to be received of the lay people in one kind only, we think it good, with all humbleness, to submit ourselves to the church herein ; which church Christ commandeth to be heard and obeyed, saying, " He that heareth not the church, let him be to thee as a heathen, and as a publican." In doing whereof, we weigh advisedly with ourselves the horrible danger that remaineth for them, who be authors of schism, and breakers of unity.

The question is of the open ministracion in the church.

The 62nd untruth. For Christ's institution pertaineth as well to the people, as to the priest.

^a These councils were holden fourteen hundred and fourteen years after Christ.

Matt. xviii.
17.

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Good Christian reader, now that M. Harding hath said so much as he is able, it behoveth thee, as thou wilt judge indifferently between us both, so to consider and mark well the very state and issue of the matter, wherein the whole question lieth. The negative of our side, which so much troubleth him, is this : THAT, FOR THE SPACE OF SIX HUNDRED YEARS AFTER CHRIST, IT CANNOT BE FOUND IN ANY OLD DOCTOR, OR COUNCIL, THAT EVER THE HOLY COMMUNION WAS MINISTERED TO THE PEOPLE, IN THE CHURCH, OR ANY OPEN ASSEMBLY, IN ONE KIND ONLY, AS IT IS NOW MINISTERED IN THE CHURCH OF ROME. The issue therefore of the whole matter between us standeth upon the order and usage of the church.

M. Harding, for proof hereof, hath brought certain particular examples of drought, infirmities, sickness, age, inevitable necessities, and impossibilities, and weakness of nature. Verily, good reader, I looked for other proofs at

M. Harding's hands. For all these, and otherlike things, I knew before. He hath alleged Christ's breaking of bread at Emmaus : the allegation whereof to this purpose, one of his own doctors saith, is mere folly. He hath alleged two women, three sick folk in their deathbeds, persons excommunicate, infants, frenetics, and madmen.

He allegeth napkins, chests, chambers, mountains, and wilderness ; and, for further proof, hath brought conjectures, guesses, lies, and fables. He allegeth abuses, that long sithence have been condemned. He allegeth scriptures, doctors, and councils, plainly and directly against himself.

He is learned, and hath read much ; he is eloquent, and can utter much ; yea he is able to make nothing to appear somewhat, and a little to seem much.

He hath had good conference with as many as he thought meet, either within this realm or without. He hath seen whatsoever hath been written by Coclæus, Eckius, Pighius, Hofmeister, Michael Væhe, Hosius, Staphylus, and such other of that sort. He hath had five whole years and more to order and digest his book. It toucheth him very near, that any man should be so bold to say, " They have defrauded the people of half the sacrament, and yet can allege nothing for it." He sheweth himself much offended, and therefore spareth not his familiar terms, heretics—schismatics—adversaries of the church—God's enemies, and such like. Yet, having so much learning, so much eloquence, so much conference, so much study, so much leisure, being so affected, and so offended, yet hath he not hitherto brought one word, either of ancient council, or of old doctor, to prove that thing that is denied ; that is, **THAT THE SACRAMENT WAS EVER MINISTERED UNTO THE PEOPLE IN ONE KIND, OPENLY IN ANY CONGREGATION, OR IN THE OPEN ORDER AND USAGE OF ANY CHURCH.** Yet were there churches then erected ; yet were there priests and people then ; yet was the holy ministration then openly used in form and order ; and learned men to record the same. All this notwithstanding, M. Harding hath hitherto found nothing in the open ministration, in the congregation and assembly of the people, whereby to prove his half com-

munion. Wherefore there is no cause yet shewed to the contrary, but M. Jewel may say now as he truly before said in his sermon, THE WHOLE COMMUNION WAS USED THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE CATHOLIC CHURCH UNDER BOTH KINDS, SIX HUNDRED YEARS AFTER CHRIST'S ASCENSION, IN ALL CONGREGATIONS AND CHURCHES, WITHOUT EXCEPTION.

“But Christ hath left these matters to the discretion and determination of the church.” By what record may that appear? M. Harding's word is no charter. Or if it be true, where did the church ever so determine of it, within the compass of six hundred years? St. Augustine in this case is very reasonable. His words be these: *Ubi auctoritas deficit, ibi consuetudo majorum pro lege tenenda est*: “Where authority faileth, there the custom of our elders must hold for a law⁹⁴.” But, having God's word, and Christ's institution, we want no authority.

Ad Casula-
num. [ll. 68.]

“The authority of the church is great.” I grant; but the causes, that moved the church of Rome to break Christ's institution, “as the keeping of the wine, beards, and palsies, and such like,” are not great; notwithstanding M. Harding enlarge them much, and call them, “important and weighty causes.” The two councils of Basil and Constance, where this matter was first concluded, as they were at the least fourteen hundred years after Christ, and therefore not to be alleged in this case against my assertion, so the authority of them both hangeth yet in question. For the Thomists say, the council of Basil came unlawfully together, and that therefore all their determinations were in vain. And Pigghius saith, the other council of Constance concluded against nature, against the scriptures, against antiquity, and against the faith of the church. These be the two councils, that M. Harding would have us yield unto.

Ludovic. Vi-
ves in 20. lib.
de Civit. Dei,
cap. 26.

[Pigghius in
Hierarchia,
lib. 6. c. 2.
p. 402.]

“We are bound to hear the church,” saith M. Harding; but much more are we bound to hear God. This saying

⁹⁴ [The passage intended seems to be this: “In his enim rebus, de quibus nihil certi statuit scriptura divina, mos populi Dei, vel instituta majorum pro lege tenenda sunt.”]

of St. Cyprian is worthy deeply to be noted: *Non jungitur ecclesiæ, qui ab evangelio separatur*: "He hath no fellowship with the church, that is divided from the gospel." And likewise writing against certain that abused the cup of Christ, ministering therein water instead of wine, he giveth this lesson to all bishops, and others, touching the reformation of the church: *Religioni nostræ congruit, et timori, et ipsi loco, et officio sacerdotii nostri, custodire traditionis Dominicæ veritatem: et, quod prius apud quosdam videtur erratum, Domino monente, corrigere: ut, cum in claritate sua, et majestate cælesti venire cœperit, inveniatur nos tenere, quod monuit: observare, quod docuit: facere, quod fecit*: "It behoveth the religion that we profess, and our reverence towards God, and the very place and office of our priesthood, to keep the truth of the Lord's tradition, and by the Lord's advertisement, to correct that thing, that by certain hath been amiss: that, when he shall come in his glory and majesty, he may find us to hold, that he warned us; to keep, that he taught us; to do, that he did."

Cypr. ad Cæcil. lib. 2. epist. 3. [p. 110.]

M. HARDING: *Twenty-ninth Division.*

Now for answer to M. Jewel's place alleged out of Gelasius, which is the chief that he and all other the adversaries of the church have to bring for their purpose in this point, thus much may be said. First, that he allegeth Gelasius untruly, making him to sound in English otherwise than he doth in Latin. M. Jewel's words be these: "Gelasius, an old father of the church, and a bishop of Rome, saith, 'that to minister the communion under one kind is open sacrilege.'" But where saith Gelasius so? This is no sincere handling of the matter. And because he knew the words of that father imported not so much, guilefully he reciteth them in Latin, and doth not English them; which he would not have omitted, if they had so plainly made for his purpose. The words of Gelasius be these: *Divisio unius ejusdemque mysterii, sine grandi sacrilegio non potest pervenire*: "The division of one and the same mystery cannot come without great sacrilege." Of these words he cannot conclude Gelasius to say, that to minister the communion under one kind is open sacrilege. Gelasius rebuketh and abhorreth the division of that high mystery, which under one form, and under both, is *unum idemque*, "one and the same;" not one under the form of bread, and another under the form of wine; not one in respect of the body, and another in respect of the blood; but *unum idemque*, "one and the selfsame." The words, afore recited, be taken out of a frag-

[Mansi viii. 125. b.]

De Con. dist.
2. Comperimus.

ment of a canon of Gelasius, which is thus, as we find in Gratian : *Comperimus autem, quod quidam, sumpta tantum corporis sacri portione, a calice sacraei cruoris abstineant. Qui procul dubio (quoniam nescio qua superstitione docentur adstringi) aut integra sacramenta percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur : quia divisio unius ejusdemque mysterii, sine grandi sacrilegio non potest pervenire :* which may thus be Englished : “ But we have found, that some, having received only the portion, (wherein is the holy body,) abstain from the cup of the sacred blood : who without doubt (forasmuch as I know not with what superstition they be taught to be tied) either let them receive the whole sacraments, or let them be kept from the whole, because the division of one and the same mystery cannot come without great sacrilege.”

Gelasius un-
truly trans-
lated by M.
Harding.

Here might be said to M. Jewel, Shew us the whole epistle of Gelasius, from whence this fragment is taken, that we may weigh the circumstance, and the causes why he wrote it, conferring that goeth before, and that followeth : and we will frame you a reasonable answer. But it is not extant, and therefore your argument, in that respect, is of less force.

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Neither are we the adversaries of the church, nor Gelasius the chiefest that we bring for our purpose. We follow Christ, as he hath commanded us, whom it became Gelasius also to follow. But it is a world to see into how many faces and fashions M. Harding is fain to turn himself, to avoid this authority of Gelasius. He leaveth the whole rout of his own company, and is glad to run alone. He expoundeth Gelasius by Leo, as though they wrote both of one thing. And yet others of his own side say, that Leo wrote of heretics, and Gelasius of catholics ; Leo of the people, Gelasius of the priests. He complaineth, that the rest of Gelasius is not to be found, as though it were suppressed by some of us ; and yet it is thought the pope hath it whole in his library. He deviseth new causes of unity of the mystery : such as Gelasius never knew. He concludeth at the last, that this breach of Christ's institution, and ministration under one kind, that is now universally used in the church of Rome, was first brought in and practised by the Manichees, which were in old time wicked and horrible heretics.

In Pontifi-
cali, ut cita-
tur in 1 tom.
Concil. in
Vita Gelasii.
[Mansi viii.
125. b.]

He saith, I have guilefully alleged Gelasius, and, to the intent it might the sooner appear, he hath noted it specially

in the margin. But, if M. Harding himself had meant no guile, he would have shewed plainly wherein I have been guileful, or what I might have gotten by this guile, or what advantage I might have lost by plainer dealing. For guile without cause is mere folly, and no guile. But I recited the words in Latin, and had forgotten to English them. Now surely that is but a simple guile, and might well have been spared out of the margin.

But my words be these: Gelasius saith, "That to minister the sacrament in one kind is open sacrilege." And what guile can he find herein? This word "sacrilege," and "the refusing of the cup," are both specially named by Gelasius. There remain only these words, "to minister the sacrament;" and there, saith M. Harding, lieth the guile. Howbeit, therein, as it shall well appear, I say nothing but that Gelasius saith, and M. Harding himself would have him say. For thus saith Gelasius: The division of the mystery, whereby he meaneth the sacrament, is sacrilege:

But the priest, that ministereth in one kind, divideth the mystery;

Ergo, the priest, that ministereth in one kind, committeth sacrilege.

This argument is perfect, and formal, and founded upon Gelasius' words. I trow, this is no guileful dealing.

The unity of the mystery, that M. Harding hath here fantasied, that either part is in other, and therefore harpeth so often, as it were by reports, upon these words, *unum et idem*, is but his own voluntary. He is not able to allege either Gelasius, or any other old father, that ever expounded *unum* and *idem* in that sort. He calleth it "one mystery," as Hugo Cardinalis saith, (although otherwise a very gross writer,) *Propter unitatem* [i. *ex unitate*] *institutionis*, "For the unity of the institution, (and for that the bread and wine, being sundry portions, have both relation unto one Christ)⁹⁵." And for that cause, by St. Hierom's judgment, St. Paul saith, *Una fides, unum baptisma*: "One

The priest ministering in one kind, committeth sacrilege.

Unum et idem.
Hugo Cardinalis, 1 Cor. xi.

Hieronym. ad Ephes. lib. 2. cap. 4. [iv. 361.]

⁹⁵ [The English words in parenthesis have nothing to correspond to them in Hugo, but the substance may be inferred.]

faith, one baptism." And for that also, that being, as I said, two sundry portions, yet they make not two sundry sacraments, but one only sacrament. And therefore Durandus, a late writer, seemeth to say well: *In multis locis communicatur cum pane et vino, id est, cum toto sacramento*: "In many places they communicate with bread and wine, that is," saith he, "with the whole sacrament⁹⁶." Of which words the reader, be he never so simple, may easily gather, that the communion in one kind is but the half sacrament: and so the division of one mystery: and so further, the selfsame thing that Gelasius calleth sacrilege.

Durand. lib. 4. cap. 24.

M. HARDING: *Thirtieth Division.*

But for avoiding that our adversaries would hereof conclude, it is to be understood, that this canon speaketh against the heretics named *Manichæi*, who, in the time of Leo the First, about forty years before Gelasius, went about to spread their heresy in Rome, and in the parts of Italy. Their heretical opinion was, that Christ took not our flesh and blood, but that he had a fantastical body, and died not, ne rose again truly and indeed, but by way of fantasy. And therefore at the communion, they abstained from the cup; and, the better to cloak their heresy, came to receive the sacrament in form of bread, with other catholic people. Against whom Leo saith thus: *Abdicant enim se sacramento salutis nostræ*, &c.: "They drive themselves away from the sacrament of our salvation. And, as they deny that Christ our Lord was born in truth of our flesh, so they believe not that he died and rose again truly. And for this cause they condemn the day of our salvation and gladness (that is, the Sunday,) to be their sad fasting day. And whereas, to cloak their infidelity, they dare to be at our mysteries, they temper themselves so in the communion of the sacraments, as in the mean time they may the more safely keep them privy. With unworthy mouth they receive Christ's body; but to drink the blood of our redemption, utterly they will none of it. Which thing we would advertise your holiness of, that both such men may be manifested by these tokens unto you, and also that they whose devilish simulation and feigning is found, being brought to light, and bewrayed of the fellowship of saints, may be thrust out of the church by priestly authority." Thus far be Leo his words.

Gelasius, that succeeded forty years after Leo, employed no less diligence than he did, utterly to vanquish and abolish that horrible

⁹⁶ [Durand. There is some mistake in the marginal reference. The same quotation is repeated infra at p. 438, and the reference there is to cap. 42. The words however are not found either at cap. 24 or cap. 42.]

heresy. Of whom Platina writeth, that he banished so many Manichees as were found at Rome, and there openly burned their books. And, because this heresy should none elsewhere take root, and spring, he wrote an epistle to Majoricus, and Joannes, two bishops, amongst other things warning them of the same. Out of which epistle, this fragment only is taken; whereby he doth both briefly shew what the Manichees did for cloaking of their infidelity, as Leo saith; and also, inasmuch as their opinion was, that Christ's body had not very blood, as being fantastical only, and therefore superstitiously abstained from the cup of that holy blood; giveth charge and commandment, that either forsaking their heresy they receive the whole sacraments, to wit, under both kinds, or that they be kept from them wholly. Here the words of Leo afore mentioned, and this canon of Gelasius conferred together, specially the story of that time known, it may soon appear to any man of judgment, against whom this fragment of Gelasius was written. Verily not against the church for ministering the communion under one kind, but against the detestable Manichees, who going about to divide the mystery of the body and blood of Christ, denying him to have taken very flesh and blood, so much as in them lay, loosed Christ, whereof St. John speaketh: and would have made frustrate the whole work of our redemption. John iv.

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To avoid the inconvenience growing of this authority, M. Harding is driven to avoid the company of Pighius, Hosius, Tapper, D. Cole, and all others his fellows of that side, and to say, that Gelasius wrote this decree against the Manichees; notwithstanding all they say, he wrote it against certain superstitious priests. D. Cole referreth himself unto the construction of the Gloss there written.

De Con. dist.
2. Comperim.
In Glossa.

The words thereof be these: "There were certain priests, that consecrated the body and blood of Christ in due order; and received the body, but abstained from the blood. Against them Gelasius writeth." This guess of that glosser, for many good causes, seemeth unlikely; for first, it cannot be shewed by any story, neither where nor when any such priests were, that so abstained; and again, Gelasius seemeth to write of them that should be taught, not of them that should teach: of them that should be removed from the sacraments, not of the priests that should remove them: of the sacrilege and wickedness of the fact, not of the difference of any persons.

But the gloss saith notwithstanding, "These priests consecrated both the body and the blood, and received the body, and abstained from the blood." Here would I fain learn of D. Cole, what then became of the cup. The priest drank it not; that is certain; for the gloss saith so. Again, the people drank it not; for so saith the gloss also⁹⁶, and, be it true or false, it must be defended.

Then must it needs follow, that Christ's blood was consecrate to be cast away. D. Cole might have foreseen, that this gloss would soon be taken against himself. Now let us see of this very self gloss, what may be concluded of our side. The sacrament of Christ's blood was not thrown away; the priest received it not; *ergo*, it followeth of very fine force, it was received by the people. Thus D. Cole, seeking to prove that the people received not in both kinds, himself unawares necessarily proveth, that the people received in both kinds. Wherefore M. Harding's conjecture carrieth more substance of truth. For the very story and conference of time will soon give the advised reader to understand, that Gelasius wrote this decree against the Manichees.

Thus much therefore hath M. Harding gotten hereby, that now it appeareth, that the first authors of his half communion were a sort of heretics. They held, that Christ never received flesh of the blessed virgin, neither was born, nor suffered, nor died, nor rose again. Which errors are manifestly convinced by the sacraments. For they are sacraments of Christ's body and blood; therefore whoso receiveth the same, confesseth thereby, that Christ of the virgin received both body and blood. So saith St. Chrysostom: *Si mortuus Christus non est, cujus symbolum et signum hoc sacramentum est?* "If Christ died not indeed, tell me then, whose token or whose sign is this sacrament?" Tertullian also by a like argument taken of the sacrament reproveth Marcion, that held that Christ had no body, but only a show, and a phantasy of a body: *Christus acceptum panem, et distributum discipulis, corpus suum illum fecit, dicendo, Hoc est corpus meum, hoc est,*

Heretics the first authors of the half communion.

Chrysostom. in Matt. hom. 83. [vii. 783.]

Contra Marcion. lib. 4. [c. 40. pp. 457, 458.]

⁹⁶ [The bishop is mistaken; in the gloss appears no such statement.]

figura corporis mei. Figura autem non esset, nisi veritatis esset corpus. Cæterum vacua res, quod est phantasma, figuram capere non potest: “Christ having received the bread, and giving the same to his disciples, made it his body, saying: ‘This is my body,’ that is to say, a figure of my body. But it could not be a figure, unless there were a body of a truth. For a void thing, as is a phantasy, can receive no figure at all.” Thus the sacraments do plainly testify, that Christ received not a phantasy or show of a body, but a very body indeed. Therefore the Manichees abstained from the holy cup, as it appeareth by Leo; notwithstanding St. Augustine in one place, writing namely against the Manichees, seemeth to signify the contrary. These be his words: *Sacramentum panis et calicis ita laudatis, ut in eo nobis pares esse volueritis:* “Ye so commend the sacrament of the bread and of the cup, that therein you would make yourselves equal with us⁹⁷.” Neither were they indeed able to shew any simple cause, why they should more shun the one portion, than the other. For the sacrament of the bread no less confounded their error, than the sacrament of the cup. And, as they thought that Christ’s body was no body, but only a phantasy, so they likewise thought that Christ’s blood was no natural blood but only a phantasy. But if they would not believe Leo or Augustine, that Christ had one body, how much less would they believe M. Harding, that Christ hath two bodies, the one in the bread, the other in the cup, and each wholly in the other?

M. HARDING: *Thirty-first Division.*

And therefore M. Jewel doth us great wrong in wresting this canon against us, forasmuch as we do not divide this divine mystery, but believe steadfastly with heart, and confess openly with mouth, that, under each kind, the very flesh and blood of Christ, and whole Christ himself, is present in the sacrament, (63) even as Gelasius believed. Upon this occasion, in the parts of Italy, where the Manichees uttered their poison, the communion under both kinds was restored, and commanded to be used

The 63rd untruth. For Gelasius never believed so.

⁹⁷ [In the early part of the same chapter, however, Augustine says, “*circa panem et calicem, nescio, cum Manichæis vinum gustare Cur autem arbitretur Faustus non religio, sed sacrilegium parem nobis esse religionem*” “sit.”]

again, whereas before (64) of some the sacrament was received under one kind, and of some under both kinds. Else, if the communion under both kinds had been taken for a necessary institution and commandment of Christ, and so generally and inviolably observed every where and always without exception; what needed Gelasius to make such an ordinance of receiving the whole sacraments, the cause whereof by this parenthesis (*quoniam nescio qua superstitione docentur adstringi*) plainly expresseth? Again, if it had been so inviolably observed of all until that time, then the Manichees could not have covered and cloaked their infidelity, as Leo saith, by the receiving the communion with other catholic people under one kind. For whiles the catholics went from church, contented with the only form of bread, it was uncertain, whether he that came to receive were a Manichee or a catholic. But after that, for descrying of them, it was decreed, that the people should not forbear the communion of the cup any more, the good catholic folk so received, and the Manichees by their refusal of the cup betrayed themselves. Whereby it appeareth, that the communion under one kind, used before by the commandments of Leo and Gelasius, was forbidden, to the intent thereby the Manichees' heresy might the better be espied, rooted out, and clean abolished.

The 64th untruth. For no catholic congregation ever received the sacrament in one kind.

Thus because we do not divide the mystery of the Lord's body and blood, but acknowledge, confess, and teach, that Christ took of the Virgin Mary very flesh and very blood indeed, and was a whole and perfect man, as also God, and delivered the same whole flesh to death for our redemption, and rose again in the same for our justification, and giveth the same to us to be partakers of it in the blessed sacrament to life everlasting, that decree of Gelasius cannot seem against us justly to be alleged, much less may he seem to say or mean, that to minister the communion under one kind is open sacrilege.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here M. Harding complaineth, we do him wrong to allege this canon against him, for that he believeth, even as Gelasius did, that whole Christ is in each part of the sacrament. It is very much to allege Gelasius' faith without his words, or to found any new faith, as this is, without some kind of proof. This is M. Harding's gross error, and not Gelasius', or any other of the catholic fathers' faith. If the holy fathers had so believed, they had words, and were able to utter it. If this had been the faith of the catholic church, it had not been kept so long in silence.

As for Gelasius, his own words are sufficient to declare his faith. Thus he writeth against Nestorius and Euty-

Gelasius
contra Euty-
chem. [Bibl.
Patr. tom. v.
pt. 3. p. 671.]

ches: *Sacramenta, quæ sumimus, corporis et sanguinis Christi, divinæ res sunt: propter quod et per eadem divinæ efficitur consortes naturæ. Et tamen esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini:* “The sacraments of Christ’s body and blood that we receive, are a godly thing, and therefore by the same we are made partakers of the divine nature. Yet there letteth not to be the substance or nature of bread and wine.” This was Gelasius’ faith touching these portions of the sacrament.

Now hath M. Harding devised another mystery of the wonderful conjunction of God and man in Christ, whereof Gelasius spake not one word in this place, neither was it any thing to his purpose to speak of it. Besides this, he imagineth Gelasius to give a law, that no man should divide that mystery, whereas it never lay in the power of man to divide it. Neither had that been a division, but an utter dissolution of the mystery.

August. con-
tra Epist.
Parmeniani,
lib. 3. cap. 2.
[ix. 61.]

Thus, so he may seem to say somewhat, he weigheth not greatly what he say, examining each thing, as St. Augustine saith, *Non in statera æqua divinarum scripturarum, sed in statera dolosa consuetudinum suarum:* “Not in the just balance of the holy scriptures, but in the deceitful and false beams of his own customs.”

Irenæus, lib.
1. [p. 36.]

Of the cup he maketh the bread; of the bread he maketh the cup; of one he maketh both; of both he maketh one; of one mystery he maketh another: and thus they deal, even as Irenæus writeth of the heretic Valentinus: *Ordinem et textum scripturarum supergredientes, et, quantum in ipsis est, solventes, membra veritatis transferunt, et transfingunt, et, alterum ex altero facientes, seducunt multos, ex his quæ aptant ex Dominicis eloquiis male composito phantasmati:* “Overrunning the order and text of the scriptures, and, as much as in them lieth, dismembering the limbs of the truth, they alter and transpose matters, and, making one thing of another, they deceive many by that they gather out of the Lord’s words, and join to their ill-favoured phantasy.”

The mystery, whereof Gelasius speaketh, is the holy sacrament, which albeit it stand of two parts, yet is it one

sacrament, and not two. The Manichees divided the same, taking one part, and leaving the other; and this is it, that Gelasius calleth sacrilege.

Here it is further surmised, that Leo and Gelasius, by their decrees, restored the catholic people again to the use of both kinds. This is utterly untrue. And may be guessed by M. Harding, but cannot any way be proved.

The decrees of Leo and Gelasius be abroad, and may be known. But where are these decrees? In what books are they written? Or who ever made mention of them? Verily these godly fathers reproved the Manichees for their sacrilege, and not the catholics; and commanded such as had offended, to correct their faults, and not such as were faultless.

“But how could the Manichees have been known,” saith M. Harding, “unless the catholic people, among whom they received, had communicated in one kind?” This question is out of course. I might better say: “Nay, how could the Manichees have been known, if they and the catholics had received in one kind both alike?” For this is the token, that Leo would have them known by: *Sanguinem redemptionis nostræ haurire detrectant*: “They refuse to drink the blood of our redemption.” By these words it is clear, that the cup was offered orderly unto them, as unto others, but they refused it.

Thou seest, good Christian reader, that M. Harding, notwithstanding he be driven to leave his own fellows, to shift one mystery for another, to imagine new laws, and new decrees, that were never heard of, to change himself into sundry forms, and to seek all manner holes to creep out at, yet at last hath found by the authority of Leo, whom he himself allegeth, that the catholic people received the whole communion under both kinds, according to Christ's institution; and that the patrons and founders of his half communion were old wicked heretics, named the Manichees, that the same is the division of one whole entire mystery, and therefore by the authority of Gelasius may well be called open sacrilege.

Now to shew what might be said of our side were labour

infinite. For our doctrine taketh no authority of private folk, of women, of forcelets, of napkins, of sick bodies, of deathbeds, of miracles, of fables, of children, and of madmen; which be the only grounds of all that M. Harding seemeth hitherto able to say; but of Christ's institution, of the scriptures, of the practice of the apostles, of the usage of the primitive church, of old canons, of ancient councils, of catholic fathers, Greeks and Latins, old and new; even of Clemens, Abdias, and Amphilochius, which are M. Harding's peculiar doctors. St. Chrysostom saith: "In the receiving of the holy mysteries, there is no difference between priest and people." Dionysius saith: "The unity of the cup is divided unto all." Ignatius saith: "One cup is divided unto the whole church⁹⁸." St. Augustine saith: "We drink all together, because we live all together." But to reckon up the authorities of antiquity, as I said, it would be infinite.

The scholastical doctors of very late years have seen and testified, that M. Harding's doctrine is but new. Thomas of Aquine saith: *In quibusdam ecclesiis provide observatur, ut populo sanguis non detur*: "In certain churches it is providently observed, that the blood be not given to the people." "In certain churches," he saith, not in all churches.

Likewise Durandus: *In multis locis communicatur cum pane et vino, id est, cum toto sacramento*: "In many places they communicate with bread and wine, that is to say, with the whole sacrament⁹⁹." "In many places," he saith, but not in all places. Likewise Alexander de Hales, a great school doctor: *Ita fere ubique a laicis fit in ecclesia*: "Thus the lay people in the church for the most part do." "For the most part," he saith, but not in all parts. And Linwood in his Provincials: *Solis celebrantibus sanguinem sub specie vini consecrati sumere, in hujusmodi minoribus ecclesiis est concessum*: "It is granted only unto the priests that celebrate in such small churches, to receive the

Chrysost. in
2 Cor. hom.
18. [x. 568.]

Eecl. Hiera.
cap. 3. [p.
157.]
Ignatius ad
Philadel-
phen. [epist.
interpol.]
De Con. dist.
2. Quia pas-
sus.

Thom. par. 3.
q. 80. art. 12.

Durand. lib.
4. cap. 42.

Alexand. par.
4. q. 53. m. 1.

Lyndewode
de Sum. Tri-
nit. et Fide
Cathol. [Al-
tissimus.]

⁹⁸ [^α *Ἐν ποτήριον τοῖς ὅλοις διενε-
μήθη*, cap. 4. The original or
genuine epistle has *ἐν ποτήριον εἰς*

ἔνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ.]
⁹⁹ [Durand. see ante, p. 431.]

blood under the form of wine." He excepteth only "the small country churches," not the greater churches in cities and towns. All these doctors lived within the space of three hundred years past. So long it was, before M. Harding's doctrine could grow general.

Antoninus saith, that king William the Conqueror, that lived a thousand years after Christ, caused his whole army to communicate, and that, as the order was then, under both kinds. Haimo, that was not long before him, saith: *Appellatur calix communicatio, propter participationem: quia omnes communicant ex illo*: "The cup is called the communication, because of the participation, for that every man receiveth of it." Thus is our doctrine confirmed, not only by the old doctors, but also by the new.

Wherefore M. Harding, thus maintaining the open abuse of the holy mysteries, offendeth against Christ's institution, against the scriptures, against the perfection of the sacrament, against the confirmation of the New Testament, against the tradition and practice of the apostles, against the ancient councils, against the canons, against the doctors, both old and new. The apostles of Christ, being full of the Holy Ghost, so took Christ's words as we take them now.

And St. Hierom saith: *Quicumque aliter scripturam intelligit, quam sensus Spiritus Sancti flagitat, quo conscripta est, licet de ecclesia non recesserit, tamen hæreticus appellari potest*: "Whosoever understandeth the scriptures otherwise than the sense of the Holy Ghost requireth, by which Holy Ghost the scriptures were written, although he be not yet departed from the church, yet he may well be called an heretic."

If M. Harding will say, "That was true then, and this is true now;" then may we answer him as St. Hilary did the Arians: *Veritas ergo temporum erit magis, quam evangeliorum*: "Then truth must be as pleaseth the time, not as pleaseth the gospel¹." And further, as St. Augustine answered the Donatists: *Si aliud declamas, aliud recitas, nos post vocem Pastoris nostri, per ora prophetarum, et os proprium, et per ora evangelistarum,*

Antoninus.
[Chronic. ii.
623.]

Haimo in 1
Cor. xi. [124.]

Hieronym.
ad Galat. lib.
3. cap. 5. [iv.
p. 302.]

Hilarius ad
Constantium
August. [i. 2.
p. 1227.]

Augustin. de
Unitate Eccl.
cap. 11. [ix.
359.]

[al. aliunde
clamas et
recitas.]

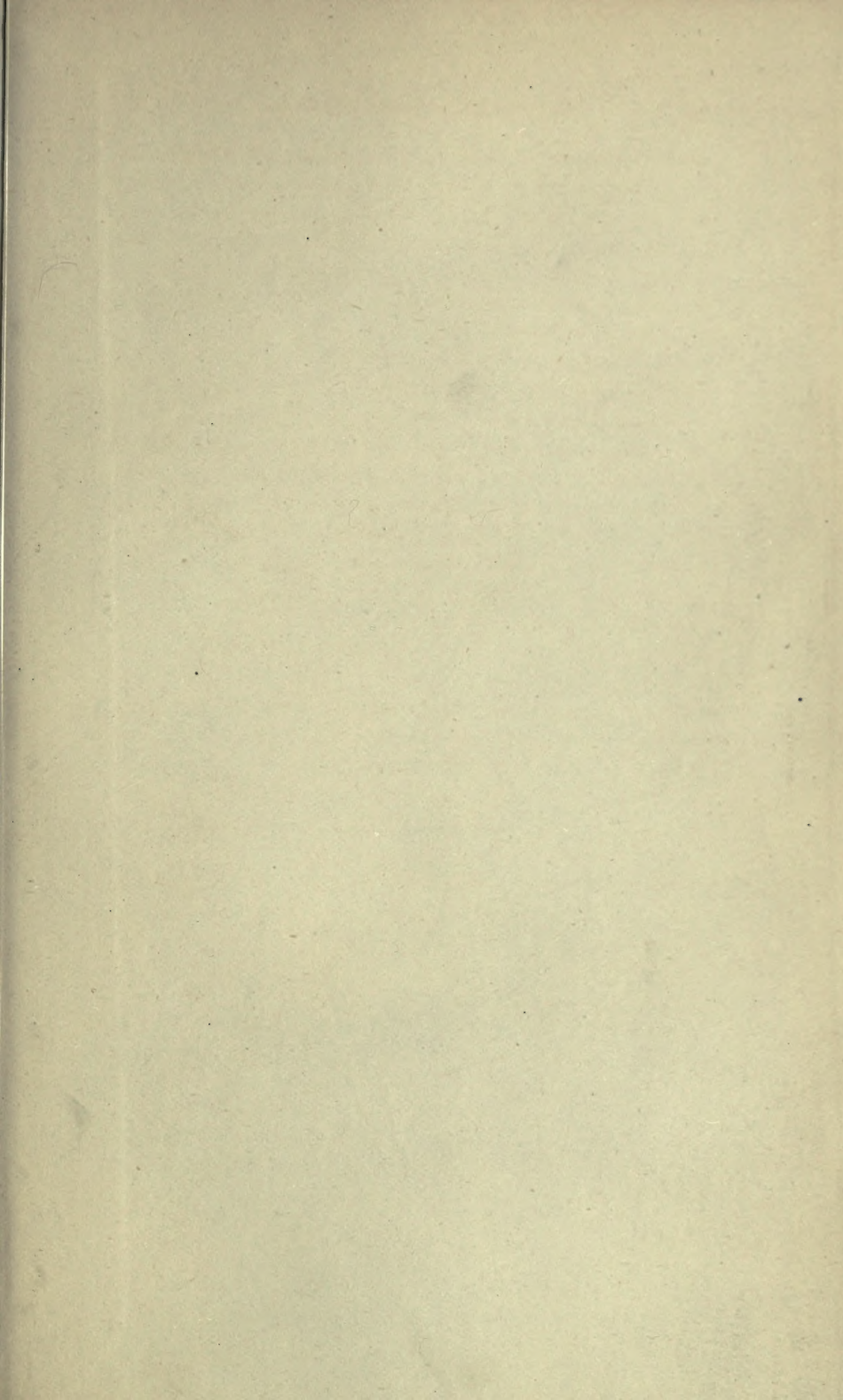
¹ [Hilar. ad Constant. "... facta est fides temporum potius quam evangeliorum."]

nobis apertissime declaratam, voces vestras non admittimus, non credimus, non accipimus : “ If ye preach any otherwise, or tell us any other tale, after we have once heard the voice of our Shepherd, most plainly declared unto us by the mouths of his prophets, by his own mouth, and by the mouths of his evangelists, touching your voices, we take them not, we believe them not, we receive them not.”

But, forasmuch as this is a mystery of unity, God grant unto us such humility of mind, that we may all submit ourselves unto his holy word, that we may join together in holy and perfect unity ; and, as I alleged before out of St. Cyprian, “ by his advertisement redress that thing wherein certain have erred : that, when he shall come in his glory, and in his heavenly majesty, he may find us to hold that he warned us ; to keep that he taught us ; to do that he did.” *Amen.*

Cyprian. ad
Cæciliū,
lib. 2. epist.
3. [p. 110.]

END OF VOL. I.



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